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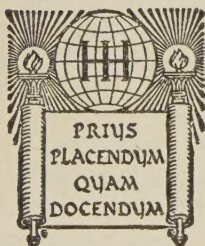
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THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative
of the Rise and Development
of Nations from the Earliest
Times as recorded by over
Two Thousand of the Great
Writers of All Ages. Edited
with the Assistance of a Dis-
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and Contributors

BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XIII—FRANCE SINCE 1815; NETHERLANDS

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BOOK III

FRANCE AFTER 1815

THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF FRANCE AFTER 1815

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

BY ALFRED RAMBAUD

Member of the Institute

PROBLEMS OF THE RESTORATION¹

THE problem which none of the revolutionary assemblies and forms of government — the constituent and legislative assemblies, the convention, directory, consulate, or empire — had been able to solve, and which consisted in providing France with an adequate and solid constitution, confronted the governments that immediately followed the Revolution.

Louis XVIII “conceded” the charter of 1814, which was an offshoot of the British constitution. This charter gave the executive power into the hands of a king declared non-responsible, who was to be assisted by responsible ministers; the legislative power was to be divided between the king and two chambers composed — one of hereditary peers, the other of deputies paying one thousand francs of direct taxes and chosen by electors who paid five hundred francs.

Louis XVIII had merely to “lie down in the bed of Napoleon,” to find himself invested with all the prerogatives necessary to a king, and to come into possession of such a police and administrative system as the world had never seen before. The latent despotism, however, was held in check by the ministerial responsibility, by the rights of the chambers, by the very rudimentary liberties of the people, and finally by the king’s own strong common sense. Under such a rule France might have enjoyed the period of peace needed after twenty-five years of turmoil and upheaval, had the passions of the different parties — the royalists, the liberals, the Bonapartists who later coalesced with the earlier republicans — permitted such repose.

¹ Histories of the Restoration have been written by de Vaulabelle, Lamartine, Viel-Castel, Nettelement, Hamel; of the monarchy of July, by Louis Blanc, Elias Regnault, de Nouvion, Thureau Dangin, with the *Mémoires* of Guizot, duke de Broglie, Doctor Véron, Victor Hugo (*Choses Vues*); of the revolution of 1848, by Daniel Stern, A. Delvan, Normanby, E. Spuller, H. Castille, Victor Pierre, P. de la Gorce; of the Second Empire, by Taxile Delord, P. de la Gorce; of the third republic, by E. Zévort, G. Hanotaux. Faustin Hélie, *Les Constitutions de la France*; Duvergier de Hauranne, *Histoire de gouvernement parlementaire*.

The experiment was furthermore disturbed by Napoleon's return from Elba and the consequent defection of almost all of his former troops, and by the "Hundred Days" of Waterloo with their disastrous consequences. Napoleon, running his last adventure as a despot, at least paid homage to the new ideas, all strange to him, which had arisen, and gave the state a constitution bearing the name of Additional Act that, like the charter of Louis XVIII, might have been thought a copy of the constitution of Great Britain. In this act he promised to the people freedom of the press as well as all other liberties.

Napoleon was no sooner embarked for St. Helena than legitimate royalty returned and with it the charter of 1814. Under its provisions France might at last have grown accustomed to the use of liberty, had not Charles X conceived the idea of searching out, in Article 14, which charged him to enforce the laws, a clause which gave him the right to violate them. The revolution of 1830 ensued.

THE MEASURES OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

The sovereignty which issued from this struggle was a compromise between the monarchic and the republican ideas; Louis Philippe, though a descendant of St. Louis, and even of Hugh Capet, was the son of a regicide and member of the convention, and had himself fought at Valmy, Jemmapes, and Neerwinden under the folds of the tricolour. Thereby, he offered guarantees to the men of 1789. On the other hand, the legitimists reproached him with his father's regicidal vote and with his own usurpation, the republicans utterly refused to see in his reign the "best of republics" as La Fayette desired, and the Bonapartists held themselves in reserve for Napoleon II.

Here again the violence of political passions made a liberal form of government very difficult to maintain. Plots and insurrections followed fast upon each other. The king was made the object of twenty-three murderous attempts, the most terrible being that of Fieschi and the infernal machine, which wounded or killed forty-two persons, among whom was the *maréchal* Mortier.¹ Louis Philippe used to say of himself that he was the "only game that could be hunted at every season of the year."

The charter was amended in a somewhat more democratic sense, and Article 14, which had been so unfortunately construed by Charles X, was annulled. The office of peer was henceforth to be held for life and not to be hereditary. The electoral qualification or fee was reduced from three hundred to two hundred francs (to one hundred in the case of officers and members of the institute); and the qualification of eligibility was reduced from one thousand to five hundred. The number of electors was increased from 90,000 to 200,000; later, in 1847, to 240,000—a small enough number for a nation of thirty-five million souls!

The charter formally abolished "preliminary authorisation" and press censure, and referred to a jury all offences of the press. Even after various organs had been guilty of excess, and had instigated regicide and insurrections, these provisions were steadfastly observed. The only extra stringency to be adopted was the enactment of September 9th, 1835, which gave a clearer definition of press misdemeanors and imposed new penalties.

It was in the matter of meetings and associations, however, that this government, otherwise so liberal, displayed the most timidity, and not with-

¹ Prince de Joinville (who assisted at this terrible scene), *Vieux Souvenirs*, Chap. XII.

[1830-1834 A.D.]

out reason. The law of the 10th of April, 1834, was intended to supply any deficiencies that might have escaped the discerning eye of Napoleon: for example, in his Penal Code, he had in view only meetings and associations of over twenty persons; the law of 1834 reached those which were subdivided into fractions of less than twenty members. Napoleon had aimed exclusively at "chiefs, administrators, or directors"; the law of 1834 fell upon simple members. The penalty named by Napoleon had been a fine of from sixteen to two hundred francs; this fine was henceforth to be five times greater, and there was a risk attached of from two months' to a year's imprisonment, etc.

We must not overlook the fact that neither Napoleon's life nor his throne had ever been endangered by associations, whereas certain powerful societies, either open or secret, had been at work undermining the sovereignty of Louis Philippe and instigating attempts on his life. It was no small honour that this king should have bestowed upon France the maximum of liberties it had ever enjoyed while he himself was being made each year the object of one or more murderous attempts.

The monarchy of July rested upon three institutions:

(1) Qualified suffrage. In 1830 the modification of the electoral qualification and that of eligibility had, in effect, caused the preponderance to pass from rural to urban electors, and from social forces pertaining to agriculture to industrial and commercial forces.

(2) A qualified national guard. The national guard had been suppressed under the Restoration because of its turbulent demonstrations against the prime minister of Charles X, M. de Villèle. To be revenged it fought against the royal troops on the barricades of July, 1830. From this moment, however, it became the prop of order, the defender of the charter and of the citizen-king; and upon it devolved the duty of carrying the barricades. This band of merchants, of licensed traders, of Parisian shop-keepers, many of whom had taken part in the previous wars and who wore the great shako with all the ease of Napoleon's seasoned "grumblers," fought valiantly against the rioters, whose bravery equalled their own. More than two thousand members of the national guard, most of whom were heads of families, fell in the street combats, shedding their blood freely for the dynasty they themselves had raised up. Louis XVIII and Charles X had each had a special royal guard partly composed of Swiss; Louis Philippe would have about him no other body than the national guard, knowing well how much he owed each individual member. Thus at every review held by him crosses of the Legion of Honour were freely distributed among them. The national guard elected its own non-commissioned officers and commissioned officers below the rank of captain; appointments to all the higher grades were made by the king from a list of ten names proposed by the battalion. In order to preserve to the organisation its bourgeois character and to prevent any admixture of the popular element, it was simply necessary to exact the wearing of a uniform. The national guard was both a militia and an opinion; at the king's reviews it manifested by its silence or by its acclamations what it thought of politics. Hence it was called "the intelligent bayonets."

(3) The same class from which were recruited electors and members of the national guard also furnished members of the jury before whom were arraigned all the enemies of the government, whether accused of conspiracy and attempt at assassination or of some misdemeanor of the press.

Thus it was the same men who sustained the monarchy of July by their votes, their bayonets, and their decisions. They constituted what was then the "legal nation." The rest of the people were forbidden all share in public

affairs. When therefore these electors, national guardsmen, and jurors began to show hostility or even simple indifference towards the government they had helped to found, that government fell of itself. When, on the 28th of February, 1848, Louis Philippe saw himself abandoned by his faithful national guard, he refused to sanction further bloodshed; his power, based on the favour of public opinion, could not stand once that support had been withdrawn. Hitherto his reign had had to do chiefly with the "legal nation"; over the true nation he did not feel himself competent to rule.

The government of Louis Philippe had shown itself as liberal as the ideas of the times would permit; it had assured to France, to all Europe in fact, despite certain provocations from the old "Holy Alliance," eighteen years of honourable and profound peace; it had endowed France with its richest colony, Algeria, and under it the country's agriculture, industry, commerce, and all the branches of public prosperity had attained enormous development.

THE MISTAKES OF 1848

The misunderstanding which finally led to rupture between the nation, even the "legal nation" and the monarchy, arose out of a question relating to the extension of suffrage. The revolution of the 24th of February, 1848, was unquestionably the least justified and least justifiable in the history of France. Its consequences were even more disastrous to the country in general than to the reigning dynasty. Those who advocated extension of the right of suffrage were soon to experience sharply what evils an electoral body — suddenly increased, without preparation or gradation, from 241,000 voters to ten millions — could inflict upon the land; and those who accused the well-disposed king of illiberalism were shortly to taste the joys of a revival of Cæsarism.

The personages whom the revolution of the 24th of February bombarded into power as the "provisory government" were men of high intelligence, giving evidence of the very best intentions but totally devoid of political experience. They exhausted their eloquence and talents in criticising and reviling power, without in the least knowing what were its essential attributes. One of their first acts was to proclaim universal suffrage, being forced thereto possibly by the circumstance that the revolution had removed all restrictions standing in its way, and that new ones could not be invented by any small body of men had they the wish. The provisory government, at the same time that it accorded to all the right to vote, opened the way to wider membership in the national guard by abolishing the uniform. Later the second constituent assembly, by a decree issued the 27th of August, 1848, admitted nearly the whole number of electors to jury rights; thus the pillars of the monarchy of July were employed to strengthen and consolidate the democratic power. The provisory government also annulled all laws restricting freedom of the press and the right to form unions and associations, and abolished titles of nobility as well as capital punishment for political offences.

By the transformation of the national guard, all the opinions of the different political parties into which the country was divided took the form of armed opinion, of opinion bloodthirsty and crossbelted, with gun in hand and cartridge box on back. Political feeling was indeed everywhere excited to excess, owing to the hatching of innumerable revolutionary newspapers, and the opening of the clubs ("red" clubs, be it understood) all over Paris. When the provisory government shortly after retired to give place to a constituent assembly, the latter — first-fruit as it was of universal suffrage

[1848-1852 A.D.]

and composed of members far too numerous (about nine hundred), who were scarcely known to each other and were seated for the first time in an assembly — gave proof of inexperience equal to that of the provisory government; or rather it professed deep contempt for any political experience that had ever been gained.

The constitution this body voted contained two noteworthy provisions, either of which would have been sufficient to destroy it: (1) Opposite the president of the republic was to be a single chamber called legislative, with no intermediary power between it and the president. This arrangement had already been tried by the provisions of the constitution of 1791. One single assembly had then destroyed the king; this time it was the president who was to destroy the single assembly. (2) The election of the president of the republic was to be effected by universal suffrage; what power was it possible for any assembly to possess in face of a president who held his office by virtue of a veritable plebiscite?

There remained one last folly to be committed, and that by the agency of universal suffrage. On the 10th of December, 1848, it elected as president Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

What happened had to happen — it was decreed on the 10th of December, 1848. In just what manner it happened it is needless to detail. The *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, made the president who had been faithless to his vow master of France. At first the nation had no other constitution than the terror diffused by the Paris massacres and the bloody acts of repression that took place throughout the provinces.¹ When Louis Napoleon finally bethought himself of the necessity of providing a constitution (that of the 14th of January, 1852), he had but to seek inspiration in the example of his uncle. Just as under the first empire, there was appointed for leading functions a council of state; next, ranking sufficiently high, a senate; and lastly a *corps législatif*, which seemed to exist solely for show, composed as it was of members elected under pressure of the prefects, having no initiative in matters of law or of state finance and sitting under a president elected by the prince and ministers not responsible to it. All civil and military officials were obliged under pain of revocation to take an oath to the man who had violated his. Ten months had not elapsed after the proclamation of that constitution, before the *senatus consulté* of the 7th of November, 1852, made the prince-president emperor of the French, a dignity which was confirmed by the plebiscite of the 20th-21st of November.

NAPOLEON III IS ELECTED EMPEROR

Naturally all liberties were suppressed. In the matter of meetings and associations, Article 291 and the law of 1834 reappeared in vigour, and the press was subjected to the harshest rule it had known since the first empire. All rigours, fiscal, preventive, and repressive, were brought to bear upon it; a security of from 15,000 to 50,000 francs was demanded, and a stamp-tax of six centimes for Paris and three centimes for the provinces on every number of a newspaper. No organ could exist without "preliminary authorisation" by the government. Jurisdiction in press misdemeanors was withdrawn from the jury and given to criminal judges who held their office from the sovereign. Administrative repression was added to or supplemented judicial repression; every newspaper that received two notices from the police

¹ Ténot, *Paris en Décembre 1851 et la province en Décembre 1851*; Victor Hugo, *Histoire d'un Crime*.

within two years was immediately suppressed. Even books were made the subject of exceptional rules, *L'histoire des princes de Condé*, by the duke d'Aumale, being seized without process of law (1863).

Such was the "authoritative empire"; it subsisted until 1867. It would be idle and tedious to relate by what successive concessions on the part of the imperial power, made under pressure of political opinion that took its colour from the blunders of Mexico, Sadowa, etc., the "authoritative empire" was gradually transmuted to the liberal empire, that restored to the legislative body many of its legitimate prerogatives; softened the rule that bore so heavily on the press; took the risk even of authorising (by the enactment of June 6th, 1868) meetings that were non-political in character, and also of public meetings held in view of legislative elections.

The empire had been able to exist at all only on condition that the particulars concerning its origin should be kept from view; the publication of the books by Ténot describing the violences that attended the *coup d'état* both in Paris and the provinces, and the wide diffusion of Victor Hugo's *Napoleon le petit*, together with his mighty poetical pamphlet, *Les Châtiments*, recalled to the old and revealed to the young in what waves of blood had been effaced the oath sworn to the republic by the president, Louis Napoleon. Thereafter every new form of liberty bestowed on the nation by the emperor awoke—not gratitude, but the determination to use it as an arm against him. Still it is probable that the second empire would have prolonged its existence by yet a few more years had it not ventured, by the declaration of war against Germany, to face a violent death.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The trials that France underwent during the "terrible year" are too well known to need narration; no horrors were spared her, neither those of civil nor of foreign war. Borne down by disaster and by the weight of financial ruin precipitated by the demand of the invaders for five thousand millions of francs, the most difficult and complicated of all problems was the reorganisation of the government. How the national assembly, elected on February 8th, 1871, composed two-thirds of royalists, was ever brought to consent first to a "head of the executive power of the French Republic," then to a "president of the French Republic," and finally, even after the overthrow of M. Thiers, even under the presidency of Marshal MacMahon, to vote the republican constitution of February 25th, 1875, is a mystery that can be explained only by the force of circumstances. Certainly the royalists had the majority in the assembly; but they were divided into two nearly equal camps, legitimists and Orleanists, who could never bring about a fusion between the two branches of the house of Bourbon. Henceforth the republic which, contrary to expectations, had offered for five months a resolute resistance to invasion, which had showed itself sufficiently powerful to quell an insurrection twenty times more redoubtable than those to which the monarchies had succumbed—the republic which had inspired Europe, the whole world in fact, with confidence sufficient to obtain for it the prodigious loans it needed for the liberation of its territories—the republic, we say, was looked on as the form of government most natural to the land, the one already firmly established there, antedating the national assembly itself. The complementary elections of July, 1871, and all the partial elections which followed, testified to the obstinate, unalterable attachment of the French people to the republican idea. Even the rash act of the assembly on the

[1875 A.D.]

24th of May, and later that of Marshal MacMahon, which seemed to place the question of a republic once more in the balance, served but to exalt the passion of democracy and galvanise republican energies.

The constitution of 1875, gift of the national assembly to the republic, is, all things considered, the best that France has ever had. The country seems to have profited by the experience, favourable or the reverse, of the past, to steer safely past the reefs that wrecked the constitutions of 1791 and 1848. Like the constitutions of all the free peoples of Europe, this creation of the national assembly was plainly inspired by the old constitution of Great Britain; it also recalls the charter of 1830, but with an added democratic-republican character. Certain it is that the president of the republic, like Louis Philippe, "reigns but does not govern," and that like him also he has ministers who are responsible to the chambers. Of these chambers one is the product of universal suffrage and furnishes the motive power for the entire machinery of state, president and senate being but wheels to regulate the action. The senate is elected by a special body composed mainly of delegates from the different communes, which is why Gambetta called it the "grand council of the communes of France." Since the reforms effected in 1884 there are no longer any life-senators, all being appointed for a term of nine years. No one of the great powers of the state can encroach upon the others. If a president violates his oath of office he can, by vote of the chamber, be impeached before the senate; if the chamber shows a disposition to exceed its proper authority it can be dissolved by the president, with the affirmative vote of the senate. The senate enjoys the advantage of having its membership renewed only to the extent of one-third every third year, and consequently may be said to be a permanent assembly, whereas the office of president receives a new incumbent every seven and the chamber entire new membership every four years. Nevertheless this triennial change of *personnel* is quite sufficient to keep the senate within the bounds of its legitimate authority.

Such was at least the theory of the French constitution of 1875; but no constitution is worth more than the men who put it into practice. It is plain that if the chamber of deputies were made up from elections falsified under official pressure, by fraud at the ballot-boxes, or by general corruption; or if the senate, instead of being composed of picked men, as should be the case with any assembly of high functions, recruited its senators from among the miscellaneous candidates presented by universal suffrage or the ranks of village notabilities; if on the occasion of a presidential election all candidates possessing high character or intelligence were carefully rejected—that constitution would be thrown out of gear in every cog. Not upon its authors could the blame be made to fall, but upon those who strove to disfigure and pervert the original conception.

One reproach can be raised against the constitution of 1875—it is based upon an English instead of an American prototype. Has not a great and prosperous republic like the United States offered the best model for the constitution of the most powerful democracy of the Old World? Has not its type been adopted by all the republics, even the Latin, of the New World? This thesis has been sustained in France, particularly by M. Andrieux, former deputy from Lyons and prefect of police, who made it the object, in 1884, of a proposed law. The chief drawback to its adoption, however, seemed to be that France occupied a territory of only 525,000 square kilometres, while that covered by the United States is 9,354,000. Hence the France of to-day, product as it is of a thousand years of history, of the old régime, of the

Revolution, of the Napoleonic empires, is a highly concentrated state, essentially a unit. It has reached this condition of unity by reason of its situation in the midst of powerful neighbours, who all, at one time or another, have had to be resisted; the United States, on the other hand, has no anxiety of war. From these observations certain consequences undeniably follow.

We can still, however, envy the United States its Supreme Court, which guarantees to every citizen his essential rights in the face of any possible arbitrariness on the part of Congress or executive power. In the matter of our essential rights the law of July 29th, 1881, is all that can be desired as regards the press; moreover, the law of June 30th, 1881, authorised all public meetings on presentation of a simple declaration signed by two citizens. Associations in the interests of public charities, commerce, or the sciences had long been allowed to form with perfect freedom, and the law of March 21st, 1884, completely broke down all previous legislation in favour of associations having the character of syndics. Also the law of the 2nd of July, 1901, would certainly have endowed France with the greatest possible liberty of association,¹ if it had not borne so arbitrarily upon congregations.

Save on this latter point it can be affirmed that French democracy, if by that term is understood the nation in its entirety and not a few detached revolutionary groups, has evolved in our more recent laws and constitution the most perfect of all political formulas. It seems indeed that the end of the mighty struggle begun in 1789 has been reached. A social system such as ours could hardly attain to a greater degree of liberty and equality; it is rather in the matter of fraternity that there still remains something to accomplish.

Having set forth the political evolution that has taken place in France since 1815, I shall later show how society has become transformed during the same period.

¹ The law of the 2nd of July, 1901, abrogates not only articles 291 and following of the Penal Code and the law of 1834, but it repeals the act of March 14th, 1872, proscribing the Workers' International Union, Article 7 of the law of the 30th of June, 1881, forbidding clubs, the law of the 28th of July, 1848, prohibiting secret societies, etc.



CHAPTER I

THE BOURBON RESTORATION

[1815-1824 A.D.]

France had now struggled, suffered, and bled for five-and-twenty years, through a fearful revolution and ruinous wars ; and what were the results ? Her enemies were in possession of her capital ; all her conquests were surrendered ; and the Bourbons were restored to the throne of their ancestors. But these were not the only consequences of the late convulsions, to France or to Europe. France, indeed, was governed by another Bourbon king ; but the *ancien régime* was no more : the oppressive privileges of feudalism had been abolished ; and a constitutional charter was granted by Louis XVIII. But all these benefits had been secured in the first two years of the Revolution, before the monarchy had been destroyed, without a reign of terror, and without desolating wars. She had gained nothing by her crimes, her madness, her sacrifices, and her sufferings, since the constitution of the 14th September, 1791. Upon Europe, the effects of the Revolution were conspicuous. The old *régime* of France was subverted ; and in most European states, where a similar system had been maintained, since the Middle Ages, its foundations were shaken. The principles of the Revolution awakened the minds of men to political thought ; and the power of absolute governments was controlled by the force of public opinion. — SIR THOMAS ERSKINE MAY.^b

LAMARTINE'S VIEW OF THE RESTORATION

NATIONS are like men ; they have the same passions, vicissitudes, exaggerations, indecisions, and uncertainties. That which is called public opinion in free governments is only the movable needle of the dial plate which marks by turns the variations in this atmosphere of human affairs. This instability is still more sudden and prodigious in France than in the other nations of the world, if we except the ancient Athenian race. It has become a proverb of Europe.

The French historian ought to acknowledge this vice of the nation, whose vicissitudes he recounts, as he ought to point out its virtues. Even this instability belongs to a quality of the great French race — imagination ; it forms part of its destiny. In its wars it is called impulse ; in its arts, genius ; in its reverses, despondency ; in its despondency, inconsistency ; and

in its patriotism, enthusiasm. It is the modern nation which has the most fire in its soul; and this fire is fanned by the wind of its mobility. We cannot explain, except by this character of the French race, those frenzies — which simultaneously seem to seize upon the whole nation after the lapse of some months — for principles, for men, and for governments the most opposed to each other.

We are on the eve of one of those astonishing inconstancies of public opinion in France. Let us explain its causes: The gleam of those philosophical principles, the whole of which constitute what is called the Revolution, had nowhere, so much as in France, dazzled and warmed the souls of the people, at the end of the eighteenth century. At the voice of her writers, her orators, her tribunes, and her warriors, France took the initiative in the work of reformation, without considering what it would cost in fatigues, treasure, and blood, to renew her institutions, vitiated by the rust of ages, in religion, legislation, civilisation, and government. The throne had crumbled amidst the tumult, pulled down like a counter-revolutionary flag raised in the midst of the Revolution. The country, however, was beginning to know itself, to purify itself, to constitute itself into a tolerant democracy under the republican government of the Directory, when Bonaparte, personifying at once in himself the usurpation of the army over the laws and the counter-revolution, violently interrupted, on the 18th Brumaire (November 9th), the silent work of the new civilisation, which was elaborating and culling out the elements of the new order of things. To divert the nation's thoughts from its revolution he launched it and led it on to the conquest of Europe. He exhausted it of its blood and population, to prevent it from thinking and agitating under him. He had made it apostatise by his publicists, by his silent system, and by his police, from all the principles of its regeneration of 1789. While he was hurling kings from their thrones, he declared himself the avenger and restorer of priesthoods and royalties.

France had begun to breathe after his first fall in 1814. The charter had resumed the work of Louis XVI, and promulgated the principles of the constituent assembly. The Revolution had gone back to its first glorious days. It had no longer to apprehend either the intoxication of illusions, or the resistance of the church, of the court, of the nobility, or the crimes of the demagogues.

The return of Bonaparte, thanks to the complicity of the army,¹ had again interrupted this era of renovation, of peace, and of hope. This violence to the nation and to Europe had been punished by a second invasion, which humbled, ruined, and decimated France; and even threatened to partition it into fragments. Bonaparte, in quitting his army after his defeat at Waterloo, and in abdicating, had carried away with him the responsibility of this disaster; but he had left behind him the resentment of the nation against the army, against his party, his accomplices, and against his name. Everybody had a grievance, a resentment, a mourning, or a ruin to avenge upon this name of one man. The paroxysm of anger compressed by the presence of the army, by dread of the imperial police, and by the hope of a repetition of that glory with which he had for a moment fascinated France before Waterloo, burst forth from every heart, except those of his soldiers, immediately after his fall. Public opinion threw itself, without

[1 Seignobos speaks of "the Episode of the Hundred Days" which compassed Napoleon's return from Elba and his fall at Waterloo, as "nothing but a military revolt, a *pronunciamento* of the army of Napoleon." It must be remembered, however, that a very large part of the army did not respond to this call or take part in the last disaster.]

[1815 A.D.]

reflection, without foresight, and without discretion, into the opposite party in the elections. Public opinion in France, when irritated, listens neither to middle courses, nor to intrigues, nor to prudence; it goes direct from one side to the other, like the ocean in its ebb and flow. This is the whole explanation of the elections of 1815, which sent up to the crown a chamber more counter-revolutionary than all Europe, and more royalist than the king.^d

EXCESSES OF THE ROYALISTS AND THE INVADERS

Louis XVIII, being too indifferent and too fond of repose to be vindictive, had re-entered the city with the disposition to be moderate; that was also the attitude of the ministry which he had given himself. It was for the interest of Talleyrand and Fouché that there should be no reaction and the other ministers, Baron Louis, Pasquier, Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr who had been chosen by the king because he had not rallied to Napoleon during the Hundred Days, were by character and reason opposed to all excess. But it soon became evident that the king would be powerless to keep the royalists within bounds and that the ministers would be left behind and disregarded. The new emigration was returning from Ghent eager for vengeance, and its friends in the interior had awaited no signal to let loose their rage against everything which in any way held to the Revolution or the empire. The ultras made Paris resound with their outbursts of shameful joy and insulted those in the street who would not join them, while the capital was at the same time brutally trodden under foot by foreigners. The royalist journals heaped abuse on the French army and spoke only of punishment and proscription.

If the king and his ministers were unable to restrain the royalists, with still greater reason they were not in a condition to protect the city and country from the allied armies. The foreign occupation offered a sinister contrast to what it had been in 1814. It was Blücher, the fiercest enemy of France, who with his Prussians occupied the interior of Paris, while the English were encamped in the Bois de Boulogne. The very evening of his re-entry Louis XVIII was warned that the Prussians were preparing to blow up the bridge of Jena, the name of which recalled their great disaster in 1806. In vain did the king have recourse to Wellington. The fierce Blücher listened to no one. Fortunately the first explosion of the mines was not sufficient to overthrow the piles, and the arrival of the Russian and Austrian emperors with the king of Prussia on July 10th prevented Blücher from recommencing. Emperor Alexander intervened; the bridge was saved and the one hundred million francs which Blücher proposed to demand of Paris, regardless of the capitulation, were reduced to eight.

The presence of foreign rulers, while it encumbered Paris with new masses of troops, at least diminished somewhat the disorder caused by the occupation within the capital; but without, the invaded departments were everywhere exposed to pillage. Never had the abuse of victory, with which the French had been accused in Germany, approached what took place in France. In the wars beyond the Rhine, Napoleon's severe character imposed a certain order even on the requisitions; here the military chiefs, great and small, acted, each on his own account, like leaders of the old bands of invading barbarians; they plundered their hosts, despoiled cities and villages, laid hands on the public treasuries, and when the officials of the royal government tried to hinder their pillaging, they arrested them and sent them as prisoners across the Rhine. The Prussians put a feeling of implacable

vengeance into their excesses. But the violence and depredations of the Prussians were at least equalled by those who had nothing to avenge, by those Germans of the south, the Swabians (the inhabitants of Baden and Württemberg) and Bavarians, who were now pillaging France in the name of the coalition as they had shortly before, in the name of France, pillaged Russia, Austria, and Prussia, much more violently than the French. Popular Russian tales of 1812 show what a difference Russian peasants made between French soldiers and the German allies of France. French peasants in despair responded here and there, as those of Russia had done, by sanguinary acts of retaliation and resorted to the woods to carry on a guerilla warfare.

The numbers of the invaders increased daily. All the reserves of every country arrived on the scene. Germany especially passed over the Rhine as a whole to come and live at the expense of France. At one time there were as many as 1,240,000 soldiers on French territory.

Emperor Alexander and the duke of Wellington, the one out of humanity, the other out of a spirit of discipline and fear of provoking a general uprising of the French people, tried to put an end to this immense disorder and, acting on their proposition, the four great powers attempted to regulate the occupation by a convention agreed upon on the 24th of July. The danger of provoking France to desperation was very real. Besides the army of the Loire, the French had still several corps under arms, under Marshal Suchet and other generals. Free companies in the departments of the east were energetically harassing the enemy, and most of the strongholds were still intact and maintained a threatening attitude. The defence of Hüningen has become celebrated: General Barbanègre sustained a long siege in this little place with one hundred and thirty-five soldiers against twenty-five thousand Austrians.

The French army at that time had been disbanded for fifteen days. The troops separated in a spirit of sad resignation, without attempting a resistance which would only have aggravated the misfortunes of their country. Thus came to an end the most illustrious army the modern world has ever seen. The royal ordinance which had dissolved the army had fixed the basis upon which a new army was to be organised.

THE "WHITE TERROR" OF 1815

In the meantime two-thirds of France was occupied by strangers and the part which was exempt from invasion was afflicted by another scourge, by a violent reaction. The triumphal return of the "usurper," the enforced submission to the restored empire, which had undergone feeble attempts at resistance, had aroused an ill-contained rage in the heart of the royalists of the south; it broke out at the news of Waterloo. At Marseilles, beginning with the 25th of June, furious bands had pillaged several houses and massacred the owners who were partisans of the emperor. Others had thrown themselves on the poor quarter where lived a certain number of mamelukes, brought back from Egypt by Napoleon. These unfortunates were butchered together with their wives and children.

From Marseilles the murders and conflagrations spread to Avignon, Carpentras, Nîmes, and Uzès. The 17th of July at Nîmes a small garrison of 200 men, very much hated by the ultras because they had kept up the tricoloured flag until the 15th of July, capitulated before an urban and rural mob. Scarcely had the soldiers surrendered their arms, when the "royal volunteers" shot them down at the end of the muzzle. Crowds of fanatics and

[1815 A.D.]

marauders overran the city during several days, plundering the houses of rich Protestants; several were assassinated.

Murder, devastation, and conflagration overflowed into the country; houses were burned, the olive trees and grape-vines of the "wrong thinkers" were cut down. The royal authorities were powerless or else in league with the movement. Hundreds of persons were arrested on all sides arbitrarily by the marauding bands. The military commander and the under-prefect at Uzès disgraced themselves by delivering up eight of their prisoners to the chief of the assassins at Uzès, called Graffan, who had them shot without the form of a trial, after having massacred a certain number of the inhabitants in their homes.

The reaction reunited all kinds of infamy; obscenity was joined to rapacity and ferocity. On the 15th of August, the day of the fête of the Virgin, at Nîmes the wives of the brigands who ruled in the department of the Gard dragged in the streets the Protestant women they could get hold of, subjecting them to the most dishonourable insults.

The "White Terror" of 1815 exceeded in ignominy the reaction in Thermidor of the year III. It was not, as in the latter, crime against crime, terror after terror. The Hundred Days had seen neither bloodshed nor proscriptions, and the reactionary party of 1815 had nothing to avenge. The worst days of the League were recalled by the alliance of the ultra-aristocracy with the depraved, lazy, and sanguinary populace, which ferments under the feet of the real people, and which statisticians speak of as "the dangerous classes."

Judiciary persecution was soon added to the massacres. The victims who had escaped the knife of the assassin were now to be confronted with the judges of the reaction. The king and the ministers were innocent of the riots and brigandage of the south, which they had not been able to prevent and which they had not the strength to chastise. They seem on the other hand to be responsible before history for the terrible succession of political trials which they ordained. There again, however, they endured rather than inspired to action; not only the whole court, the whole royalist party, but even the foreign powers demanded imperiously that those who were called the "conspirators of March 20th" should be pursued to the utmost. An erroneous appreciation of the facts connected with the "return from the island of Elba" contributed much to incite the second restoration to those deeds of implacable vengeance which gave it such a sanguinary character. The foreigners, like the royalists, imagined that the 20th of March had been the result of an immense conspiracy embracing the whole army and most of the officials. That was the reason of the redoubling of envenomed hatred which the leaders of the coalition felt for the French army. What had been pure impulse was taken to be the result of a plot, and it was not known that the only conspiracy which took place before the 20th of March had a wholly different aim than the re-establishment of the emperor. The foreigners had now but one idea, and that was to do away with Napoleon and the French army and to inspire the French military spirit with a terror, which as they said would insure the repose of Europe.

While the prisons were filling up, while political trials were beginning on all sides, the constitutional government was being reorganised under bad auspices. The peerage was reconstituted by the nomination of ninety-four new peers and declared hereditary. The electoral colleges had been convoked on August 14th. The ordinance of convocation established new rules provisionally. The colleges of the arrondissement were to present

candidates and the colleges of the department were to name the deputies, half from among the candidates, half from their own free choosing. This was putting the election in the hands of the aristocracy. The age of eligibility was lowered to twenty-five years, that of the electorate to twenty-one, and the number of deputies increased from 253 to 402. All that concerned electoral conditions was to be submitted to revision by the legislative power. The elections were carried out everywhere under the influence of authorities dominated by the ultras and in the south at the point of the dagger. Massacre had begun again at Nîmes on the eve of the elections. It was found necessary to occupy four departments of the south with Austrian troops, at the moment when the Protestants were organising to resist the butchery and when civil war was on the point of succeeding assassination.

The elections gave the majority to the ultras. The royal government was placed between the fury of its partisans, whom it could not control, and the menacing demands of the allies who humiliated and oppressed it. Louis XVIII had hoped that after the overthrow of the "usurper" Europe would maintain the treaty of May 30th, 1814, which was already so hard for France. He was very much mistaken. The foreigners, making light of their declarations and their promises, dreamed only of a new dismemberment and of the ruin of France.¹

The ministry was at that moment very near its fall. Fouché was the first to be attacked. The ultras of the provinces had never accepted him, and those of the court, having no more need of him, abandoned him. Wellington's protection sustained him for some time; but he soon felt the impossibility of maintaining himself before the chambers. He resigned and accepted the insignificant post of minister of France at the court of the king of Saxony.²

The whole ministry soon followed him. Furious counter-revolutionary addresses came from a large number of electoral colleges and from general and municipal councils which heralded the storm which would burst at the opening of the chambers. The king gave way to the current which was setting in against the ministry, without difficulty; Talleyrand displeased him as much as Fouché, and, knowing him to be at variance with the emperor Alexander, he saw no reason for keeping him. Talleyrand, having offered his resignation and that of his colleagues more or less sincerely, the king took him at his word. This man, whose egoism had contributed to aggravate the ills of France, was to have nothing more to do with its affairs as long as the restoration lasted.*f*

RICHELIEU THE NEW MINISTER

Along with Talleyrand there retired from the ministry Louis, Pasquin, Jaucourt, and Gouvion-Saint-Cyr. The ministry required to be entirely remodelled; and the king, who had long foreseen the necessity of this step, and who was not sorry for an opportunity of breaking with his revolutionary mentors, immediately authorised Decazes, who had insinuated himself into his entire confidence, to offer the place of president of the council, corresponding to the English premier, to the duke de Richelieu.

[¹ We have already seen in the preceding chapter the results of the treaties of 1815.]

[² Having accepted the trifling and distant embassy to Dresden, Fouché hastened to depart, and left Paris under a disguise which he only changed when he reached the frontier, fearful of being seen in his native land, which he was fated never again to behold. — Guizot.*c*]

[1815 A.D.]

Armand, duke de Richelieu, grand-nephew by his sister of the cardinal of the same name, was grandson of the marshal de Richelieu, so celebrated in the reign of Louis XV as the Alcibiades of France. When called to the ministry, in 1815, he was forty-nine years of age. Consumed from his earliest years, like so many other great men, by an ardent thirst for glory, he had joined the Russian army in 1785, and shared in the dangers of the assault of Ismail under Suvaroff. When the French Revolution rent the nobles and the people of France asunder, he had hastened from the Crimea to join the army of the emigrant noblesse under the prince of Condé, and remained with it till the corps was finally dissolved in 1794. He had then returned to Russia. On the accession of Alexander, Richelieu was selected to carry into execution the philanthropic views which he had formed for the improvement of the southern provinces of his vast dominions.

The progress of the province intrusted to his care was unparalleled, its prosperity unbroken during his administration. To his sagacious foresight and prophetic wisdom Russia owes the seaport of Odessa, the great export town of its southern provinces, which opened to their boundless agricultural plains the commerce of the world. The French invasion of 1812 recalled him from his pacific labours to the defence of the country, and he shared the intimacy and counsels of Alexander during the eventful years which succeeded, till the taking of Paris in 1814. Alternately at Paris, at Vienna, or at Ghent, he had represented his sovereign, and served as a link between the court of Russia and the newly established throne of Louis XVIII.

His character qualified him in a peculiar manner for this delicate task, and now for the still more perilous duty to which he was called—that of standing, like the Jewish lawgiver, between the people and the plague. He was the model of the ancient French nobility, for he united in his person all their virtues, and he was free from their weaknesses. He was considered, alike in the army and in diplomatic circles at home and abroad, as the most pure and estimable character that had arisen during the storms of the Revolution. His fortunate distance from France during so long a period at once preserved him from its dangers, and caused him to be exempt from its delusions. His talents were not of the first order, but his moral qualities were of the purest kind.^g

Treaty of 1815

The first duty of the new minister was to negotiate the treaty with the enemy which was signed on November 20th, 1815. The conditions of the treaty, unfortunately agreed to beyond the necessity of the case, by the pliancy of Talleyrand, and the impatience of the court for the throne at any price, were, however, modified within limits which a statesman might, without being satisfied, submit to. Richelieu, in despair at not being able to obtain more advantageous conditions, still considered them too unfavourable, and obstinately refused to sign them. The king, who saw the chambers, then about to open, disposed to call him to account for his sterile intervention for the pacification of the country, and who saw on the other side Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the powers of the Rhine crushing his people under the devastations of 800,000 men, sent for the duke de Richelieu, one night, by Decazes, and, bedewing the hand of his prime minister with tears, implored him for the sacrifice which is dearest to a man of honour—that of his name. The duke de Richelieu went away, moved and vanquished by this conference with his unhappy master, and signed the treaty.

This treaty left France in possession of its frontiers of 1790, as we have seen, with the exception of some unimportant portions of territory enclosed within other states, and of Savoy, a conquest of the Revolution which had been respected by the treaty of 1814. It imposed an indemnity to Europe of 700,000,000 francs for the last war commenced by Napoleon, an armed occupation for five years of 150,000 men, the generalissimo of which was to be nominated by the allied powers, and the fortress to be delivered up to this garrison of security. This occupation might terminate in three years, if Europe considered France sufficiently pacified to offer it moral guarantees of tranquillity. The prisoners of war were to be given up, and the liquidation of the 700,000,000 indemnity was to be effected day by day. Besides this war indemnity, France recognised the principle of the indemnities to be assigned after its liquidation to each power for the ravages, the requisitions, or the confiscations that each of these states had sustained, during the last wars, by the occupation of the French armies. France was further burdened with the pay and the subsistence of the 150,000 men of the army of occupation, left by the allied powers upon its territory. The national penalty incurred by France for Napoleon's return from Elba was, in money, about 1,500,000,000 francs; in national strength, its fortresses; in bloodshed in the field, 60,000 men; and in honour, the disbanding of its army, and a foreign garrison to keep a close watch over an empire in chains. This is what the last aspiration of Bonaparte to the throne and to glory cost his country. Eleven hundred and forty thousand foreign soldiers were at that moment trampling under foot the soil of France.^d

EXECUTION OF MARSHAL NEY AND OTHERS

Among the distinguished victims of royalist fury were Marshal Brune, who was assassinated while on his way to Paris to swear allegiance, and Colonel Labédoyère, whose defection at Grenoble had admitted Napoleon to France from Elba, and who, refusing the opportunities proffered him for escape, was tried and condemned by judges who wept while they condemned him. His last words were, "Fire, my friends," to the soldiers who shot him. The next victim of high distinction was Ney, who had also gone over to Napoleon after joining Louis XVIII. Immediately after the capitulation of Paris he had made his escape with a false name and false passport, but returned and was arrested at the château of Bossonis, among the mountains of Cantal. Curiously enough, he was discovered by means of a Turkish sabre of peculiar form and exquisite workmanship, a present from Napoleon, which he had carelessly left on a table in the salon of the château. General Moncey refused to preside at the military trial, and was imprisoned for three months. Richelieu then accused Ney of treason before the chamber of Peers, in spite of the capitulation of Paris which promised amnesty for all who took part in the Hundred Days. Ney himself declared: "The article was so entirely protective that I relied on it; but for it, can anyone believe that I would not have died, sword in hand!" The peers disclaimed the capitulation concluded between foreign generals and a provisional government to which the king was a stranger. As a last resort, Ney's counsel pleaded that he was no longer a Frenchman, his birthplace having been detached from France by a recent treaty, but Ney checked him exclaiming: "I am a Frenchman and will die a Frenchman. I am accused in breach of the faith of treaties, and I imitate Moreau. I appeal from Europe to posterity."

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He was nevertheless condemned to die. When his death-warrant was read with its long preamble and his many titles, as duke of Elchingen and prince of the Moskova, he broke forth : "Come to the point ! say simply Michel Ney soon a little dust." Importunate appeals were made to the king, and even to the duke of Wellington, for a commutation of the capital penalty, but in vain.^a

He was not taken to the usual place for military executions (the plain of Grenelle) because a popular rising was feared. They took him from the Luxembourg, where he had been imprisoned, to the avenue de l'Observatoire. A platoon of veterans awaited him there, on the spot where his statue stands to-day. The marshal cried, "I protest before my country against the judgment which condemns me, I appeal to posterity and God. *Vive la France !*" Then, putting his hand on his breast, he called in as firm a voice as though commanding a charge, "Soldiers, straight to the heart."

The commanding officer, awestruck, horrified, had not courage to give the word. A courtier, a colonel on the staff, took his place. The marshal fell riddled with balls (December 7th, 1815). Ney's appeal to posterity has been heard. France has never pardoned the murder of this hero.^f

The death of Ney was one of the greatest faults that the Bourbons ever committed. His guilt was self-evident ; never did criminal more richly deserve the penalties of treason. Like Marlborough, he had not only betrayed his sovereign, but he had done so when in high command, and when, like him, he had recently before been prodigal of protestations of fidelity to the cause he undertook. His treachery had brought on his country unheard-of calamities—defeat in battle, conquest by Europe, the dethronement and captivity of its sovereign, occupation of its capital and provinces by 1,100,000 armed men, contributions to an unparalleled amount from its suffering people. Double treachery had marked his career ; he had first abandoned in adversity his fellow-soldier, benefactor, and emperor, to take service with his enemy, and, having done so, he next betrayed his trust to that enemy, and converted the power given him into the means of destroying his sovereign. If ever a man deserved death, according to the laws of all civilised countries—if ever there was one to whom continued life would have been an opprobrium—it was Ney. But all that will not justify the breach of a capitulation. He was in Paris at the time it was concluded—he remained in it on its faith—he fell directly under its word as well as its spirit. To say that it was a military convention, which could not tie up the hands of the king of France, who was no party to it, is a sophism alike contrary to the principles of law and the feelings of honour. If Louis XVIII was not a party to it, he became such by entering Paris, and resuming his throne, the very day after it was concluded, without firing a shot. The throne of the Bourbons would have been better inaugurated by a deed of generosity which would have spoken to the heart of man through every succeeding age, than by the sacrifice of the greatest, though also the most guilty, hero of the empire.^g

Two other generals, Mouton-Duvernet and Chartrand, who had aided Napoleon's re-entry to Italy, were executed, and Lavalette, who in Alison's ^g phrase "was in civil administration what Marshal Ney had been in military—the great criminal of the Hundred Days," and whose seizure of the post-office had been of greatest assistance to Napoleon, was also condemned, but escaped from prison in his wife's clothes and made his way out of the country with the aid of three Englishmen who underwent three months' imprisonment for their chivalry.^a

DEATH OF MURAT (1815 A.D.)

It is fitting to speak here of the catastrophe which terminated the days of another of the most illustrious companions of Bonaparte's exploits. King Joachim Murat had taken refuge in France, during the Hundred Days, and after the failure of his expedition against Austria. He had not advanced nearer than Provence, when the battle of Waterloo condemned him to a life of exile. After having been twenty times on the point of being arrested, he managed to embark for Corsica. The welcome he received in that island raised his confidence to too high a degree. He dared to entertain the idea of once more ascending the throne of Naples. He set out on this expedition with two hundred and fifty men and six ships. On his way to Naples he met with much disloyalty and received sinister warnings. His resolution wavered; he would have liked to disembark at Trieste and place himself under the protection of Austria, who had offered him hospitality, but contrary winds and also perhaps treacherous advice prevented him from doing this. On October 8th, 1815, he landed at Pizzo, in Calabria, with forty followers. He was the first to leap ashore, was recognised by some peasants, and at first was received with interest. He asked for a guide to conduct him to Monteleone, and a soldier offered his services; but the so-called guide was none other than the colonel of the armed police, who intended to deliver him up to the king. At a certain spot the colonel made a sign to a band of peasants, who fell on Murat and his companions. Murat, after some resistance, sacrificed himself in order to save his friends from the fury of the crowd. Soon a military commission condemned this marvellously intrepid captain to be shot, and he underwent the penalty in that same country where he had so long exercised royal authority.¹

LA CHAMBRE INTROUVABLE (1815-1816 A.D.)

The chambers, which had been convoked in August, met at Paris, October 16th, 1815. The chamber of deputies, which included an immense majority of royalists, decided on making no compact, and having no transactions with either Bonapartists or Revolutionists. Lainé was elected president. Louis XVIII, seeing it more royalist than he had imagined, christened it by a name it retained — *La Chambre Introuvable*.¹

It began by making exceptional or emergency laws. It forbade seditious cries; suspended, in certain cases, individual liberty. It instituted, on the 5th of December, courts of provosts, composed of a military provost assisted by five civil judges, who went wherever troubles arose, to judge the authors of them summarily. Liberal writers, in protesting against these severities, are wrong in trying to make the chamber of 1815 responsible for the sad conditions which it had not caused. It had, moreover, merits with which it should be credited, combining a fierce independence with pitiless honesty. It abolished divorce, which was struck out of the civil code. It opposed excess of centralisation and all that was contrary to true liberty.

[¹ The chambers opened on October 7th. Louis XVIII, on learning that the elections had been entirely "royalist," had at first appeared very well content thereat, and had let fall a remark which became celebrated: "We have found a *chambre introuvable*." He very soon had cause to regret having "found" it, and the name has had a very different meaning in history than the one he gave it. — MARTIN.] The play on words is hard to transfer to English. In effect Louis XVIII said: "We have found (*trouvé*) the thing unfindable (*introuvable*)," that is, a completely royalist chamber in Revolutionary France.]

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The chamber of 1815 did not limit itself to reclaiming for the clergy necessary guarantees and influence. It showed an intemperance in religious zeal that alarmed many. Not content with taking the part, to a legitimate extent, of the men set aside by the Revolution, it appeared animated by a desire of assuring domination to one class to the prejudice of all others. It did not haggle, however, concerning the increased taxes that the cost of the war and the treaty had rendered inevitable, and it created a sinking fund that would some day render these taxes unnecessary. It recognised all public debts without regard to their origin, in spite of opposition from an obstinate faction. The session ended April 25th, 1816, the ministry feeling itself incompetent to act with a chamber it could not control. In this chamber was a group of not inconsiderable men, strangers at first to one another, but tending to unite in forming a constitutional party. The principal were Pasquier, Serre, Barante, Beugnot, Siméon, Saint-Aulaire, Royer-Collard, and Camille Jordan. Although reduced to lie low and adapt themselves to circumstances, reckoning on the passions of those among whom they were thrown, they sought nevertheless to establish the doctrines of parliamentary government conforming to the charter — efforts which gained them the title of *doctrinaires*.ⁱ

THE DIVISION OF PARTIES

From this moment were formulated the two opposing doctrines which will reappear in the time of Louis Philippe under the name of "constitutional monarchy" and "parliamentary government." The "constitutional" doctrine recognises in the king the right to choose his ministers according to his pleasure, even against the will of the chamber, provided that they do not govern contrary to the constitution; it leaves him master of the executive power, the only real force, and by consequence master of the country; the chambers have no other hold over him than the illusory right to bring the ministers to trial for violation of the constitution. The "parliamentary" doctrine declares the king obliged to take his ministers from the majority; it places the executive power under the domination of the parliament, who may compel its withdrawal by a vote of want of confidence; it indirectly transfers the sovereignty to the chamber. In 1816 the ultra-royalists were supporting the doctrine of the rights of the parliament against the king, and the liberals were defending the king's prerogatives against the royalists.

On the electoral question the ultras demanded election by two stages, in the canton and the department, and for the electors of the canton the lowering of the qualification to fifty francs; that is to say the extension of the suffrage to nearly two millions of electors; they demanded a numerous chamber and the complete renewal of the chamber at the end of five years. The king and the liberal minority wished to preserve direct election by a very restricted electoral body (less than 100,000 electors), while exacting a qualification of three hundred francs in taxes; they demanded partial renewal and a reduction of the number of deputies. The electoral law proposed by the ultras was voted by the chamber and rejected by the chamber of peers (March–April, 1816). The ultras also wished to diminish the power of the prefects and to give the local administration to the land-owners. The liberals defended the centralisation created by the empire.

Thus the rôles seemed reversed; it was the party of the old régime which wished to weaken the king to the profit of the parliament, to enlarge the electoral body and to increase local self-government; it was the liberal party which was supporting the king's supremacy, the power of the prefects,

and the limitation of the suffrage. The fact was the parties regarded the political mechanism solely as an instrument for securing power for themselves and were less anxious about the form of government than the direction given to politics: the ultras wished to restore the power to the rural nobility, who, through the fifty-franc electors, would have been masters of the

chamber, in order to re-establish an aristocratic régime; the liberals were anxious to preserve the supremacy to the king, the prefects, and the three-hundred-franc electors, because they were known to be favourable to the maintenance of the social order to which the Revolution had given birth.

Louis XVIII, supported by the foreign governments, retained his ministers and resisted the chamber; he began by closing the session (April, 1816) and, without again convoking it, dissolved it in September. For the future chamber the ordinance of dissolution re-established the number of 258 deputies as in 1814. The king, by a simple ordinance, changed the composition of the chamber; it was a *coup d'état*, analogous to that of 1830. To make sure of the chamber of peers he created new peers, ex-generals and officials of the empire. During this struggle between the king and the chamber, the party of the tricolour flag, reduced to nine deputies, had taken no direct action. The plots



LOUIS XVIII
(1755-1824)

to overturn the monarchy (Didier's at Grenoble, the "patriots'" at Paris) were merely isolated attempts unknown to the party or disavowed by it.^c

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF SEPTEMBER 5th, 1816

The king had finally made up his mind. The secret was well guarded. A royal ordinance published September 5th, 1816, surprised the ultras like a thunderbolt. It declared that none of the articles of the charter under discussion should be revised and that the chamber was dissolved. To the cries of fury that rose from the aristocratic faubourg Saint-Germain, responded an explosion of public joy that recalled the 9th Thermidor; people kissed each other in the streets. In the ensuing elections a majority of the upper middle class and of the officials replaced the majority of *grands seigneurs* of the old régime and the provincial nobles who had dominated the *chambre introuvable*. The attempt at restoring the old régime had miscarried; what followed was a first attempt at a bourgeois monarchy by an understanding between the bourgeoisie and the legitimatists.^f

It is worthy of observation how early the French nation, after they had attained the blessing, had shown themselves unfitted, either from character

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or circumstances, for the enjoyment of constitutional government. After the overthrow of Napoleon, scarcely a year had passed which was not marked by some *coup d'état*, or violent infringement, by the sovereign, of the constitution. The restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 was immediately attended by the creation of sixty peers on the royalist side, and the expulsion of as many from the democratic; this was followed, within four years, by the creation of as many on the liberal. The whole history of England prior to 1832 could only present one instance of a similar creation, and that was of twelve peers only, in 1713, to carry through the infamous project of impeaching the duke of Marlborough. It was threatened to be repeated, indeed, during the heat of the reform contest; but the wise advice of the duke of Wellington prevented such an irretrievable wound being inflicted on the constitution. The French chamber of deputies was first entirely remodelled, and 133 new members added to its numbers, by a simple royal ordinance in 1815; and again changed — the added members being taken away, and the suffrage established on a uniform and highly democratic basis — by another royal ordinance, issued, by the sole authority of the king, the following year. Changes, on alternately the one side or the other, greater than were accomplished in England by the whole legislature in two centuries, were carried into execution in France in the very outset of its constitutional career, by the sole authority of the king, in two years.

What is still more remarkable, and at first sight seems almost unaccountable, every one of those violent stretches of regal power was done in the interest, and to gratify the passions, of the majority at the moment. The royalist creation of peers in 1815, the democratic addition of sixty to their numbers in 1819, the addition of 133 members to the chamber of deputies in the first of these years, their withdrawal, and the change of the electoral law by the *coup d'état* of September 5th, 1816, were all done to conciliate the feelings, and in obedience to the fierce demand, of the majority. That these repeated infringements of the constitution in so short a time, and in obedience to whatever was the prevailing cry of the moment, would prove utterly fatal to the stability of the new institutions, and subversive of the growth of anything like real freedom in the land, was indeed certain, and has been abundantly proved by the event.

But the remarkable thing is that, such as they were, and fraught with these consequences, they were all loudly demanded by the majority; and the power of the crown was exerted only to pacify the demands which in truth it had not the means of resisting.^g

The royal ordinance of September 5th dissolving the *chambre introuvable* also announced that another chamber, less numerous, composed of only 250 deputies, would be immediately elected by the electoral corporations. A provisional electoral law, the work of Lainé, who had replaced Vaublanc as minister of the interior, fixed the bounds of the departments, of which the numbers were diminished. Deputies were required to be at least forty years of age, and their taxes must amount to 1,000 francs. The measure was a bold one. It caused great excitement among the ultras, and was the subject of violent recriminations, above all from Châteaubriand,^m who had constituted himself the mouthpiece of the Bourbons in his work "*La Monarchie selon la Charte*," but who mingled with very exalted ideas concerning constitutional government equally absurd ones born of an ill-regulated imagination. However, his exaggerations often missed their aim. The royalist party remonstrated and submitted.

THE NEW CHAMBER (1816-1818)

The new chamber opened its session on the 4th of November, 1816. Many members of the preceding one were there, but the general feeling was no longer the same. The doctrinaires, on whom Decazes relied, returned stronger and better grouped.

The first law to be made was an electoral one. Lainé presented a project which would abolish the two degrees of election; establish direct election by all tax-payers paying three hundred francs taxes, and substitute for a general election renewal by one-fifth. The charter declared, without directly specifying anything, that all tax-payers paying three hundred francs might be electors. The object of the law was to create an important electoral body to the number of about 100,000 members possessing guarantee of fortune, conservative interest and intelligence generally, of what was called the middle class, in contradistinction to the aristocracy. By this partial renewal they hoped, by keeping the chamber *au courant* with the changes of public opinion, to avoid those brusque changes which might agitate the country and transform legislative spirit too suddenly.

After a discussion, the details of which furnish curious reading to-day, showing how very different ideas on this subject were in those days, the law was passed in both chambers, but by a very feeble majority (January 30th, 1817).

The financial scheme of Corvetto was voted. Opponents were quieted by the grant of 4,000,000 francs to the clergy as compensation for the forest land which it was wished to give as pledge for a loan. The budget, compiled with great care and resting on a large sinking fund, assured the financial future of the country. Credit, until that time paralysed, again revived. The dividends rose from fifty-four to sixty francs, and a loan, the most considerable ever raised, was obtained to hasten the liberation of state lands. The foreign houses of Baring and Hope undertook it, at the rate of fifty-five francs. No banks in France were at that time sufficiently powerful to do this alone.

Order and calm seemed to be re-established. But the inclemency of the weather and a very bad harvest caused profound misery. There were disturbances in several market towns, but no serious trouble occurred except at Lyons, where three assassinations took place on the same day, June 8th, and these, coinciding with risings in several neighbouring villages, were taken as a signal for revolt. The authorities, however, who were quite ready, had foreseen the disorders and took vigorous measures. The national guard was disarmed. The court of provosts pronounced many condemnations. The elections of 1817 brought to the chamber a group of liberals, such as Laffitte, Voyer d'Argenson, Dupont de l'Eure, and Casimir Périer. They were dubbed "the independents." The important question of this session was the re-organisation of the army. Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, having replaced the duke de Feltre as minister of war (because the latter was lacking in initiative) made an excellent law which became the base of the French military system. This law consisted of three parts: (1) forced recruitment; (2) a reserve made up of former sub-officers; (3) fixed rules for promotion. Gouvion-Saint-Cyr defended his law with vigour and obtained a complete success. The chambers joined with him in the homage he rendered the French troops—homage which the marshals supported with their authority and Châteaubriand with his eloquence. It was really a reconciliation of the Restoration and the army. It was also a decisive step towards

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removing foreign troops which were no longer necessary to defend France against herself.

The chambers approved, moreover, the figure at which foreign credit had been regulated by diplomacy. Richelieu had long had a fixed idea — that of obtaining the evacuation before the five years which had been stipulated for in the treaty of 1815. Thanks to his activity, the sovereigns, united in conference at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), signed, on the 9th of October, a declaration announcing the departure of their troops for the 30th of November. A loan of 141,000,000 francs, issued at sixty-seven per cent. and raised by public subscription, allowed the indemnities to be paid.

Richelieu now considered his task ended, and thought only of retiring. When the elections of November, 1818, returned La Fayette, Manuel, and other liberals of the Hundred Days, he was alarmed at the results of the electoral law, and resolved to change it. But after vain efforts to find colleagues and draw up a common programme, he retired on the 2nd of December. He was succeeded by Decazes who composed a ministry of constitutionalists. A remarkable journalistic war ensued.ⁱ

THE MINISTRY OF DECAZES

Decazes, so hostile to the ultras, was not a liberal. He was the man of that system of balance (*bascule*) or the “see-saw,” as it has been called, which consists in keeping the balance between parties and in giving the government the greatest possible authority but using it with caution.^f

Decazes saw himself more involved with the liberals than he wished to be, and these became exacting. The royalists, even such moderates as Lainé and Roy, gave him little sympathy. They were alarmed at seeing successive elections introduce into parliament men who, while professing attachment to the Bourbons, put certain absolute principles above fidelity to their king.

The chamber of peers pronounced in favour of the re-establishment of the electoral law of two degrees. Decazes, still using his ministerial prerogative, on the 6th of March formed a batch of sixty-one new peers, of whom half were chosen from among the peers unseated in 1815, or from the marshals, generals, and ministers of the empire. Thus he re-opened the doors of government to the most noted men who had been excluded, and so tried to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. The ministry passed several laws that were liberal enough, among others three laws regarding the press, which are still the basis of actual French laws, although experience has since shed light on many points. The Restoration arrived at the happy result of doing away with exceptional laws — a result which no government had before obtained. While giving proof of liberalism the ministry, nevertheless, on certain points made a firm stand against revolutionary exactions, stoutly rejecting an organised petition for the recall of regicides and exiles.

Thus in spite of apparent agitations — the necessary consequence of a free government — in spite of frequent struggles between the tribune and the press, in spite of a certain re-awakening of parties and a spirit of fermentation reigning in the schools, France had a renaissance to prosperity. One could look forward with more confidence to the future. The budget was sound. With the abandonment of exceptional laws revolutionary traces began to disappear. The new laws seemed to echo public wishes; minds gradually became habituated to a free government. The certitude of order, the freeing of lands, the re-opening of foreign markets, all tended to prosperity. Work abounded. Agriculture and industry took a new flight, putting to

full use scientific discoveries and particularly that of steam. The movement which was taking place was analogous to that of the first days of the consulate. Decazes reinstated on a wider basis councils to discuss agriculture, manufactures, and commerce generally. He opened an industrial exhibition, and at the same time an exhibition of painting. Strangers flocked to Paris, especially the English.

The elections of 1819 were, like the preceding ones, favourable to the liberals. The return of the regicide abbé Grégoire for Grenoble by a manoeuvre hostile to the ministry caused a scandal. The deputies, however, took advantage of the irregularity of the election to refuse admission to the candidate.

ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE DE BERRI AND ITS RESULTS (1820 A.D.)

Matters stood thus, when, on the 13th of February, 1820, the duke de Berri [the second in succession to the crown] was assassinated by a fanatic named Louvel as he was coming from the opera. This frightful crime stupefied people generally, and produced an outburst of royalist fury.ⁱ

In the midst of the general confusion, those even who must have been the most deeply affected by it, sought to find the triumph of their party in this outrage. From early the following morning, Decazes, the principal author of the unpopular decree of September 5th, was spoken of in most severe terms. He was blamed, as minister of the interior, and therefore responsible for the safety of the state, for not having kept watch over the dangers which surrounded the prince. One of the daily newspapers, *Le Drapeau blanc*, hurled the most abominable accusations against the minister. The assassination of the prince was represented as the result of a vast conspiracy covering the whole of Europe, which was in favour of a policy beneficial to the enemies of royalty. They pretended that his royal highness, the duke de Berri, had fallen a victim to the aversion he had always shown to a policy which insured neither the honour nor the safety of his family. On the benches of the Left, the sorrow was great; a presentiment of the fatal consequence to liberty was added to the horror of the crime.

M. Clausel de Coussergues ascended the tribune and in a loud voice uttered these words: "Gentlemen, there is no law referring to the mode of accusing ministers, but the nature of such an act warrants its taking place in a public meeting and before the representatives of France; I propose therefore before the chamber, the impeachment of M. Decazes, minister of the interior, as accomplice in the assassination of his royal highness, the duke de Berri, and I claim permission to explain my proposition." A cry of indignation broke out from every part of the house. De Labourdonnaie ascended the tribune and in his turn said that he could only see the instrument of an infamous party in the obscure assassin, who without personal hatred, without ambition, had struck down the descendant of kings—him whose duty it was to continue the race; this deed being committed with the intention, openly admitted, of preventing its perpetuation. He asked for strong measures to destroy in its infancy such execrable fanaticism, and once more to stifle the revolutionary spirit which an iron hand had suppressed for so long; the unscrupulous writers whose unpunished doctrines had provoked the most odious crimes should be especially severely dealt with.

In the meanwhile the chiefs of the liberal party came to hear of the sombre agitation which reigned at court. They felt torn between the hor-

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ror of the exceptional laws and the fear of seeing the fall of a minister, victim of his devotion to the charter. The duke de Richelieu obstinately refused the court's appeal to re-enter the ministry. He was more hurt than anyone at the charges made against a young minister of whose goodness of heart he was thoroughly convinced.

This heart-breaking state of affairs seemed likely to prolong itself. Decazes insisted upon retiring; the king conferred a dukedom upon him, and made him ambassador to London. The duke de Richelieu's resistance was overcome; and he was again nominated president of the council, but would not accept any particular department.^h

From this moment the liberal party loses the direction of affairs. Power is going to pass into the hands of royalists, and France, attacked almost continuously by a series of anti-national measures, destroying its liberty, will not emerge from the retrograde path into which a rash hand has thrust her except in overturning the throne upon the torn charter.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

The largest part of Europe was at that time in a state of violent effervescence and the celebrated prediction, "The French Revolution will make the round of the world," was being fulfilled.ⁱ

A revolution at the same time burst out in Spain. Ferdinand, the basest of poltroons and cruelest of tyrants, had refused the reforms he had sworn to introduce. The constitution of 1812 (an imitation of the French constitution of 1791) was proclaimed. The example was followed by Naples, which had a similar king to complain of. The states of the church threw off the hated yoke of the cross-keys and the three-crowned hat, and Benevento and Pontecorvo declared themselves republics. Piedmont was not left behind in its fight for freedom (1820). A cry was heard even at the extreme east of Europe for a new life and a resuscitation of ancient glories. It came from Greece, which for centuries had been trampled down by the brutal and utterly irreclaimable Turks; and, in fact, an outcry for change and improvement arose from all the nations which had aided or even wished the fall of Napoleon. The countrymen of Miltiades were favourably regarded, or at least not forcibly repressed, by the classical potentates — who, besides, were not displeased at the commencement of the dismemberment of Turkey; but the Neapolitans, Romans, and Piedmontese had no dead and innocuous Demosthenes to plead their cause, and the armies of Austria were employed in extinguishing the hopes of freedom from Turin to Naples.^k

In France individual liberty was suspended, the censorship re-established, and the "double vote" instituted in order to make political influence pass into the hands of the large land-owners who voted twice, with the department and the arrondissement. The birth of the duke de Bordeaux, posthumous son of the duke de Berri (Sept. 29th, 1820), and the death of Napoleon (May 5th, 1821), augmented the hopes of the ultra-royalists, which brought Villèle and Corbière into the ministry.^l

THE CONGREGATION AND THE JESUITS

At the same time an occult power was taking hold of the court, of the chambers, and of all branches of public administration.

For ten years men of sincere piety like Montmorency and the abbé Legris-Duval had formed an influential society in France, whose primary

object had been to perform good works and acts prescribed by a fervent devotion. The Restoration opened the political field for their society, which, imbued with the ultramontane and other royalist principles under the patronage of Polignac and Rivière, became the most redoubtable obstacle to the ministries of Decazes and Richelieu. Generally designated by the name of "Congregation," it allied itself with the Jesuits. The latter, not being allowed to live in France in the capacity of members of their order, again established their power in the state under the name of "Fathers of the Faith."

From the moment when they began to direct the Congregation, intrigue exercised a sovereign influence over it and a crowd of ambitious men made their way into it. Montrouge, whither the Jesuits had transferred the place of residence for their novices, became the centre for all the schemes of the court and church against the charter and French institutions. The Jesuits had powerful supporters even in the royal family; and Louis XVIII, constantly assailed by petitions in their favour, consented to tolerate them, although without recognising their existence as legal. The Jesuits founded schools called *petits séminaires*, in which children of the most distinguished families of the realm were placed; they dominated the court, the church, the majority in the chamber. Missionaries, affiliated with the Congregation and imbued with its doctrines, traversed the kingdom. Almost everywhere they were the occasion or the involuntary cause of strange disorders.

The French unfortunately blamed religion for the scandals of those who outraged while they invoked her; they were seized with indignation against her on account of the shameful yoke which had roused their anger, and it was necessary to have recourse to force to protect the missionaries against the infuriated populace. At Paris, at Brest, at Rouen, in all the great towns, they preached under the protection of swords and bayonets, and men beheld the spectacle of priests calling down the chastisements of human justice on those whom they had been unable to convince by the authority of their words.^j

THE CARBONARI

Parallel to the Congregation grew another secret society absolutely different. This was that of the Carbonari,¹ or "Charbonnerie," which, stamped out in Italy, took root in France and established there its methods of organisation and conspiracy. La Fayette and his friends joined it, and Carbonarism spread rapidly, its members uniting with another secret association in the west under the title of "Knights of Liberty." La Fayette thought that if an insurrection succeeded, a constituent assembly would choose between a republic and a constitutional monarchy. It was scarcely practicable to think of a revolution while the country was so unsettled.

The Carbonari made preparations for a double military and popular rising in Alsace and the west. The second of these plots, which was to break out at Saumur, was discovered by accident and many pupils in the military college of this town were arrested. The Carbonari hoped for better success in Alsace. La Fayette went secretly to direct the movement personally. The Belfort garrison was to rise on the night of the 1st of January,

[¹ The word *carbonari* means in Italian "charcoal-makers," and the name rose from the prevalence of charcoal-making in the mountainous regions of Italy where the malcontents gathered and organised into secret societies, using terms from the charcoal trade as well as from Christian ritual for their passwords. As Lamartine^d said: "Carbonarism, the origin of which is lost in the night of the Middle Ages, like freemasonry, of which it was by turns the ally and the enemy, was a sort of Italian Jacobinism."]

[1822 A.D.]

1822. There, again, a misunderstanding divulged the plot to the military authorities some hours earlier. The officers and non-commissioned officers who were compromised escaped, and La Fayette, who was not far off, was warned in time.

The oppressive laws voted by the Right were the cause of fresh plots among the Carbonari. The movement which had failed at Saumur was tried again. A retired general, Berton, raised the tricolour flag at Thouars and marched to Saumur at the head of a little body of insurgents. The inhabitants of the places through which he passed showed indecision. He reckoned on the national guard at Saumur and on the pupils of the military school, but these, when they saw so small a force, did not stir. Berton's companions dispersed; he himself hid in the country, hoping for better success another time (February 24th). For the third time the Saumur plot was set going, but this time its execution did not even arrive at a beginning. General Berton, betrayed by a non-commissioned officer who had really only joined the Carbonari to betray them, was arrested in the country with two of his friends (June 17th).

A retired officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Caron, tried to revive the movement in Alsace. There the authorities carried out their former action on a larger scale. They introduced Canuel's method at Lyons. Caron was allowed perfect freedom of action. On the 2nd of July a squadron of mounted lancers came from Colmar and put themselves under Caron's orders; a second squadron soon rejoined the first. They made for Mülhausen, crying "*Vive Napoleon III! À bas les Bourbons!*" Suddenly, towards dusk, when at some distance from Mülhausen, officers in disguise who led the pretended insurrection, gave the signal: Caron was seized, and, the next day, taken back to Colmar gagged, to cries of "*Vive le roi!*"

Berton and his accomplices were brought before the court at Poitiers. The procureur-général, Mangin, in the writ of accusation, denounced La Fayette and the principal leaders of the Left, including many who were quite strangers to Carbonarism, as General Foy, Benjamin Constant, and Laffitte the banker. These latter were indignant and demanded an investigation. La Fayette himself showed no indignation but only proud contempt, though he supported the demand for an investigation. This was not granted.

The procureur-général answered the demand of the deputies with insult, and in the trial of the case at Poitiers shamefully outraged the accused. The prosecution employed the language of 1815. The Poitiers jury, composed wholly of ultras and émigrés, condemned Berton and the greater number of those accused with him. Berton and two others were executed. A fourth committed suicide (October 5th).

Lieutenant-Colonel Caron had been executed a few days before at Colmar. The details of his case had raised a storm of reprobation; the army was dishonoured; whole squadrons had been made to play the part of government spies in the midst of the people of Alsace.

Another affair which had excited exceptional interest had ended the month before. This was the case of the "four sergeants of Rochelle"—Bories, Goubin, Pommier, and Raoul. These four young men, enrolled amongst the Carbonari, had been arrested for a plot in which they had joined with certain men not in the army, and brought before the tribunal in Paris. Their age, their bearing, and generous sentiments had touched public opinion. There had been no beginning of carrying the plot into effect on their part, but they were, all the same, condemned to death. "France

will judge us!" said Bories, the one of them most remarkable by his intelligence and character.

La Fayette and his friends did their utmost, but in vain, to insure the escape of these four condemned men. They were executed the 21st of September. A great display of military force rendered useless every attempt on the part of the Carbonari to save them. They died crying, "*Vive la liberté!*" That same evening a grand birthday fête was given at the Tuileries for the duke de Berri's daughter. The contrast produced a sinister effect. The memory of the four Rochelle sergeants has remained popular from among all those of the political victims of this time. Every year, on *le jour des morts* [All Souls' Day], the Parisians cover with flowers and wreaths the tomb erected to them in the cemetery of Mont-Parnasse after the revolution of 1830.

Many other malcontents had been put to death and numbers of others had suffered severe penalties. This was the end of the bloody executions of the Restoration. Carbonarism was discouraged and in fact dissolved. The struggle against the Restoration took other forms:^f

THE MINISTRY OF VILLÈLE AND THE SPANISH CRUSADE (1821-1823 A.D.)

At the opening of the session of 1821 the Congregation redoubled its efforts against Richelieu's ministry. The liberals felt obliged to unite with the ultra-royalists to overturn the cabinet, in the dangerous hope that the majority, if it came to the head of affairs, would perish as in 1815 through its own excesses. The address in the chamber, composed by that majority, was hostile and insulting to the monarch. Richelieu having demanded new restrictions of the press, the royalists, whose most immediate interest was to vanquish him, pretended a great horror of the censorship, an ardent zeal for the liberty he was attacking. The position of the ministry was no longer tenable, and it retired on December 15th, 1821, after twenty-three months of existence.

Madame du Cayla, a woman whose patronage favoured the associate of the Congregation, and who kept Louis XVIII under the charms of her fascination up to the end of his days, was not a stranger to the foundation of the new cabinet, the most influential members of which were Peyronnet, keeper of the seals; Villèle, minister of finance; Corbière, minister of the interior. The viscount Mathieu de Montmorency had received the portfolio of foreign affairs, and the duke de Bellune [formerly the Napoleonic marshal Victor], that of war. Villèle already exercised a great influence in the council and soon became its chief. His fortune had been rapid; endowed with a great talent for intrigue and with a remarkable capacity for affairs, he had neither the lofty views of a statesman nor force of character sufficient to escape the influence of a faction whose fatal blindness he deplored. In a word, he thought he could fight against the sympathies and the political and moral demands of a great people, by means of ruse and corruption. The Congregation understood that it could dominate in spite of him, while the nomination of the pious viscount de Montmorency assured its triumph. Its allies immediately took possession of the offices and seized the prominent posts of every ministry.

From that moment the chamber of deputies and the government marched hand in hand towards a counter-revolution. The Jesuits first attacked their most serious enemy, the university, by causing the courses given by Cousin and Guizot to be suppressed (1822). To intimidate the press a law was

[1822-1823 A.D.]

made which made it possible to bring suit not for one particular offence, but for the general tendency of opinion of a journal. Royer-Collard, who was not a revolter, described the situation in a word: "The government is in a sense the inverse of society."^j

The victors of 1814 and 1815, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had formed the "Holy Alliance" for the purpose of smothering, to their common advantage, the ideas of liberty which the Revolution had thrown into the world, and which were fermenting everywhere. They were violently suppressed in Germany, Naples, and Piedmont, and the French government, which had just prevented their return by laws and punishments, received from the congress of Verona (1822) a strange task.¹

To try the firmness of Louis XVIII in support of the monarchic cause, the sovereigns assembled at Verona committed to France the task of putting down the Spanish liberals who still maintained their constitution of 1812, and reinstating Ferdinand on his absolute throne.¹

A hundred thousand men crossed the Pyrenees (1823) under the command of the duke d'Angoulême,² and were joined by the remains of a Catholic army called the "army of the faith," which the priests and other absolutists had raised in defence of the irresponsible crown.

These allies brought more dishonour and dislike on the invading forces, by their cruelty and insubordination, than were compensated for by their numbers or moral weight in the country. The cortes carried Ferdinand in honourable durance with them to Seville.

Angoulême entered Madrid, and, after heroic resistance on the part of Mina, Quiroga, and Ballasteros, succeeded in the object of his mission [as has been already described at length in the history of Spain]. The constitutional regency was dissolved, and a loose given to the feuds and passions of the triumphant army of the faith. But Angoulême was a French gentleman, and not a Spanish butcher. He bridled the lawlessness of both mob and army, and placed the late rebels, and all who were suspected of disaffection, under the protection of French tribunals and impartial law. Impartiality in the eyes of the Spanish enthusiasts was worse than hostility; and a royalist insurrection was with difficulty prevented against the protectors of royalty, since they would not condescend to be also the oppressors of the people.

At length the struggle came to an end. The king was liberated, freedom withdrawn, and a frantic mob received their monarch when he returned to his capital with cries of "Long live the absolute king! Death to the liberals! Perish the nation!" By an unfortunate coincidence, though perhaps designed by his admirers, the duke d'Angoulême made his entry into Paris on the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz (December 2nd, 1823). The arch of triumph, which forms so splendid a termination to the view from the Tuileries, had been left uncompleted on the downfall of Napoleon; but wooden scaffoldings were raised on the unfinished walls, painted carpets were suspended from the top, and the arch itself garlanded with laurels. The ridicule, however, was not of the duke's seeking, and even Béranger spared him for the sake of his moderation and love of justice.

[¹ Such a policy was repugnant to the liberal party in France, and throughout Europe; but military glory has ever rallied the French people round their rulers whether royal or republican. For a time the monarchy was strengthened by this success; but the pretensions of the royalists were dangerously encouraged. France had accepted the repressive policy of the Holy Alliance; and her rulers were to become yet more defiant of the principles of the Revolution. — *ERSKINE MAY*.^b]

[² The duke d'Angoulême was the son of the heir to the throne, the count d'Artois.]

The monarchy appeared strengthened for a while by the Spanish crusade,¹ and the minister, Villèle, thought he might venture on the introduction of various measures.²

THE MINISTRY OF VILLÈLE

Villèle carried out the traditional administration of his predecessors. As to politics, he wanted to steer clear of emergency laws and expedients. He proposed a press law — no longer preventive, but repressive, and more severe than that of 1819 — transferring from the jury to the magistracy the judgment of the greater number of law-suits and multiplying penalties of suspension and suppression of the newspapers.

Count Molé, who had acquired in his high offices a profound knowledge of the administration, of government and men generally, said to the peers : “ Those institutions which would have prevented the Revolution of 1789 are now the only methods of ending it.” Without a press and publicity all sorts of abuses would be possible. Other peers supported these ideas. The chamber, in voting for the project, introduced important amendments. Although the government could thenceforth count on success, Villèle continued to exercise power without too much demonstration. He had a great end in view, a vast financial operation, destined to end the debate on the national lands. He flattered himself that he would thus forever destroy one of the most irritating causes of the struggles and recriminations of opposite parties, and proudly believed himself destined to put an end to revolution. But he was not yet sure of support from the chamber of deputies, mutilated by the resignation of the Left, and influential members of the Right kept a most independent attitude. He obtained a decree of dissolution from the king on December 24th, and made every possible effort to get deputies favourable to himself elected in the following January.

Assured henceforth of a loyal majority, Villèle resolved to keep it, and govern for several years without fresh elections. With this object he formulated a law which made the government septennial — the only way, he urged, to give it a spirit of continuity and cut short the uncertainty of majorities which annual elections constantly raised. He met with much opposition, some urging very reasonably the inconvenience of general elections which disturbed the whole country and threatened it with changes otherwise perfect. Royer-Collard, however, went a little too far when he declared that representative government ought to be an organised mobility. Opinions were very diverse, but as the deputies were as interested as the minister in passing the bill it was passed.

Villèle then advanced a project for the conversion of five per cent. stock to three per cent., offering fund-holders a diminution of income with an augmentation of capital. Government bonds were at par, a proof of public prosperity and definitively established confidence ; this was a necessary condition of the measure. His idea was to obtain a thousand million francs, which he intended to employ in indemnities to émigrés whose estates had been confiscated during the Revolution. The financial side of the project was skilfully planned ; but competent financiers opposed it, and orators on the Left, judging from another point of view, reproached him with destroy-

[¹ There had been some resistance to the vote of a hundred million francs for the war, and one deputy named Maniel had been dragged out of the chamber by the gendarmes for opposing intervention in the Spanish quarrel, in a speech which was taken to be of regicide spirit. The entire Left, including La Fayette, Foy, Casimir-Périer, and fifty-nine others, departed from the chamber and did not return.]

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ing under pretext of consolidating the work of the Revolution, and of making a retrograde act. Villèle adjourned his project, but did not renounce it.

The ministry lacked necessary homogeneity. The decided character of Corbière was cause of dispute. Châteaubriand, who affected independence, and rendered himself insupportable to everyone and particularly to the court by his desire to outshine and his immense self-esteem, was dismissed June 6th. To please the clergy, Villèle created a Ministry of Public Worship and Instruction, and gave the post to a prelate.

After the close of the session on August 4th, he re-established the censorship. He was obliged to buy over papers to defend his policy, and he overwhelmed those who attacked him with law-suits. Neither the ordinary law court nor the superior courts had condemned as frequently or as severely as he desired.

ALISON ON THE LAST DAYS OF LOUIS XVIII

During this year Louis XVIII lived, but did not reign. His mission was accomplished; his work was done. The reception of the duke d'Angoulême and his triumphant host at the Tuileries was the last real act of his eventful career; thenceforward the royal functions, nominally his own, were in reality performed by others. It must be confessed he could not have terminated his reign with a brighter ray of glory. The magnitude of the services he rendered to France can only be appreciated by recollecting in what state he found, and in what he left it. He found it divided, he left it united; he found it overrun by conquerors, he left it returning from conquest; he found it in slavery, he left it in freedom; he found it bankrupt, he left it in affluence; he found it drained of its heart's blood, he left it teeming with life; he found it overspread with mourning, he left it radiant with happiness. An old man had vanquished the Revolution; he had done that which Robespierre and Napoleon had left undone.

He had ruled France, and showed that it could be ruled without either foreign conquest or domestic blood. Foreign bayonets had placed him on the throne, but his own wisdom maintained him on it. Other sovereigns of France may have left more durable records of their reign, for they have written them in blood, and engraven them in characters of fire upon the minds of men; but none have left so really glorious a monument of their rule, for it was written in the hearts, and might be read in the eyes, of his subjects.

This arduous and memorable reign, however, so beset with difficulties, so crossed by obstacles, so opposed by faction, was now drawing to a close. His constitution, long oppressed by a complication of disorders, the result in part of the constitutional disorders of his family, was now worn out. Unable to carry on the affairs of state, sinking under the load of government, he silently relinquished the direction to De Villèle and the count d'Artois, who really conducted the administration of affairs. Madame du Cayla was the organ by whose influence they directed the royal mind. [Louis said to one of his ministers, "My brother is impatient to squander my realm. I hope he will remember that if he does not change, the soil will tremble beneath him." On his death-bed he warned his brother against the royalists, painted for him in words feeble and broken the difficulties of his reign, the means of escaping the reefs that a too great exaltation of royalist opinion could produce, and added, "Do as I have done and you will arrive at the same peaceful and tranquil end." — CAPEFIGUE.]

Though abundantly sensible of the necessity of the support of religion to the maintenance of his throne, and at once careful and respectful in its out-

ward observances, Louis was far from being a bigot, and in no way the slave of the Jesuits, who in his declining days had got possession of his palace. In secret, his opinions on religious subjects, though far from sceptical, were still farther from devout : he had never surmounted the influence of the philosophers who, when he began life, ruled general opinion in Paris. He listened to the suggestions of the priests, when they were presented to him from the charming lips of Madame du Cayla ; but he never permitted themselves any nearer approach to his person.

At length the last hour approached. The extremities of the king became cold, and symptoms of mortification began to appear ; but his mind continued as distinct, his courage as great as ever. He was careful to conceal his most dangerous symptoms from his attendants. "A king of France," said he, "may die, but he is never ill ;" and around his death-bed he received the foreign diplomatists and officers of the national guard, with whom he cheerfully conversed upon the affairs of the day. "Love each other," said the dying monarch to his family, "and console yourselves by that affection for the disasters of our house. Providence has replaced us upon the throne ; and I have succeeded in maintaining you on it by concessions which, without weakening the real strength of the crown, have secured for it the support of the people. The Charter is your best inheritance ; preserve it entire, my brothers, for me, for our subjects, for yourselves ;" then stretching out his hand to the duke de Bordeaux, who was brought to his bedside, he added, "and also for this dear child, to whom you should transmit the throne after my children are gone. May you be more wise than your parents."

Louis XVIII, who thus paid the debt of nature, after having sat for ten years on the throne of France, during the most difficult and stormy period in its whole annals, was undoubtedly a very remarkable man. Alone of all the sovereigns who have ruled its destinies since the Revolution, he succeeded in conducting the government without either serious foreign war or domestic overthrow. In this respect he was more fortunate, or rather more wise, than either Napoleon, Charles X, or Louis Philippe ; for the first kept his seat on the throne only by keeping the nation constantly in a state of hostility, and the last two lost their crowns mainly by having attempted to do without it. He was no common man who at such a time, and with such people, could succeed in effecting such a prodigy. Louis Philippe aimed at being the Napoleon of peace ; but Louis XVIII really was so, and succeeded so far that he died the king of France. The secret of his success was, that he entirely accommodated himself to the temper of the times. He was the man of the age — neither before it, like great, nor behind it, like little men. Thus he succeeded in steering the vessel of the state successfully through shoals which would have in all probability stranded a man of a greater or less capacity. The career of Napoleon illustrated the danger of the first, that of Charles X the peril of the last. *g*

LAMARTINE'S ESTIMATE OF LOUIS XVIII

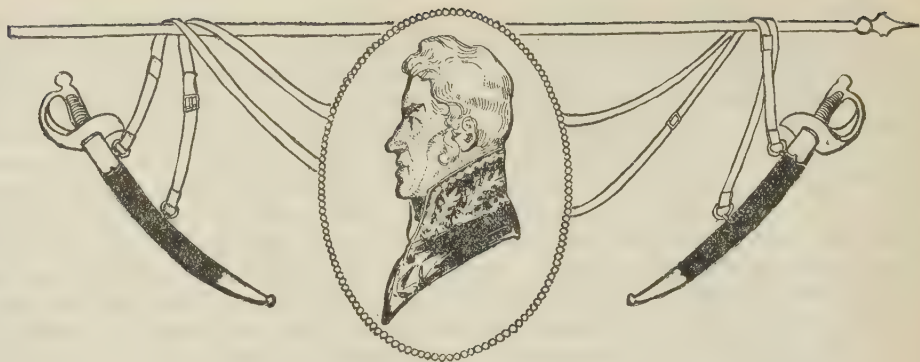
The natural cast of his mind, cultivated, reflective, but quick withal, stored with recollections, rich in anecdotes, ripe with philosophy, full of reading, ready at quotation, but by no means of a pedantic character, placed him at that period on a level with the most celebrated geniuses and literary men of his age. Châteaubriand had not more elegance, Talleyrand more fancy, or Madame de Staël more brilliancy.

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Since the suppers of Potsdam, the cabinet of a prince had never been the sanctuary of more philosophy, more literature, more wit, and more lively sallies. Louis XVIII would have served for a king of Athens equally as well as a king of Paris; for his nature was Grecian more than French, universal, elastic, artistic, delicate, graceful, feminine, sceptical, somewhat corrupted by the age, but if not capable of doing everything, capable at least of understanding and expressing everything with propriety. Such, without any flattery, was the mind of Louis XVIII. His intimacy with Madame du Cayla, which her wit and allurements made every day more necessary to his heart, was no longer a mystery to anyone. But Madame du Cayla was not merely the affectionate friend and comforter of the king; she was the confidential minister, and the secret negotiator of a triple, or quadruple intrigue. An emissary of the clerical party, like Madame de Maintenon, in the cabinet of the king, the pledge and the instrument of favour for the houses of La Rochefoucauld and Montmorency, the hidden link between the policy of the count d'Artois and the heart of his royal brother, and finally, the intermediate agent between Villèle, the clerical party, the count d'Artois, and the king himself; she was the multiplied connection between these four diversified influences, the accordances of which formed and maintained the harmony of the government. No woman ever had so many and such delicate strings of intrigue and policy to manage in the same hand.

Posterity, when it approaches too closely the memory of a deceased monarch, is influenced in its judgment of that memory by the prejudices, the partialities, and the party-feelings which prevailed during his life; and by those posthumous feelings the reign of Louis XVIII has been hitherto judged. Almost all men were equally interested in misrepresenting, depreciating, and lessening the merit of his life and person. The partisans of the empire had to avenge themselves upon him for the fall of their idol; and to eclipse disdainfully under the military glory of Napoleon, and the splendour of his reign, the civil and modest merits of policy, of peace, and of freedom. It was necessary to debase the king in order to elevate the hero; to sacrifice a memory to exalt a fanaticism; and they have accordingly continued to pour forth sarcasm instead of history.

No king ever bore with more dignity and constancy dethronement and exile, tests which are almost always fatal to men who are elevated only by their situation: no king ever waited with more patience, or more certainty, the restoration of his race: no king ever re-ascended the throne under circumstances of greater difficulty, confirmed himself upon it against greater obstacles, or left it to his family with a fairer prospect of maintaining it long after his death.^d



CHAPTER II

CHARLES X AND THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830

Charles X was neither a fanatic, a slave, nor a persecutor, but he was a believer. His zeal, unknown to himself, influenced his policy; and he thought he owed a portion of his reign to his religion. The people were misled by this; it was supposed that he wished to restore France to the church; and the first of the liberties conquered by the Revolution, the freedom of the human mind, felt itself threatened. Hence arose the disquietude, the disaffection, the brevity, and the catastrophe of this reign. He was destined to fall a victim to his faith. This was not the fault of his conscience, but of his reason. In him the Christian was destined to ruin the king.—LAMARTINE.^b

NEVER did a monarch ascend a throne with fairer prospects and greater advantages than the count d'Artois, who took the name, Charles X; never was one precipitated from it under circumstances of greater disaster. Everything at first seemed to smile on the new sovereign, and to prognosticate a reign of concord, peace, and happiness. The great contests which had distracted the government of his predecessor seemed to be over. The Spanish revolution had exhausted itself; it had shaken, without overturning, the monarchies of France and England, and led to a campaign glorious to the French, which on the peninsula, so long the theatre of defeat and disaster, had restored the credit of their arms and the lustre of their influence. In Italy, the efforts of the revolutionists, for a brief season successful, had terminated in defeat and ignominy. After infinite difficulty, and no small danger, the composition of the chamber of deputies had been put on a practical footing, and government was assured of a majority sufficient for all purposes, in harmony with the great body of the peers, and the principles of a constitutional monarchy. Internal prosperity prevailed to an unprecedented degree; every branch of industry was flourishing, and ten years of peace had both healed the wounds of war, and enabled the nation to discharge, with honourable fidelity, the heavy burdens imposed on it at its termination. After an arduous reign and a long struggle, Louis had reaped the reward of his wisdom and perseverance.

The character and personal qualities of Charles X were in many respects such as were well calculated to improve and cultivate to the utmost these advantages. Burke had said, at the very outset of the French Revolution, that if the deposed race was ever to be restored, it must be by a sovereign

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who could sit eight hours a day on horseback. No sovereign could be so far removed from this requisite as Louis XVIII, whose figure was so unwieldy and his infirmities so great, that, for some years before his death, he had to be wheeled about his apartments in an arm-chair. But the case was very different with his successor. No captain in his guards managed his charger with more skill and address, or exhibited in greater perfection the noble art of horsemanship; no courtier in his saloons was more perfect in all the graces which dignify manners, and cause the inequalities of rank to be forgotten, in the courtesy with which their distinctions are thrown aside.

Many of the sayings he made use of, in the most important crises of his life, became historical; repeated from one end of Europe to the other, they rivalled the most celebrated of Henry IV in warmth of heart, and the most felicitous of Louis XIV in terseness of expression. But, with all these valuable qualities, which, under other circumstances, might have rendered him one of the most popular monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of France, he was subject to several weaknesses still more prejudicial, which, in the end, precipitated himself and his family from the throne. He was extremely fond of the chase, and rivalled any of his royal ancestors in the passion for hunting; but with him it was not a recreation to amuse his mind amidst more serious cares, but, as with the Spanish and Neapolitan princes of the house of Bourbon, a serious occupation, which absorbed both the time and the strength that should have been devoted to affairs of state. A still more dangerous weakness was the blind submission, which increased with his advancing years, that he yielded to the priesthood.

No change was made by the new sovereign in the ministers of state, who indeed were as favourable to the royal cause as any that he could well have selected. But from the very outset of his reign there was a *Camarilla*,¹ or secret court, composed entirely of ecclesiastics, who had more real influence than any of the ostensible ministers, and to whose ascendancy in the royal council the misfortunes in which his reign terminated are mainly to be ascribed. The most important of these were the cardinal Latil, archbishop of Rheims, who had been the king's confessor during the time he was in exile, and earnestly recommended to him by his mistress, Madame de Pollastron, who possessed the greatest influence over his mind; the pope's legate, Lambruschini, a subtle and dangerous ecclesiastical diplomatist; and Quelen, archbishop of Paris, a man of probity and worth, but full of ambition, and ardently devoted to the interests of his order. To these, who formed, as it were, the secret cabinet, that directed the king, and of which he took counsel in all cases, were added all the chiefs of the ultra-Royalist and ultra-Catholic party, who, like a more numerous privy council, were summoned on important emergencies. The most important of these were the duke de Rivière and Prince Polignac. Such was the secret council by which Charles was from the first almost entirely directed, and the history of his reign is little more than the annals of the consequences of their administration.

The king made his public entry into Paris on the 27th of September. The day was cloudy, and the rain fell in torrents as he moved through the streets, surrounded by a brilliant cortège; but nothing could damp the ardour of the people. Mounted on an Arab steed of mottled silver colour, which he managed with perfect skill, the monarch traversed the whole distance between St. Cloud and the palace, bowing to the people in acknowledgment of their salutations with that inimitable grace which proclaimed him at once,

[¹ This term is taken from the history of the contemporaneous Spanish Bourbons. See the history of Spain.]

like the prince-regent in England, the first gentleman in his dominions. His answers on his way to and when he arrived at the palace were not less felicitous than his manner. When asked if he did not feel fatigued, he replied, "No; joy never feels weariness." "No halberts between my people and me," cried he to some of his attendants, who were repelling the crowd which pressed in too rudely upon his passage—an expression which recalled his famous saying on April 12th, 1814, "There is but one Frenchman the more."¹ Never had a monarch been received with such universal joy by his subjects. "He is charming as hope," said one of the numerous ladies who were enchanted by his manner. Some of his courtiers had suggested the propriety of taking some precautions against the ball of an assassin in the course of his entry. "Why so?" said he: "they cannot hate me without knowing me; and when they know me, I am sure they will not hate me." Everything in his manner and expressions towards those by whom his family had been opposed, seemed to breathe the words, "I have forgotten."^c

FIRST MISTAKES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Charles introduced his son the duke d'Angoulême into the government, by giving him the supreme direction of the army, whose esteem this prince had justly acquired. Eager for that popularity of which he had just tasted the first-fruits, he himself proposed to the council of ministers to abolish the censorship of the public journals, which was an odious restriction that had been impatiently submitted to during the last few months of the late reign. The press responded to this generous act by an effusion of gratitude which raised the enthusiasm of Paris to a pitch of delirium. "A new reign opens upon us," exclaimed the journalists who had been most bitter against the Bourbons; "the king is desirous of doing good; his wisdom scatters at the first word the cloud under which bad governments conceal their evil thoughts; there is no snare to apprehend from one who himself invokes the light."^b

But in granting liberty to the press, Charles X did not at all repudiate the acts of a ministry which had been stigmatised by it. He accepted it on the contrary, declaring his formal intention of keeping it in power. Those who had been too quick in hoping were disabused and public opinion pronounced with terrifying rapidity against a series of unpopular projects presented to the chambers by the crown. One of them, in connection with which the ministry had skilfully formed the plan of converting government bonds to a three per cent. rate, gave a billion francs indemnity to the émigrés;² another re-established religious communities for women; a third attached infamous and atrocious penalties to profanities and thefts committed in churches, in certain cases the sacrilege was to be punished by the penalty of parricide.^d Some moderate and rational-minded men in the chamber of peers, the Molés, the Lally-Tollendals, the Broglies and Châteaubriand himself, revolted in the name of human reason, of humanity, and of religion against this unjust and barbarous law. In the chamber of deputies, Royer-Collard vindicated reason, liberty of conscience, humanity, and the Deity,

[¹ This epigram, as we have seen, he had borrowed from a courtier.]

[² In fact this law, very unpopular, and onerous to the national finances, was advantageous to the owners of the properties formerly held by the émigrés. The fear of seeing the titles contested vanished and with it the inferiority in market value of these properties to other estates. As for the families of the émigrés, the poor provincial gentry had had but little; but the people of the court who had already largely regained their affluence, redoubled it and though lacking the immoderate luxury of old, yet found themselves richer than ever.—MARTIN.^e]

[1824-1827 A.D.]

all outraged by this law in one of the most powerful speeches ever inspired at the French tribune by philosophy, religion, and eloquence.^b

But the project which wounded the greatest number of interests and aroused the greatest resentment tended to put a stop to the division of estates by creating in the law of inheritance the right of primogeniture,¹ in default of a wish formerly expressed by the testator. All these proposed laws, dictated under the influence of the old émigrés and the Congregation, were conceived in a spirit contrary to that of the Revolution. The chamber of deputies adopted them, the peers fought some of them with success, succeeded in eliminating the most objectionable clauses, and for some time shared popular favour with the royal courts.

These governmental acts were interrupted in 1825 by the solemnities of the coronation. Charles X appeared at Rheims surrounded by the ancient apparel of royal majesty. There he took oath on the charter and received the crown from the hands of the archbishop, in the midst of the ancient ceremonial which was not at all in harmony with the customs of the century, and in which the new generation saw only an act of deference to the clergy.

The liberal party was growing, and drawing new force from all the faults of the party in power. It saw with pride men like Benjamin Constant, Royer-Collard, and Casimir Périer at its head in the elective chamber. One immense loss was to be deplored. Foy, the general of Napoleon, the statesman of Restoration times, was no more. A hundred thousand citizens, the élite of trade, of the bar, of literature, and of the army followed his cortège and energetically protested against the procedure of government, by adopting his children in the name of their country, on the still open tomb of their father, who had been the most redoubtable and the most eloquent adversary of the ministers.

In the first days of 1827 Peyronnet presented to the chamber of deputies the law under which the liberty of the press was to perish. He defended it against the desperate attacks of the Left [which called it the "Vandal Law"] by calling it the "law of justice and love." It hardly became known before it caused a general uprising of public opinion. The French Academy did itself honour by protesting against it on the motion of Charles de Lacretelle, actively supported by Châteaubriand, Lemercier, Jouy, Michaud, Joseph Droz, Alexandre Duval, and Villemain. A commission was appointed from their midst to beg the king to withdraw so fatal a project. Charles X refused to receive the commission and answered by punishing this act of courageous independence. He removed from office Villemain, Lacretelle, and Michaud himself, the author of *History of the Crusades*, and one of the oldest supporters of the monarchy. The law, adopted by the chamber of deputies, met with violent opposition in that of the peers.² The ministry understood that, even if the latter should adopt it, it would at least eliminate its most rigorous clauses. The project was withdrawn without being submitted to this dangerous test.

The people did honour to the monarch for this wise measure. Paris was illuminated and cries of "*Vive le roi!*" were heard in the midst of bonfires and popular acclamations.^d

[¹ The law was more timid than its title and cast only a moderate reproach on the existing law, but feeble as it was this reproach was an enormous fault. Nothing was worse conceived than this challenge to "Equality," the grand passion of the nation. — D'ARESTE.^f]

[² Müller^h speaks of the law as one "which sought to smother all education and reason, turn France into a Jesuit machine, and set it back to the days of the Inquisition."¹]

GROWING DISCONTENT

The masses seemed to wish to open to the king a peaceful issue. An expression of Casimir Périér made a great stir. Some members of the Left alone rising in favour of a liberal petition, the Right cried, "There are only six of them." Casimir Périér replied "We are only six in this place, but there are thirty million men in France who rise with us."



Charles

CHARLES X
(1757-1836)

The partial elections were to the advantage of the liberals, and the return of La Fayette was a sign of the time. Charles X, uneasy and chagrined, could not conceal his unpopularity. He thought to regain it in Paris by reviewing the national guard. Villèle was greatly alarmed; the dauphin advised against the review, but the guard was summoned on the Champ de Mars April 29th, 1827. The word had been passed to the soldiers to cry nothing but "*Vive le Roi!*" and "*Vive la charte!*" At certain places, however, they cried, "*A bas les ministres! A bas les jésuites!*"

To one national guardsman who repeated this cry near him, the king answered, "I came to receive your homage, not your instructions." On returning from the Champ de Mars, tumultuous groups surrounded the carriages of the princesses crying, "*A bas les jésuitesses!*" Two legions of the

national guard cried violently, "*A bas Villèle! A bas Peyronnet!*" in passing the ministers of finance and of justice.

Villèle advised the king to disband the national guard of Paris and double the garrison. The majority of the ministers agreed. The ordinance of disbandment appeared the next day. The liberal journals protested fiercely against this measure and the opposition on the Right associated itself with the liberals. The act alienated irrevocably the entire middle class of Paris. The majority was lost in the chamber. The session terminated June 22nd; it was the fourth and ought to have been the last of the "septennial" chamber; besides, this chamber was used up and, as it were, decomposed.

The day after the closing, the censorship was re-established despite the dauphin's wishes. The minister instituted above the bureau of censure a council of supervision presided over by De Bonald, the implacable enemy of the liberty of the press as of all liberty. The illustrious scientist Cuvier, who had shown in the council of state much administrative capacity but till now little independence, refused to take part in the committee of supervision; nor would two of the nominees for the bureau of censure serve. The censure fell into odious ridiculous excesses which called forth Château-briand and a throng of other writers in pamphlets full of ironic and indignant vigour.

A crisis was imminent, and the approaching elections looked ominous. A

[1827-1828 A.D.]

powerful society was formed to prepare the country, under the significant name of "Heaven helps those that help themselves" (*Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*). Guizot was president of the governing committee. An allied society of republican tendencies was formed, the "Free-speakers."^e

When the duke de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, a liberal member of the chamber of Peers, died, some of the old pupils of the Academy of Châlons, to whom he had been very kind, endeavoured to show their gratitude to their neighbour and benefactor by bearing his body to the Barrier, where the hearse was waiting to convey it to his estate. In the church of the Madeleine the police seized the coffin—unwilling that such a mark of respect should be shown to a member of the opposition; the pupils resisted: in the struggle the coffin fell to the ground, and the authorities in triumph carried it off.^g

Later a similar scene was enacted on a greater scale at the funeral of Manuel the expelled deputy. The irritated crowd was hardly prevented from a pitched battle with the troops. The discourse spoken over the grave by La Fayette was of a very different character from that which signalled the funeral of General Foy. Under this not yet lawless struggle, one felt revolution.^e

Seventy-six new peers were named; the chamber of Deputies, from which still less subserviency was expected, was dismissed (Nov. 6th, 1827); and the gauntlet was fairly thrown down.

In this year the battle of Navarino (Oct. 20th, 1827) had practically delivered Greece from its oppressors, and was hailed as the first national resurrection to freedom since the reaction had begun. The English and French navies, which were united with the Russian in the entire destruction of the Turkish fleet, took also different views of the result of their valour and preponderating force. France was so enraptured with a naval victory, however obtained, that even the supporters of the ministry rejoiced in an action which greatly excited the liberal hopes throughout Europe. The English, on the other hand, perceived too late the fault they had committed in exposing Turkey unprotected to the maritime attacks of Russia, and called the victory of Navarino "an untoward event." Yet, as naval victories were of more importance to France than England, an opportunity was found for another triumph in an expedition against the dey of Algiers. Successful to a certain degree, but not so brilliantly decisive as its promoters had expected, the squadron came back with its work only half performed, but furnishing information which led to a greater effort and more satisfactory result in a future year. In spite of government influence, which was unscrupulously used, the elections of 1828 returned a majority for the liberals. There were riots and loss of life in Paris and other towns. The Villèle ministry retired for fear of the coming storm.^g

THE MINISTRY OF MARTIGNAC (1828-1829 A.D.)

Charles X was obliged to form a liberal government. The Restoration again found itself obliged to rely on the support of the left benches. The first time this happened it was the result of the initiative of Louis XVIII; this second time it was due to the will of the electors.

The new ministry was formed Jan. 4th, 1828, with Martignac as leader of the cabinet. Possessed of undoubted eloquence and an attractive manner, he had more charm than strength. Although he was a man of moderate mind he had been one of the majority of Villèle. With him, Portalis, Roy, and soon afterwards Hyde de Neuville and Fautrier, the bishop of Beauvais,

made up a cabinet which the public at first considered lacking in weight and in authority.ⁱ

The king had made haste to say to his new ministers, "M. de Villèle's system is mine"; and the chamber made haste to write down in its address that M. de Villèle's system was "deplorable." The whole history of the Restoration is epitomised on this simple juxtaposition of facts. How was the chamber to be prevented from exercising the paramount strength it possessed? And what should hinder the head of the state from crying out, under the exasperation of insult, as did Charles X upon the presentation of the address, "I will not suffer my crown to be flung into the mire!" What then remained to be tried? To side completely with the elective power? Martignac could not do so without declaring war against royalty. To serve royalty in accordance with its own views? He could not do so without declaring war on the chamber. To combine these two sorts of servitude, and to hold the reins of government on the tenure of being doubly a slave? He tried this.^j

The Martignac ministry began by suppressing the "black cabinet," where letters were opened for the police, and by passing a liberal law with regard to the press. In Greece, France received from the two other powers the glorious charge of putting an end to the struggle which was going on. A force of 14,000 men under the orders of General Maison landed in the Morea on the 29th of August. Ibrahim, who had been sent by his father the pasha of Egypt as commander of the Egyptian troops, to help the sultan of Turkey, made no attempt to fight; on the 9th of September he sailed away with his troops. The only case in which force had to be employed was in the taking of Fort Morea, and Greece was delivered. Two burning questions occupied the public mind: one was that of an inquiry into the proceedings of the Villèle ministry, a measure on which the liberals insisted; the other the enforcing of the laws against the Jesuits, which was demanded by a strong wave of public opinion, by a decision of the court in Paris, and by the new chamber. The ministry decided on carrying out the latter measure in order to avoid the former. They prepared two ordinances, in which the name of the Jesuits was not so much as mentioned. The first, which was countersigned by Portalis, deprived them of their educational establishments; the second, which was inspired by the bishop of Beauvais, dictated the necessary precautions to be observed in order to exclude them from the management of ecclesiastical schools (June 19th, 1828).

Thus the throne seemed anxious to be reconciled to the liberal party. But this was only apparently true. Between the two parties who were struggling for possession of the country, one supported by the king, the other by the people, one wishing to go back to the eve of '89, the other to march forward with the century, there was no room for equivocation or for compromise. Those who were anxious to conciliate both parties ran the risk of being crushed between the two. Martignac, in spite of his wonderful eloquence, his charm, and the sympathy he inspired, was looked upon with suspicion by both camps.

As for Charles X, he submitted to this ministry as to a personal defeat; he was still the ardent partisan of the cabinet which had been overthrown. It was therefore most obnoxious to him to have to sign the ordinances against the Jesuits. The ministers were obliged to threaten to resign in order to get him to do it. The furious outcry raised by the whole body of the clergy, the maledictions of the bishops directed even against the bishop of Beauvais, brought the devout frenzy to a climax.

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He could only endure this return to liberalism for a time by nursing thoughts of revenge. But he still had patiently to endure the session of 1829, which was occupied by discussions on the organisation of the departments and the communes, in which the cabinet was weakened by several reverses. Hardly had the chambers dissolved when the king dismissed his ministers. The session had closed on the 30th of July; on the 9th of August the list of the new ministry was published.ⁱ

When the names were made known a cry of indignation broke out from one end of France to the other: Polignac, Labourdonnaie, Bourmont. The patriots who, from passion or principles, had never admitted the possibility of a compromise with the old dynasty, experienced that sort of satisfaction which a soldier feels on the eve of a decisive battle. Those who had dreamed of liberty with monarchy were now overwhelmed with consternation. "Sec!" cried Royer-Collard, "Charles X is still the count d'Artois of 1789."

The liberal journals in general responded by an explosion of anger and menaces to the defiance which had just been flung at the nation. The *Journal des Débats*, attached to the Bourbons by bonds which its ardent opposition had not hitherto broken, terminated an article full of an eloquent suffering by the cry so often quoted: "Unhappy France! Unhappy king!"

The ministry brought a suit against it. Answer was made by a violent attack from a young editor, Saint-Marc Girardin, on Polignac, "the man of Coblenz and the counter-revolution," on Bourmont, "the deserter of Waterloo now exposed on the scaffold of the ministry," and on Labourdonnaie, the man who in the White Terror of 1815 had constantly demanded irons, hangmen, and executions.^g

THE MINISTRY OF POLIGNAC

The president of the new cabinet, Jules de Polignac, son of the chief equerry of Louis XVI and of the duchess de Polignac, who was an intimate friend of Marie Antoinette, was a sort of incarnation of the old régime. He had been one of the most enthusiastic amongst the émigrés and later had become a leading member of the Congregation. He was perhaps the most ardent adherent that body possessed. His minister of war, Bourmont, had, in 1815, on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, deserted Napoleon's army for that of the enemy, and had thus gained the rank of marshal.

It was certain that such a minister would advocate extreme measures. The country prepared for a struggle. Societies were formed quite openly, at first in Brittany and then throughout France, with the purpose of refusing to pay the taxes in case the cabinet should attempt to force any violent measure on the country. The papers which advertised these associations were in every case prosecuted, but were either acquitted or very lightly punished. The courts themselves seemed to condemn in advance the projects with which the ministry was credited.ⁱ

This was indeed a ministry of madness. Not only every liberal sentiment but every national sentiment was defied. The unfortunate Charles X was so much a stranger to his age and country that he did not understand that France would take the summons of Bourmont to the head of the army as the most deadly of outrages. He believed that in order to justify the deserter of Fleurus in the eyes of the public it would suffice to give out that he had the king's orders.

If the king and his advisers had been capable of reflection, the attitude of the country would have made them tremble. At this moment La Fayette paid a visit to Auvergne, his native province, and then to Dauphiné and Lyons. In the towns of Dauphiné, especially in Vizille, the little place famous for having given the signal for the revolution of 1789, La Fayette was welcomed by demonstrations which recalled that great epoch; at Grenoble the population offered him an oak wreath "as a witness of the people's gratitude and as the emblem of the force which the people of Grenoble, following his example, would be able to bring into action to maintain their rights and the constitution." At Lyons he made a truly royal entry: the whole city went out to meet him, deputations from the neighbouring departments waited on him. At the banquet which was given him La Fayette declared that he was happy to receive proof of the determination of that great and patriotic city to resist all the attempts of the incorrigible counter revolution. The official journals of this party had said recently "no more concessions." "No more concessions" says in its turn the French people, which knows its rights and will know how to defend them. Then he added, "How are the projects with which the people are threatened to be executed? By means of the chamber of deputies? It would show itself faithful to patriotism and honour. By a dissolution? The electors would have something to say to that. By simple ordinances? The partisans of such measures would then learn that the strength of every government lies only in the arms and the purse of the citizens which compose the nation."

The triumphant journey of La Fayette afforded royalty an alarming contrast to the reception which the dauphin and dauphiness received about the same time in Normandy. Silence and a desert surrounded them everywhere. At Cherbourg the authorities could not even organise a ball in their honour.^e

On the 2nd of March, 1830, Charles X, displaying for the last time all the pomp of royalty, declared in the presence of the assembled deputies and peers his intention to preserve intact the prerogatives of the crown and French institutions. The address of the deputies in response to the speech from the throne showed the king that the composition of his new cabinet was dangerous and menacing to public liberty. Two hundred and twenty-one members as against 186 voted for this memorable address. The king was indignant. He complained in his response of a lack of support and concluded by stating that his resolves were known and were unchangeable. The chamber was prorogued and then dissolved.

However, the council had tried to acquire some popularity by means of a military success, and an insult offered to the French consul by the dey of Algiers furnished the ministers a favourable opportunity to clear the sea of barbarous pirates.^d

WAR WITH ALGERIA

The Algerian dey, Hussein, had come into power in 1818. No dey had been so well obeyed. His foreign policy was less fortunate, because he had illusions about his own strength and thought he could brave the European powers with impunity. This error caused his downfall. The relations with France, interrupted during the empire, were renewed in 1816; but the understanding was never very cordial, especially after the accession of Hussein. He wished the annual revenue paid for the concessions to amount to 300,000 francs, according to the convention made in 1817 with the dey Omar; France wished to keep to the amount of 90,000 francs, which was the revenue paid to Ali Khodja, who reigned between Omar and Hussein. The dey would not

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consent to the fortifying of the French establishments; the execution of some works of defence had greatly annoyed him. But the Bakri affair caused him more annoyance than anything else.

Bakri and Busnah, two Algerian Jews, had furnished the Directory with a large amount of corn which had not been entirely paid for; the empire gave some instalments. In 1819 the credit was fixed at seven millions, but the convention then concluded expressly reserved the rights of certain Frenchmen of whom Bakri and Busnah were debtors. Opposition arose, and a part of the sum was kept back while awaiting the decision of the tribunals.

Hussein, who had large interests in the business, and who understood nothing of the complicated forms of French justice, was indignant at the delay. At a solemn audience he questioned the French consul sharply and then hit him with his fan and sent him out of his presence; a more prudent and dignified consul would not have provoked such a scene; but Deval represented France; a reparation was necessary.

A naval division appeared before Algiers. Hussein absolutely refused satisfaction; June 15th, 1827, war was declared; immediately the French settlements, which they had taken the precaution to evacuate, were pillaged and destroyed. A cruising expedition then began; but the blockade soon proved useless; it imposed a difficult and dangerous service on the French navy, it cost upwards of twenty millions in three years, and the dey appeared no more disposed to give in than on the first day.

Since 1827 Clermont-Tonnerre, then minister of war, had been inclined to act vigorously; England made almost imperious representations, which were answered as they should have been. Even in France, the opposing parties disapproved of an expedition; they saw in this, not without some reason, a political artifice to turn men's minds from interior affairs, but they also forgot that national honour was engaged.

An admiral, Duperré, at last decided to accept the command of the fleet. Bourmont, minister of war, kept that of the army for himself, with the sole direction of the enterprise. It was decided to fortify the peninsula to make it into an entrenched camp, a place of refuge in case of defeat. The enemy, however, had taken its forces to Staouëli; Ibrahim, Hussein's son-in-law, took with him the Turkish militia, some Kolougis and Moors of Algiers, the contingent of the beys, and some thousand Kabyles. Among the eye-witnesses, some enumerate this army at 60,000 men, others only at 20,000. The confused manœuvring, the rapid and disorderly movements of the Arabian cavalry, must have promoted the illusion of an immense multitude. With the exception of the Turks all these undisciplined troops presented a poor appearance when drawn up in battle order. The first shock, however, was terrible; on the morning of the 19th all the French lines were assailed, but the attack told more on the wings, weaker and not so well posted as the centre. The left was exposed for a moment; the Turks fought with incredible ardour; the horsemen spurred their horses and sprang over the entrenchments. But the French army had the advantage of tactics and discipline. After a desperate fight the Algerians retreated to their camp.

The dey and the inhabitants of Algiers had no doubt of success; there was consternation at the arrival of the fugitives. The Algerians hastened to defend Fort Emperor, which protected the town on the southwest. Emissaries were sent on all sides to rally the Arabs, the Ulemas preached the holy war.

On the 24th the French lines of Staouëli were attacked; the French army easily repulsed the aggressors, pursued them, and established itself on the plateau of Sidi-Khaled. The days of the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th were difficult and murderous. On the 29th, before day, the offensive movement commenced all along the line. The fleet cannonaded the place and, without causing much damage, added by this opportune demonstration to the consternation of the population. On July 4th, at four o'clock in the morning the entrenchment was opened against Fort Emperor; the French batteries then uncovered and destroyed it with their fire.

The garrison made a brave defence, but the contest of the two artilleries was too unequal; at the end of a few hours the Turks had their embrasures demolished, their guns dismounted, their gunners disabled.

Fort Emperor once taken, Algiers could no longer hold out; Hussein signed a capitulation.^k

The victory, however, was little heeded at home and war was declared between France and monarchy. The struggle had been desperate on both sides. The opposition brought out a new paper, the *National*, edited by Thiers and Mignet, the two historians of the Revolution, and Armand Carrel, who had begun his public career as leader of an armed conspiracy. This paper propagated the views of the opposition with extreme ardour. On the other side the king vainly threw his name and his influence into the scale. The result was a crushing defeat. The opposition had fought for the 221 deputies who had condemned the Polignac ministry, as in 1877 they were to fight for the 363. They were all returned again and fifty more elections were also gained.

The Ordinances of Polignac and War with the Press, 1830 A.D.

The defeated ministry prepared a coup d'état. Taking as a pretext the wording of Article 14 of the charter, they resolved to suppress the liberties of the country. Three ordinances signed by all the ministers formed the reply of Charles X to the French nation. One of these dissolved the chamber before it had ever met; so that the country had been consulted and had given its answer, but that answer was treated with contempt. Another abolished liberty of the press. Henceforth every paper would be forced to obtain the royal sanction; otherwise, it would not only be forbidden to appear, but its plant would be destroyed. The third created a new electoral system. It would no longer be a sufficient qualification for a vote to pay 300 francs in taxes; patents were no longer to be taken into account; and all electors who were engaged in commerce or manufactures were to be deprived of their votes.

The last two ordinances were manifestly unconstitutional: they violated the laws and usurped their functions. The king's pleasure was substituted for the votes of the chambers. This was a return to absolute monarchy. This attempt at violence was made in incredible ignorance of the actual situation. Up to the time of the elections the ministers had thought themselves certain of a majority, and, even after the results were known, seemed to have an inexplicable confidence in the measures they were preparing. They had only 19,000 men at their command to subdue Paris.

Secrecy was most carefully observed. Nobody, except those who had drawn them up and signed them, knew the contents of the ordinances, when, on the evening of Sunday, 25th July, they were handed over to the chief editor of the *Moniteur* for publication the following morning. The editor

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glanced over them, and turning pale said to the minister: "I am fifty-seven years of age; I have passed through all the revolutions, but I now withdraw overwhelmed with fear." On the morning of the 26th of July, 1830, the ordinances published in the *Moniteur* burst on the nation like a thunderbolt. At first people seemed stupefied. The press had the honour of setting an example of action.

It has already been said that one of the edicts suppressed all the opposition papers. That very day all their editors signed a protest of which the following words contain the gist: To-day the government has lost that constitutional character which alone commands obedience. And they added that they would use every possible means to publish their papers in defiance of the authority of the government. Among the young writers who perhaps risked their lives by affixing their signatures to this bold protest, were some who were destined to play an important part in public affairs. The protest was signed by Thiers, Mignet, Armand Carrel, Rémusat, and Pierre Leroux. This intrepid action of the press was the first reply to the coup d'état. Their actions were as bold as their words; and when on the following day the police attempted to carry out the provisions of the ordinance, the commissary of police found the proprietor of the paper, with the law in his hand, threatening the agent of the government with the punishment due to theft aggravated by housebreaking. A crowd collected and protested loudly.

The locksmith who had been summoned to break up the plant refused to do so, and was heartily applauded. Another was sent for, who also refused. Not a workman could be found who was willing to raise his hand against the instrument of public liberty. It was found necessary at last to have recourse to the wretch whose duty it was to affix the fetters worn by convicts.

Such was the lawful resistance which most politicians of that time, whether journalists or deputies, considered the only possible course.

PELLETAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE THREE DAYS OF JULY

The first day, the wrath of Paris, kept in check by amazement, had the appearance of hesitation; people were waiting and consulting. The next day, July 27th, the dissatisfaction of the city became articulate. The middle classes and the working people began to express their feelings; street orators were active, and stones were thrown at the police outside the Palais Royal. A barricade was raised near the French Theatre; men formed themselves into bands; shots were fired and the pavements had begun to be stained with blood; but the movement had begun outside the popular quarters of the town; the mass of the people had not yet joined it.

However, the last rays of the setting sun shone on a well-nigh forgotten sight—an unknown man ran along the quays waving a strip of blue, white, and red stuff. This was the tricolour flag, which had formerly sprung from the ruins of the Bastille to wave over a nation rescued and delivered from tyranny. This was the flag of the convention and the empire, which, borne by the regiments from Madrid to Moscow, from Cairo to Amsterdam, had shaken liberty from its folds in its passage through the nations. This was the proscribed flag, which throughout Europe lay hidden in the depths of men's memories, as the symbol of liberties destroyed and nations remorselessly crushed.

Whoever the unknown man was who first waved the tricolour in the sunlight, he had thoroughly grasped the spirit of the situation. The question at issue had ceased to be the maintenance of a royal constitution, the

downfall of a minister, or the re-establishment of a king: above all these more limited ideas, the cause of popular liberty was now supreme. A fatherland which had been assailed, a revolution which had been defeated, had now to be reckoned with.

The question at issue was between the people and the Bourbons. On the 28th the people rose in arms. Workmen, citizens, students, marched out pell-mell to fight. A student from the Polytechnic who had been expelled for having sung the *Marseillaise* — Charras, afterwards a minister under the republic, and one of the most celebrated among those who were proscribed under the second empire — had informed his comrades the day before of what was to take place, and they had forced the gates of the school in order to be present at the battle. None of the people had any weapons, and they were obliged to equip themselves as well as they could. Here an armourer's shop was broken into and pillaged, there a military post was surprised, or barracks were attacked; and manufacturers and merchants might be seen distributing muskets.

To the open space in front of the Exchange two carriages, driven by Étienne Arago, brought a store of guns and uniforms, which were being used at the Vaudeville in a military play. Next the Musée d'Artillerie was attacked, and military equipments which had belonged to warriors of the Middle Ages were seized; so for this epic battle the people borrowed theatrical properties and the rusty uniforms of ancient knights.

Since the day before, the government had understood that they required an efficient military leader: they had chosen Marshal Marmont, duke de Raguse. His was a very unpopular name. In 1814, at the time of Napoleon's first defeat, Marmont, whilst negotiations were going on, had prematurely yielded to the enemy some important positions before Paris. This shadow of a terrible suspicion hung over him. Besides, having served as a soldier under the republic and the empire, he was now about to shed French blood in support of a coup d'état of which he did not approve. His plan of action was soon made; from the Tuileries where he was, two columns of troops would drive back the insurgents, one by the boulevards, the other by the quays. A body of troops posted at the market of the Innocents, and clearing the whole length of the rue St. Denis, would maintain communications between the two columns.

But on all sides, in that close network of streets and alleys which formed the heart of Paris, and which were not yet intersected by the wide thoroughfares which exist in the present day, in front and behind the lines of troops, combatants seemed to spring up in myriads as if they rose out of the very ground; the streets were bristling with barricades, and a battle was waging at every cross-road. The columns were both stopped, one at the Hôtel-de-Ville and one at the Bastille; the troops at the market of the Innocents were surrounded and cut off; the army seemed lost in this immense rising of Parisians.

What an heroic crowd it was! After fifteen years of peace, the citizens of 1830 proved themselves worthy of the soldiers of Jemmapes, Fleurus, and Austerlitz. A fine sense of a fraternity in courage and enthusiasm united the rich and the poor. The Paris street-boy shared in the perils of the day with his usual saucy intrepidity. During the battle, a boy of fifteen brought a packet of cartridges to Charras, saying, "We will go shares, but only on condition that you will lend me your gun so that I may take my turn at firing." Certain of the combatants had not money to buy bread; in the rue St. Joseph a citizen saw a workman who was fighting at his side

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stagger, and said to him: "You are wounded?" "No, I am starving." The other offered him a five-franc piece. Then the workman pulled out from his blood-stained shirt a strip of the royalist flag, saying: "I will give you this in exchange." A hundred incidents proved that the combatants felt that the same blood was flowing in their veins, though they were fighting on different sides. In one case an officer had received a dangerous blow from an iron bar, but, with his face bathed in blood, he warded off with his sword the bayonets which were about to pierce the man who had struck him. In another place the corpse of an insurgent was lying near the tricolour flag; some soldiers passed by and they and their officers all saluted.

It would be impossible to describe the war that raged all over Paris. On the 28th the thick of the fight had been at the market of the Innocents and round the Hôtel-de-Ville. To reach it, it was necessary to cross the suspension bridge, which was under a constant fire. A young man sprang forward with a tricolour flag in his hand: "If I fall," he cried, "remember that my name was Arcole." His name was given to the bridge which was consecrated by his heroic death. Nightfall interrupted the fighting. Silence and solitude descended on the bloody streets, on the deserted barricades, and on the corpses lying in the shadow. Nothing disturbed the silent solemnity of that terrible night but the footsteps of the troops as they evacuated the town in order to mass themselves round the Tuileries.

On the morning of the 29th, fighting began again. Two battles took place that day, both against the Swiss Guard. This foreign guard was the last resource of the monarchy, just as it had been on the occasion of the 10th of August, 1792. The Swiss troops belonged to the king, not to the nation. On the left bank of the river the Polytechnic school, at the head of several columns of workmen and students, laid siege to the Babylon barracks. Charras led one of the columns. Vaneau was killed by a bullet in the head, and the street where he fell was called after him. The barracks were taken, but a more decisive struggle had taken place elsewhere.

On the right bank, the people had only to get possession of the vast enclosure of the palace formed by the Louvre and the Tuileries. Since the day before they had been besieging the front of the Louvre before St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The Swiss, posted in the colonnade, directed a murderous fire on the assailants. A blunder, made while changing the battalion posted there, left the colonnade unprotected; in an instant the people stormed the entrance and broke in through the windows, firing from those which looked on to the courtyard. The Swiss, taken by surprise, were seized with a panic, the officers were unable to restore order, and they were chased by the people as far as the place de la Concorde. The crowd then for the second time made their way into the conquered palace. They had already entered it on the 10th of August, 1792, and they were to enter it again in February, 1848, and in September, 1870.

Charles X deposed

Each of these visits signified the fall of a monarchy. And this time, as on every similar occasion, was seen the spectacle of a crowd of starving men keeping guard, without attempting to touch it, over the wealth of treasure which was passing from the king to the nation. Thus ended that most glorious struggle, the result of which was greeted by universal acclamations. Where, during those terrible days, were the men who on one side or the other represented the principles for which France was fighting?

Charles X was at St. Cloud. The day the ordinances appeared (July 26th) he was stag-hunting until the evening at Rambouillet. Partly owing to an incomprehensible carelessness and partly to avoid the unpleasantness of the struggle, he had kept out of reach of the storm which had assailed his crown. He was told: "Stocks have fallen"; and replied, "They will go up again." Then they said, "Paris is in a state of anarchy." To this he answered, "Anarchy will bring her to my feet." The most faithful royalists, trying to make the king realise his position, found him incredulous. Even on the 29th, when the revolutionists, after three days' fighting, were driving the army from Paris, Charles X, six miles away, kept on repeating that every measure was being taken to suppress the insurrection.

Three days' war had raged; officers and men alike sad at heart had found themselves obliged to shed French blood. Men who should have been the glory of their country, politicians, artists, and philosophers, had been made the mark for French bullets; the people and the army had covered the streets with corpses, and all the time the king refused to believe what was happening.

It was only on the evening of the 29th, when the army returned to St. Cloud and he heard of their defeat, that he agreed to withdraw the ordinances and change the ministry. There was a great deal of talk about a game of whist that he played, whilst Mortemart, who was to be the new minister, was awaiting his instructions. Ten hours later Charles X was still hesitating, and it was only at daybreak on the 30th of July that the king made up his mind — just twenty-four hours after the triumph of the Revolution.

The next evening, after two long days of hesitation, in the midst of troops decimated by desertion, Charles X at last resolved to retire to Rambouillet; this was the first stage on his way to exile. Most of the men who were looked upon as the leaders of the victorious party had done little more fighting on their side than Charles X had done on his. When they met on the very day the edicts were issued there was division in the camp. If some, notably La Fayette, were anxious for revolt, others not only did not desire it, but actually feared it. All the deliberations of the deputies and other influential persons during these three days were fruitless, as no decision was reached. At last, on the 28th of July, they sent five of their number to Marshal Marmont, who was already being urged by the great astronomer Arago to put a stop to bloodshed. Polignac refused to see the five deputies, and while they were opening tardy negotiations with St. Cloud, the people completed their victory.

On the evening of the 28th, the monarchy being abolished, there was no recognised authority in Paris.¹ An unknown man named Dubourg, dressed in a general's uniform borrowed from a theatre, and the journalist Baude who appointed himself secretary to a provisional government which did not exist, had only to take their places in the Hôtel-de-Ville, which the troops had abandoned, in order to exercise a certain amount of power. On the evening of the 29th La Fayette took possession of the Hôtel-de-Ville and was reinforced by a commission consisting of Casimir Périer, Lobau, Schonen, Audry de Puyraveau, and Mauguin; Laffitte, whose house had been latterly the headquarters of the victors, and General Gérard, who continued to be the military chief of the new government, declining to join the commission.

[¹ Men who had received their warrant from themselves alone, installed themselves in the Hôtel-de-Ville as representatives of the provisional government; and in that capacity they parodied the majesty of command, signed orders, distributed employments, and conferred dignities. Their reign was short, because those who would dare greatly must be able to do greatly; but it was real, and gave occasion to scenes of unexampled buffoonery. — LOUIS BLANC.]

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THE DUKE OF ORLEANS MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM

Those who had taken no part in the fighting wished to take advantage of the victory. Most of them had already begun to think of the duke of Orleans. As often happens in reigning families the Orleans branch, the younger branch, was always in a state of rivalry with the elder branch of Bourbons. Since 1789 the duke of Orleans had supported the revolutionary party; whilst his cousins were amongst the émigrés, he, a member of the convention, having given up using his title and assumed the name of Philippe Égalité, voted in favour of the death of Louis XVI. His son, duke of Orleans in 1792, had fought under the tricolour with Dumouriez at Jemmappes. Though he had emigrated afterwards, yet on the Restoration he had again declared himself a liberal. The family has always maintained this variable attitude, sometimes supporting, sometimes deserting the revolutionary party.

After 1815 the duke of Orleans was sometimes a prince of the blood, sometimes the hope of the revolutionists. He alternately claimed the largest share of the indemnity paid to the émigrés, or openly took the part of Béranger and General Foy; he at one time obtained from Charles X the title of Royal Highness, and at another would pose as a citizen-prince.

The example of England was in everybody's mind. It was by dethroning the lawful king and putting in his place a prince of a lateral branch that the English had gained their liberties in 1688. For a long time many people had been hoping that a similar change might bring about a similar result in France.

On the 30th Thiers and Mignet hurried to Neuilly where the prince lived, but he was not there. In the morning the deputies met at the house of Laffitte, and decided to hold a session at noon at the Bourbon palace. There it was decided to offer the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" to the duke of Orleans. He hesitated, tried to gain time, and was finally, it is said, persuaded by the advice of Talleyrand. On the 31st he accepted.

The Revolution was sacrificed for his benefit. But would those who had brought it about permit this? It was doubtful. The duke of Orleans decided to confront the danger by going through Paris to the Hôtel-de-Ville. A good deal of dissatisfaction was manifested in the streets. People were saying to themselves, "What? Another Bourbon!" His life was at the mercy of the populace. An adverse movement seemed imminent, but it did not take place. At the Hôtel-de-Ville La Fayette appeared on the balcony and was received with acclamations; the duke of Orleans embraced him and was applauded too. He had gained the crown.

Charles X had finally abdicated in favour of a child, the duke de Bordeaux. His was a strange destiny. He, whom the royalists called Henry V, was only to reign for one day and that at the age of ten! The old king was convinced that the duke of Orleans had only accepted the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" for the purpose of re-establishing legitimate authority in the person of Henry V. The duke found himself in a difficult position between the revolutionists who had offered him a throne, and Charles X, to whom he owed so much! Very opportunely, owing to an alarm raised in Paris, on the 3rd of August a little band of Parisians marched on Rambouillet. It was a strange jumble of national guards, volunteers, students with soldiers' belts over their black coats, workmen wearing helmets, many of them in omnibuses or cabs chartered for the occasion. This disorderly troop set out on a march of forty-five miles without victuals and quite unprepared for any emergency. At the same time the duke of Orleans sent Marshal Maison,

Schonen, and Odilon Barrot to Rambouillet. He had given the Parisians to understand that Charles X might prove dangerous, and he warned Charles X that sixty thousand Parisians were marching against him, and that he had better provide for his safety. Thus he got rid of the old king. Charles X and his family were accompanied as far as Cherbourg by his cousin's three envoys. Thence he went into exile where the elder branch of the Bourbons was to die out. On the 9th of August, 1830, the duke of Orleans was solemnly proclaimed king under the name of Louis Philippe I, king of the French.ⁱ

HILLEBRAND'S PARALLEL BETWEEN THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 AND 1830

The French 1688 was accomplished: the kingdom of God's grace had made way for a kingdom of conventions. Whilst the "Glorious Revolution" had sealed the representative system in England, the "Great Week" forever put an end to it in France. Instead of the balance of power between the crown, the house of peers, and the house of commons, the real or seemingly unlimited authority of the latter stepped in. The victory of the 221, that is to say the majority of the house, was like that of Pyrrhus, as is every victory which is only due to the assistance of uncertain confederates. Their leaders would infallibly have come into power, even if the throne had not been overturned, and they would have taken over the government under circumstances far more favourable to themselves and the land, if the irresponsibility of the throne had been regarded, and the dangerous support of the street riots disdained.

Be that as it may, Charles X was the last monarch of France who attempted to oppose his will to the majority of the House. From henceforth not only did the minister require a similar majority so as to retain his office, but also the leaders of the state — king, emperor, or president — were dependent on Parliament, the fiction of an irresponsible leader of the state was forever ended, and the upper house was practically a thing of the past. According to this it was only natural and right that from henceforth all leaders of the state should, if only artificially, seek to assure the majority in the Commons and to accustom themselves to consider every opponent of their minister as their own opponent, views which the nation shared and still shares.

At times the capital which helped the parliamentary majority to win in 1830 may have fought and conquered this majority, as in the years 1848 and 1870, but only to withdraw her taxes after a short interregnum. In England, the House of Commons only became all-powerful a century after the Revolution, and the irresponsibility of the crown is still undisputed to-day. The convention of 1688 was the voluntary agreement of two equally powerful contractors; the convention of 1830 was a one-sided and conditional offer to which the one party submitted and which the other simply signed.

In other respects the popular comparison between 1688 and 1830 was no less sound. The eminent German statesman Stein at that time wrote to Gagern that only the spirit of falsehood and deception could find a resemblance between Charles X and James II. He asks, "Where is the barbarian Jeffreys? Where are the endeavours and attempts to establish a strange church in the place of the national church? Where is the treaty with a strange monarch to destroy the administration and religion of his own land? Where is the money that the stranger will receive for this purpose?"

[1688-1830 A.D.]

And we might further ask : wherein lay the future danger ? Was Henry V born into a church hostile to his own country, and baptised like James III ? Did the Parisian workers and students — whose political wisdom had at first discovered and made known the inconsistency of the eight hundred years of national dynasty with the interests and views of France, whilst the entire nation held contrary views — possess the same importance as the experienced statesmen who, in 1688, amidst the rejoicings of the middle classes and people of the land, and assisted by the church and aristocracy, called the daughter of James II to the throne of England ? Did Louis Philippe gain his crown against foreign armies, as William fought for his at the bloody battle of the Boyne, after having at the head of his troops obtained it by defiance from the politicians who would so willingly have made of him prince consort and their creature ? And William was not content with the acts of Parliament but also made his own. The childless monarch only acted in the interests of the statesmen, not in that of his own person or of the family, and considering his childless position, as well as his Dutch disposition and the confessional side of his rôle, one might well say : William of Orange as regent for his brother-in-law a minor — in the guardianship of whom none could have excelled him — could never attain that which he attained as king, and that Louis Philippe on his side would have attained without trouble, had he reigned in his own name, instead of in that of the minor Henry V for whom he had been appointed regent."

The insurrection which served as motive for the violation of the constitution on the 25th of July, was artfully called forth by some secret cove-nanters and journalists ; but when after long procrastination it really broke out, the whole of the middle class of France backed up the July combatants, although they took no active part in the fight — for seldom in history has a deed been so firmly corroborated by eye-witnesses on all sides, as the inactivity of the middle class in this fight. Even after they had been carried away by a moral if not active participation they only wished to defend the constitution, at the most to extend it and to prevent its being attacked — not to change the dynasty. Certainly the sense of the insurrection was first falsified by the conspirators — republicans and Orleanists — who made themselves masters of the situation, and under pretext of protecting the threatened statutes undertook to dismiss the king's guilty counsellors, to do away with his law and the king himself. Thus the nation remains responsible to history for the result, as the wearer of the new crown accepted the responsibility of what had happened, although throughout the whole affair he had been more sinned against than sinning. And if there is no doubt that he had often dreamed of the throne, there is no proof that he ever aspired to it through conspiracy or intrigue.

For in public as in private life we not only act by what we do, but also by what we allow to be done, how much more by that which is termed goodness. When and where did a people acknowledge having done something more energetically and unconditionally than the French after the July days ?

Not only those who were late in hastening to the fight but also those not concerned in it wished to acknowledge this as a great national event ; and if the feeling shown towards the new monarch, almost unknown to the mass of the nation, was less spirited and less general than that shown for this event, the nation nevertheless imposed on it, and in no way reacted against it as it did against the republic in 1848, towards which it would have acted differently in 1830. And it not only confirmed this change by silent acknowledgment but also by the expressed oath of representatives of the

people, of the House of Lords, of almost all military and civil state officials, above all by the loud and unanimous respect shown by all towns, places, villages, and communities of the land.

The old dynasty which had been estranged from the nation by the twenty-five years of revolution and empire had not yet sufficiently grown accustomed to it, and Charles X had placed every difficulty in the way of approximation. No doubt the nation would have liked to see the reigning family retained, but as they were only drawn to it by considerations of profit and fear of overthrow, and not by a feeling of warm attachment or a deep insight into the affairs of the kingdom, they gave it up with all the cheerfulness so peculiar to the French in public affairs. No idea was formed as to the extent of this change; the kingdom still existed; that its life-giving roots had been cut off was not taken into consideration. They were only too glad to have been let off so cheaply. This feeling effaced all regret as well as all fears, which the fall of the old kingdom might have instilled into less unscrupulous minds.

The July Revolution was generally felt to be a liberation and was accepted with enthusiasm; and no less outside of France, and rightly; for this revolution was more profitable to foreign parts than to the country which made it. Europe breathed again as after a nightmare. Everywhere nations awoke at this early call, stirred and stretched themselves in their chains, and although they were not yet to succeed looked to see where they could 'cast them off, for the long, long night was over. It had been a gloomy time for Europe: fifteen years of darkness only illuminated by the reflection of princely feasts and congresses, fifteen years of silence only broken by the melodious voices of incomparable artists who seemed to wish to sing the people into a deeper sleep. For France it had been a bright and alert time which was now so suddenly interrupted: a time of fighting for the highest treasures, strong reliance in the victory of the good, and of pure enthusiasm for ideal aims. Now all this was ended.

The July Revolution was the last flicker of the flame of 1789, and although a great deal of deception was mixed in the enthusiasm, and pathos and declamation were less naive than forty years before, "the great week" rightfully lives in the traditions of the nation as the most heroic and glorious of all the great battles of the past ninety years, not so much because the victory was more unsullied, sacrificing, and magnanimous than all others, but because the elevation was the sublimest of all.

With this elevation, the poetry of the Revolution ended, the hour of prose had struck. There began a bitter strife for power and gain, a life in the moment and for the moment, a mastery of phrases such as had never been seen before and which in the end degenerated into conscious lies. For the entire movement was the outcome of the great reaction of Rousseau and his times against the calmness of the eighteenth century, and it lasted until the fresh calmness stepped in, in the middle of the nineteenth century. All the inspirations of the times were hollowed out into empty words during those twenty years; instead of the thoughts and sentiments which had filled the race, there arose vain forms, behind which covetousness and pure egotism were hidden. These were not to be dethroned after the cooling down of 1849-1850, but they were unmasked, and it is characteristic of our times that after the extinction of enthusiasm and want of idealism, under the ever more grasping rule of a sceptical and positive comprehension of life, they have at least the courage to honour the truth, on which the former race, either consciously or unconsciously, laid so little stress.¹

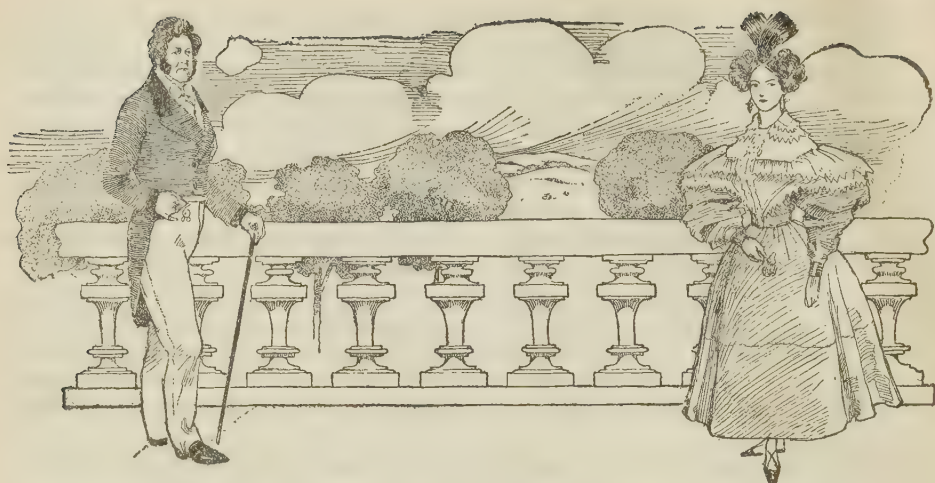
[1830 A.D.]

MARTIN ON THE JULY REVOLUTION

It must be recognised that — given the conditions of French history since '89, and the social state of France being what it was, and so different from that of England — after the national sovereignty had once been re-established, the republic must also take its turn. In 1830 the question however was not to know if the republic were the last word of the French Revolution, but if the time were come to pronounce that word irrevocably.

France was not then at all ready. Memories of the Terror oppressed the imagination and were still generally confounded with the idea of a republic ; an irresistible current carried the liberal citizenry to an imitation of the English revolution of 1688 and the trial of an elective monarchy. As for the popular masses, they had in the highest degree the national sentiment, which had raised again with passion the tricoloured flag, but they had little sentiment for universal suffrage which is inseparable in the modern world from the republican idea.

The régime established August 9th, 1830, has then its *raison d'être* in French history, but could be only a transition, and the blame that attaches to its authors is that of neglecting to introduce in the Charter a means of operating this transition peacefully by giving the nation the power to revise its constitutional laws, a faculty inalienable and inseparable from national self-government.^e



CHAPTER III

LOUIS PHILIPPE AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

[1830-1848 A.D.]

The revolution of July suddenly frustrated the repressive policy of the great powers, and was the commencement of a new era in the liberties of Europe. It gave an impulse to the revolution in Belgium; to the insurrection in Poland; to the democratic constitutions of Switzerland; to political reforms in several of the states of Germany; and to parliamentary reform in England. Its influence was felt in Italy, in Spain, and Portugal; in Hungary, and in the Slavonic provinces of Austria. And, even beyond the bounds of Europe, it reached from Egypt and Syria, in the east, to South America, in the west. The period of reaction was now closed, to be succeeded by the progressive development of constitutional freedom. — SIR THOMAS ERSKINE MAY.^b

PLACED as Louis Philippe was between the past and the future, between the ancient monarchy crumbled without hope of return and the republic brought forward, then adjourned, his position was complex and his spirit contradictory. He was at the same time a prince at heart and a bourgeois in form; revolutionary by his memories, and reactionary, or at least stationary, from the fear which these very memories inspired in him, as well as by his royal memories.

"King-citizen," promenading Paris in round hat and with an umbrella, not only by calculation, but by taste as well, he was at the same time a descendant of Louis XIV — the issue of the brother of Louis XIV, on the male side; he descended on the female side from the Grand Monarch himself and Mme. de Montespan. He had kept from Voltairianism sentiments of humanity and religious scepticism, but nothing more from that great breath of the eighteenth century which had for a moment animated his youth and inspired the entire life of La Fayette.

One of the men who did most to enthrone Louis Philippe was Thiers, who has defined the constitutional monarchy in the phrase, "It reigns but it does not govern." The new king never accepted this maxim and aspired from the first day to rule in all things, less from any theory of monarchy than from a passion for affairs, big or little, and above all from a conviction

[1830 A.D.]

of the superiority he fancied he held over his ministers, even when he had before him a Casimir P rier or a Thiers. He could not even delegate authority as Napoleon did and Charles X wanted to do. It was necessary then that he govern by address and by artifice, not by imposing and ordering, but by reducing and dividing, by subalternising his ministers and gaining his parliamentary majorities by interesting groups and individuals. Such a policy was incompatible with sincerity towards persons and things; incapable of violating the laws, Louis Philippe used all his skill to contract the laws and to undermine free institutions. These dangerous tendencies, however, manifested themselves but gradually.^c

STATE OF THE COUNTRY AND FIRST ACTS OF THE REIGN

Although the political revolution was over, and the throne of Louis Philippe, so far as external appearances went, firmly established, the interior of society was in a very different state, and the seeds of evil which were destined in the end to overturn it were beginning to germinate. The state of the working-classes, especially in the great towns, which had rapidly degenerated since and in consequence of the first revolution, had been brought to a perfect climax of horror by the effects of the second. The almost entire stoppage of purchases and expenditure in France, in consequence of the terrors which had seized all the affluent classes, combined with the corresponding reductions in the English market, from the effect of the simultaneous reform agitation in that country, had reduced all who were engaged in the production of luxuries—that is, the immense majority of the working-classes—to the last stages of destitution. It was hard to say whether the vine-growers of the Gironde, the silk-weavers of Lyons, the cotton-spinners of Rouen, the jewellers or the printers of Paris, were in the greatest distress. In Bordeaux there were twenty-two thousand workmen out of employment; in Paris the number exceeded sixty thousand. At Nimes the fancy silks had sunk to a third in price, while the wages of the workmen had undergone a similar diminution. Montpellier, which depended chiefly on the sale of wines, was in the utmost distress, and loudly complained of the recent rise in the *octroi* on that article; and in Lyons the suffering had become such that the only question seemed to be when a half of the entire inhabitants were to expire of famine. Nor was the condition of the masters more consoling, for even at the low rates of wages, such had been the fall of prices in the manufactured article that they could not work at a profit; and numerous failures among the most considerable both threw numbers of workmen out of employment and fearfully augmented the general consternation.^d



LOUIS PHILIPPE
(1773-1850)

The first acts of the reign of Louis Philippe were prudent and modest. He modified and completed the ministry which he had formed during his

lieutenant-generalship. He called Molé to take charge of the foreign affairs and Broglie to the ministry of public instruction. The other ministers remained. Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Dupin, and Bignon were members of the cabinet of ministers without portfolios. There was no president of the council, neither Laffitte nor Casimir Périer accepting this high post. This ministry included very opposite tendencies.

The chambers, in accord with the government during the month of August, voted certain measures which were the natural result of the July Revolution. Political condemnations from the time of the restoration were annulled. Aid and recompense were voted for the July combatants; for the wounded and for the families of the dead. The Panthéon, which under the empire had become the church of Ste. Geneviève, was restored to the destination given it in 1791, which was to receive the remains of great men. The double vote was suppressed, also the great electoral colleges, or departmental colleges, which the restoration had founded as citadels of the aristocracy to control the electoral bourgeoisie.

However, difficulties were beginning for the new government. Commercial affairs had weighed heavy before the Revolution; they became, as we have seen, worse after it. The working-classes were surprised and angry to find themselves more unhappy the day after than on the eve of the "great days" which owed so much to their courage and devotion. They gathered together in the streets and on the squares to command the government to procure for them diminution of labour or increase of wages. The less enlightened wanted to break the machines which, they said, suppressed the employment of their arms.^c

SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENTS

Although mischievous to society (the return and repose of which they delayed) and troublesome to the authority which as yet wanted the power to repress them, these palpable irregularities would have signified little, if beyond and above street demonstrations, other causes of disorder, older and more deeply rooted, had not taken possession of many minds. The revolution of July had not confined itself to the overthrow of a dynasty, and the modification of a charter: it had given rise to pretensions and hopes, not alone in the political party who desired for France a form of government opposed to monarchy, but in all the schools, and in every sect, through all the varied divisions of life, whether prominent or obscure, who were dreaming of another state of social organisation quite distinct from that which France had received from her origin, her Christian faith, and her fourteen ages of political existence.

Besides the republicans — and divided between a desire to join and to separate from them — the Saint Simonians, the Fourierists, the socialists, and the communists, much opposed to each other in principle and unequal in strength, as in intellectual power, were all in a state of ambitious effervescence.

The secret societies of the Restoration had transferred themselves into revolutionary clubs, thus combining the remains of silent discipline with the extravagant enthusiasm of unbridled speech. There at daily and public meetings, all events and questions, whether of principle or incidental occurrence, were warmly discussed. All designs, hopes, and dreams were boldly investigated. The entire government, the monarchy, the chambers, the magistracy, the administration, were attacked with undissembled violence. Their total overthrow was unreservedly proposed. Working-people and

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youths, casual passers-by, entered into these places of assembly as to a public spectacle, enjoying their audacious license; and round the leaders of these old republican, Bonapartist, socialist, or other associations, advocates of the popular party were grouped, ready to declare against the existing authorities, which from day to day they were in the habit of hearing insulted and denounced as enemies.^e

The chamber of deputies voted a credit of five millions for public works, one of thirty millions to make advances to commercial houses. Disturbances at home and abroad united to prevent the resumption of affairs. These alarms were confirmed by the continued low state of public funds. Four of Charles X's ministers, among them Polignac and Peyronnet, had been arrested and confined at Vincennes. The expectation of their trial agitated people's minds.¹

Foreign affairs caused the most lively anxiety. Louis Philippe and the men who surrounded him realised that the counter action of the July Revolution would inevitably make itself felt abroad, and that the new régime would not subsist in France if it permitted the Holy Alliance to recommence, in respect to the French, what the Restoration had done in Spain. The English minister was the first to announce an intention to recognise the new government in France, on condition that it respected existing treaties. Public opinion in England had been very sincere and active in favour of the July Revolution. Prussia and Austria also, in spite of the displeasure and anxiety of Metternich, had received the communications of the new government, properly although with reserve. The great question was the attitude which Russia would take. Against all expectation Nicholas repulsed Louis Philippe's advances rudely, almost brutally. When to his great regret England, Austria, and Prussia had recognised the new government, he consented to keep relations of peace and friendship, but he refused to give the title of "brother" to the king of the French, and recalled his ambassador.^c

Belgium had separated itself from Holland and offered itself to France, but was refused in order not to excite the jealousy of England. Spanish refugees wanted to attempt a revolution in their country. They were arrested at the frontier in order not to violate international rights, even with a prince who was a secret enemy. Poland, delivered for a short period by a heroic effort, called to the French. Was it possible to save her by arms? As she herself said in the midst of her great sufferings: "God is too high and France is too far." Only isolated assistance was sent, which did not prevent Warsaw from succumbing. Its fall found a sad echo in the heart of France.

The approach of the trial of the ministers was causing a fermentation in Paris. Guizot and Broglie retired from the ministry, their demission entailing that of Molé, Louis and Casimir Périer. Laffitte at the urgent insistence of the king accepted the task of forming a new ministry (November 2nd, 1830).^f

LAFFITTE'S MINISTRY

On the 15th of December the ministers of Charles X were tried. La Fayette took every precaution to preserve order. Taken from Vincennes to the Luxembourg they defended themselves before the chamber of peers.

[¹ The populace demanded the death of those who, by signing the ordinances, had brought on the Revolution, and were therefore indirectly the cause of so many deaths. But even La Fayette opposed this, being generous enough to wish their escape, especially because they were his enemies. This also caused a dissension in the cabinet. — MÜLLER.]

being represented by their advocates, Martignac, Hennequin, Sauzet, and Crémieux.

For three days, from the 18th to the 20th of December, the mob besieged the Luxembourg, accusing the government of treason. Paris was terrified. La Fayette tried to negotiate with the ringleaders. On the 20th the inner court of the Luxembourg was forced and the peers were obliged to suspend their sitting. By the 21st the riot had become more formidable. Before pronouncing sentence, Montalivet, minister of the interior, went at the head of the detachment which reconducted the prisoners to Vincennes. The sentence, read at ten o'clock in the evening, condemned the ministers to imprisonment for life. On account of the "clemency" of this verdict a new riot occurred on the 22nd, which was suppressed by the national guards and the troops.^b

At the moment when these new tumults burst forth the chamber of deputies was busily engaged in discussing the bill for the organisation of the national guards. This bill naturally brought into question the position of La Fayette. After a long debate the chamber adopted the article suppressing the functions of commandant-in-general of the national guards of the kingdom (December 24th). Without delay La Fayette sent in his resignation to the king, who resolved to accept it.^c

On the 22nd of January, 1831, there was a riot among the students at the Sorbonne against the academic council assembled to forbid collective demonstrations. The 13th of February a memorial service was held in St. Germain-l'Auxerrois in memory of the assassination of the duke de Berri; there the legitimists made an imprudent demonstration in honour of the duke de Bordeaux. The crowd, thoroughly roused, pillaged the presbytery, profaned the church, and committed many acts of vandalism. In the evening the republicans promenaded carrying arms. Dupin was threatened in his house. The 14th saw the archbishop's palace pillaged. There were fresh scenes of vandalism: the archbishop's country house at Conflans was sacked; the church of Bonne Nouvelle was pillaged, and several public buildings were attacked. Baude, prefect of police, and Odilon Barrot, prefect of the Seine, were perfectly inert. Their complacent proclamations only touched the counter-revolutionists and the legitimists. The *fleurs-de-lis* were torn down everywhere, and the scenes of anarchy were not limited to Paris.

Those who loved order, and had hailed the government as a saviour, began to doubt its strength and even its will. On the 17th of February Delessert denounced the negligence and weakness of the ministry in the chamber. There was yet time to act vigorously against the plotters of sedition, and prevent civil war. Baude and Odilon Barrot made a very poor defence and criticised the retrograde methods hitherto pursued. Guizot wanted the government to free itself from all illegal pressure, and to act in harmony with the chamber, putting itself at the head of society and not at the tail, renouncing a popularity both impossible and compromising. Laffitte still avoided expressing his opinion, and contented himself by replacing Baude and Odilon Barrot by Vivien and Bondy. His position personally became more and more false; even the other ministers acted without him.

The risings continued; strikes spread; credit was low. Laffitte obtained on the 5th of March two hundred million special credit with difficulty; but the chamber refused him a vote of confidence. His friends persuaded him to retire, and he was, moreover, obliged to do so owing to pecuniary embarrassments and the losses sustained by his banking house.^b

One of the direct causes of Laffitte's fall was his position on the Italian question, the minister wishing to aid an insurrection against Austria which

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was on foot there. But the king was even more unwilling to intervene for the independence of Italy than he had been to interfere in the affairs of Belgium. The king had gone behind the back of his minister and made an agreement with Austria, on learning of which Laffitte resigned March 9th, 1831.^a

CASIMIR PÉRIER AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1831-1832 A.D.)

Casimir Périer, the new minister, had been endowed with a gift at the same time very striking and almost universally appreciated, namely a force of character which amounted almost to heroism. President of the chamber before he became prime-minister, he was the man of the majority. His policy may be very briefly summed up: order at home maintained by such means as were authorised by the charter and the law; peace abroad, without sacrificing in the slightest degree the honour of the nation; in foreign affairs three great questions claimed the attention of the French government—Belgium, Poland, and Italy. When Casimir Périer was called upon for a statement of his policy before the chambers, he said: “The principle already laid down of non-intervention is the one we will adopt,” and his actions verified his words.

In 1831 the centre of Italy was occupied by the Austrians on the pretext of overcoming revolution. On the 2nd of February the conclave proclaimed Gregory XVI sovereign pontiff. In order to pacify men's minds, the European powers addressed a memorial to the pope in which they pointed out such reforms as seemed to them likely to appease the dissatisfaction of his subjects. The pope refused to pledge himself, so secret societies were again formed and rebellion broke out anew. Gregory XVI appealed to the Austrians for help. Austria by granting it violated the principle of non-intervention.

Casimir Périer, in the name of France, protested in a way that might have brought about war; on the 7th of February a French fleet carrying a line regiment left Toulon and arrived on the 22nd within sight of Ancona. The troops landed during the night and the town was taken. The pope, indignant, cried, “Such an attempt has not been made against the holy see since the time of the Saracens.” The government made known its intentions. It would protect the holy father even against attacks from within, but it would not suffer Austria to rule in his states; to the foreign ambassadors, who in the name of public justice called upon him for an explanation, Casimir Périer replied, “It is I who defend the rights of Europe at large. Do you think it is easy to keep the peace and insist on the observance of treaties? The honour of France must be maintained.” The pope soon agreed to what he was powerless to prevent. Austria did not pick up the gauntlet which had been thrown down. The Austrian troops evacuated the legations and, on the 24th of October, 1838, the French soldiers set sail for France.

Poland had attempted in 1830 to release herself from the iron grasp of Russia. The institutions granted by the czar Alexander and guaranteed by Europe in 1815 had fallen one by one under the persistent attacks of the Russian government. When the emperor Nicholas came to Warsaw to be crowned in 1829, he refused to revoke the measures of which Poland complained. In the evening of the 29th of November, 1830, at a signal given by means of two fires, an insurrection broke out in Warsaw and the Russian army retired. But the Poles were divided amongst themselves, and the emperor of Russia took advantage of the time wasted by them. A desperate battle, lasting for two days, did not shake the determination of the Poles.

who resisted the Russians for several months. In the meantime they claimed help from the western nations, especially from France, who made them understand that they must not expect any support from her arms. At the same time France reminded Russia of the sacredness of treaties, and proposed to act as a mediator. She begged the other European nations to succour the Poles, but without result.

After the disaster, all she could do was to open her arms to the exiles. This she did eagerly, and gave an asylum to ten thousand Polish refugees. In the streets the mob constantly cried: "Poland forever!" and pursued with this cry the great administrator.ⁱ

Casimir Périer was the only man capable of controlling the situation and of directing what was called the party of the opposition. But he was not inclined to make himself the tool of anyone. He had demanded, together with the presidency of the council, the ministry of the interior. He declared that he intended to preside actively over the council and that the king should not be present. He thought that where responsibility is located, there should also be the power of action. He was resolved to practice the principle laid down by Thiers in *Le National* before the Days of July: "The king reigns, but does not govern."^c

He plainly stated two things: that he wished legal order and that he would consequently fight the republicans and legitimists to the death; that he would not precipitate France into a universal war, and consequently that he would make all sacrifices to the peace of the world, which were compatible with the honour of the country. This language sounded proud; action confirmed it.^f

Dom Miguel in Portugal had treated two Frenchmen outrageously. A fleet forced its way through the straits of the Tagus, hitherto considered impregnable, and anchored at three hundred *toises* from the quays of Lisbon. The Portuguese ministers humbled themselves, and a just reparation was made. The Dutch had invaded Belgium: fifty thousand Frenchmen advanced thither and the Dutch flag gave way.

In the interior the president of the council followed with the same energy the line of conduct he had laid down for himself. Legitimists agitated the departments of the west. Mobile columns extinguished the revolt. The working-classes of Lyons, incited by too severe suffering, but also by agitators, had rebelled, inscribing on their banner this sad and sinister device: "Live in working or die in fighting." After a frightful *mêlée* in the city itself, they were disarmed and order appeared re-established on the surface. Grenoble in its turn ran with blood.^c

In Paris the different parties were not wanting in energy. Two legitimist plots broke out—first, that of "the Towers of Notre-Dame." Six individuals secreted themselves in the bell-tower of the cathedral to ring the tocsin and thus give the signal for insurrection. They were arrested and imprisoned. The following month a new conspiracy was discovered, that of the "rue des Prouvaires." The agent Poncelet had managed to enrol twenty-five hundred men in Paris. At a given moment these men were to rise and carry off the royal family by force. They were arrested in rue des Prouvaires. However, the government was attacked by the papers of all parties with an ever-increasing bitterness. In speaking of Frenchmen M. de Montalivet used the word "subjects," and someone cried: "What about the minister?" and a deputy added: "Men who make kings are not subjects."

Soon after this the overwhelming anxiety caused by a terrible epidemic of cholera absorbed the thoughts and attention of the whole nation. The

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scourge, which came originally from India, had already spread all over the Old World from China and Russia to England. It spread from town to town and from capital to capital defying all efforts to arrest its progress. It broke out in Paris on the 26th of March, 1832, raged for a hundred and eighty-nine days and carried off nineteen thousand persons.¹ It spread through twenty-seven departments. Casimir Périer had visited the hospital with the duke of Orleans; two days afterwards he was confined to his bed. His health had for some time been feeble, and he died on the 16th of May after severe and protracted suffering. When Louis Philippe heard of his death he said to one who was present: "Casimir Périer is dead: is it a blessing or a misfortune? The future will show." The king was not always quite comfortable with such an imperious minister.²

LOMÉNIE'S ESTIMATE OF CASIMIR PÉRIER

No man better understood or did more to maintain representative government than Périer. That is to say he thought the government should be carried on under an open sky, so to speak, and always under the eyes and control of the country. It has been truly said of him that he governed from the tribunal, and that he was sometimes indiscreet in his fear of not being sufficiently frank. No statesman ever had a stronger sense of the duties or of the rights appertaining to responsibility and the exercise of power. He wished the throne to be respected and to be worthy of respect as the chief magistracy of the kingdom, but he wished it to remain inviolable and strictly within its own exalted sphere, ruling over parties without mixing in them.

An open enemy of what has since been called personal government, Périer was no less hostile to emergency laws; he refused them, with equal firmness before the entreaties of his friends and the representations of his enemies. His courageous confidence in public opinion always made him look on the common law energetically administered as the only instrument which could be suitably employed by the "government of July." "Our system of home policy," he would say, "is to make the laws of the land our constant rule of action, to support the government by restoring to it the power and unity which it lacks, to reinstate and tranquillise all sorts of interests, by giving them guarantees of order and stability, to respect the laws and to draw from our legislative system and the moral strength which arises from it, all our methods of action and of influence; it is in short never to consent to form a party government and, while keeping a strict watch over any intrigues that may be woven in secret, never to yield to the temptation of crushing the vanquished; for, in so doing, victory is dishonoured."

In his dealings with other nations the language and behaviour of the statesman of the 13th of March were always worthy of France. He desired peace but he would not have sacrificed either the interests or honour of his country to preserve it. He would not rashly enter upon a quarrel but when once he had declared himself he never drew back, and when he considered the moment for action had arrived, he acted quite independently without the sanction of anyone else. Thus he entered Belgium entirely on his own initiative and without waiting for the conference of London to authorise him in doing so. Thus he blockaded and took the port of Lisbon, without troubling himself about the dissatisfaction of England. It was thus that in order to convince Austria that she had better retire from the Roman states he could find no better way than forcing an entry into Ancona and establish-

[¹ In the whole of France it counted 120,000 victims in 1832.c]

ing himself there. Thus it was in short that he was capable, with a vivacity which was characteristically French, of reducing to silence a Russian ambassador who dared to speak to him about the "decisions" of the emperor.

To sum up : whatever judgment we may form of the political career of Casimir Périer, it would be impossible for any unprejudiced person to fail to recognise in him two valuable qualities which essentially distinguished him, namely : energy and loyalty.¹

SUCCEEDING MINISTRIES

Montalivet replaced Casimir Périer in the office of minister for home affairs, but not in the presidency of the council. Louis Philippe did not care to share the power with a viceroy. Laborious, intelligent, gifted with a fine sense of honour, unimpulsive, courageous as he was merciful and easy-tempered, the king was impressed by his own superiority, and wished to direct the government himself, and to establish what he called his 'system.' He was too inclined to attribute the merit of success to himself. For a long time he sought to place at the head of the cabinet a president who would inspire confidence in foreign nations, and to induce orators to enter who could defend his politics victoriously before the chambers. His ideas led to the resignation of Sébastiani and Montalivet, looked upon as court followers ; the formation of the ministry of October 11th, composed of Marshal Soult the president, with Broglie, minister of foreign affairs, Thiers, home secretary ; Guizot, minister of education, Humann, minister of finance, Admiral de Rigny, Barthe, and d'Argout ; and the creation of sixty-two new peers.²

Meanwhile society had been moved to its lowest depths by the partisans of Saint-Simon and of Fourier, who demanded another social order. They themselves still played the part of mere apostles of peace, but the insurrection at Lyons had shown that among the proletariat there was a whole army ready to apply their doctrines. The national guard energetically defended the monarchy, when, in consequence of the obsequies attending the funeral of General Lamarque, the republicans gave battle behind the barricades of St. Merry on the 5th and 6th of June. This check arrested their party for some time. A month later (July 22nd, 1832) the death of Napoleon's son, the duke of Reichstadt, relieved the Orleanist dynasty of a redoubtable rival and the marriage of Princess Louise with the king of the Belgians seemed to give it an added support.

Another pretender also lost her cause. The duchess de Berri, who had landed secretly on the coasts of Provence with the title of regent, was come to stir up civil war in the west, in the name of her son Henry V. But there were no longer either Vendéans or royalists of the Loire (Chouans) in existence. The new ideas had made way there as elsewhere, and more than elsewhere even. "Those people are patriots and republicans," said an officer charged to combat them. A few nobles, some refractory persons, few peasants responded to the call. The country, overrun with troops, was quickly pacified, and the duchess, after wandering for a long time from farm to farm, entered Nantes, disguised as a peasant. This adventurous attempt showed the weakness of the legitimist party. To complete its ruin Thiers, who was at that time minister, instituted an active search for the duchess.³

¹ Müller says that she was betrayed to the authorities by a Jew named Deuz who was paid 500,000 francs. Her relative Louis Philippe was relieved from his predicament as to her disposal by her giving birth to a daughter whose paternity she could not satisfactorily explain. She was allowed to go to Palermo and the legitimists ceased for a time to be willing to risk their heroes and heroines on the slippery ground of France. They fixed their only hope on a general reaction.³¹

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Discovered on the 7th of November and imprisoned at Blaye, she was obliged to confess to a secret marriage which made any other attempt of the same kind impossible for the future.

The capture by French soldiers of the citadel of Antwerp which the Dutch refused to give up to the Belgians put an end to the critical situation from which war might result at any moment (December 23rd, 1832). The occupation of Arzeu, of Mostaganem, and of Bougie confirmed the French occupation of Algeria, and these expeditions to the border of the Schelde and on the shores of the Mediterranean brought some glory to French arms.

In Portugal, Dom Miguel, absolutist prince, had been dethroned in the interests of Donna Maria, who gave the people a constitutional charter. In Spain, Ferdinand VII was on the point of death, excluding from the crown, with the abolishment of the Salic law, his brother Don Carlos, who was sustained by the retrograde party. Thus the whole peninsula escaped from an absolutist party at the same time.^f

In the discussion on the budget of 1833 the opposition combated the idea of raising detached forts round Paris, "making a Bastille of it." In such an act they saw a danger to liberty. The revolutionists appealed to the national guard and the working-classes, and prepared to celebrate the July anniversary. The plot was unearthed by the police, who seized the stores of arms and arrested several heads of sections. Later on, nearly all the accused were acquitted because the plot had been without result. The acquittments led to deplorable results. The republicans organised strikes. On October 23rd, the *Société des droits de l'homme* published a manifesto in *La Tribune* and put themselves under the patronage of Robespierre.

The new session opened December 22nd, 1833. The republicans who had signed the *Tribune* manifesto were called upon to declare themselves. New repressive laws were passed: one, 17th February, 1834, against street-criers; this was followed on the 24th by a rising, which was promptly suppressed. On March 25th a severe law was issued against associations. Not more than twenty persons were to meet. The cognisance of political offences committed by them belonged to a jury; that of infractions of the law to the ordinary tribunals, and attempts against the safety of the state to the chamber of peers. The opposition vainly brought all their forces to weaken these provisions, but the majority was a strong one and obtained a decisive triumph. A law was passed against the fabrication or storing of arms and ammunition. The government was henceforward armed with every possible means of resistance, and yet these were not called emergency laws.^h

The Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed April 22nd, 1834, between the courts of Paris, London, Lisbon, and Madrid, promised to the new Spanish and Portuguese governments the sure support of two great constitutional countries, against the ill-will of the northern courts. In France these promises even led to some effect. To sustain the young queen Isabella, in case of need, against the Spanish legitimists, the natural allies of the French legitimists, an army corps of fifty thousand men was organised at the foot of the Pyrenees.^f

FIESCHI'S INFERNAL MACHINE AND THE "SEPTEMBER LAWS"

For some time rumours of plots against the king's life had been in circulation. There was, so to speak, a presage of evil in the air. The public was uneasy. The republican and legitimist newspapers attributed these reports

to the police ; but they had too real a foundation. The police had not invented conspiracies, but had prevented many ; now it was said in France and abroad that there would be an attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe during the annual review of July 28th. This might have no other origin than the thought of the opportunity that this day offered to the king's enemies ; but from July 26th to 27th, the rumours grew more distinct ; the police was warned that an infernal machine had been constructed, and that the blow would be struck near the boulevard du Temple ; they made diligent search but without success. It was most imprudent to pass the troops in review on the boulevards, where an unexpected attack would be so easy, rather than in the Champ de Mars.

The information by which the police had been unable to profit was unfortunately not imaginary. At the moment when the royal procession reached the boulevard du Temple, on the spot where the Jardin Turc then was, the king perceived a puff of smoke burst forth from beneath the shutters of a house on the boulevard. He quickly exclaimed to one of his sons who was beside him, "Joinville, that is intended for me."

A loud detonation was heard, the roadway was strewn with slain and wounded ; more than forty people fell. Among the dead was Marshal Mortier, who had escaped so many battles to perish, murdered in Paris, by a blow intended for another. With him were killed a general officer, superior officers of the army and of the national guard, some old men and women. Five other generals were wounded. The horses of the king and the prince de Joinville had been struck, but the projectiles whistled around the king and his sons without touching them.

In the midst of the universal terror, Louis Philippe said composedly, "Now, gentlemen, let us proceed." And he finished his progress amongst the acclamations of the national guard and the indignant populace. The police hastened to the spot whence the explosions had proceeded ; it proved to be a small house of mean appearance, No. 50, boulevard du Temple. They found here a machine composed of twenty-four gun-barrels arranged like organ-pipes. There was no one in the room ; but, in a neighbouring courtyard, a man who had descended from the roof, by means of a rope, was arrested. He was covered with blood and mutilated — he had been wounded by his own machine, several of the gun-barrels having burst. He said his name was Girard, but it was soon discovered that he was a Corsican, called Fieschi.

The public feeling was one of horror at this outrage, which as in the case of the first infernal machine directed against Bonaparte had indiscriminately struck so many victims whilst attempting to reach the intended one. The reaction produced was profitable to the king, whose brave composure was praised. The population took part with emotion in the solemn obsequies of the dead, which were held on July 28th. Then followed the same consequences as after the assassination of the duke de Berri ; free institutions paid for Fieschi's crime, as they had paid for that of Louvel. On August 4th, in imitation of the royalist ministry of 1820, Louis Philippe's ministers presented to the chamber of deputies a number of restrictive and reactionary laws.

After the catastrophe which had just terrified Paris and France, it was not to be wondered at that all possible precautions should be taken to protect the king's person against hatreds which were manifested in so terrible a manner, but far more than this was intended. The bills interdicted not only all offensive allusion to the king's person, but all discussion regarding his claims to the throne, and the principle of his government. It was forbidden to

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assume the name of republican, and to express a desire for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons. The number of votes necessary for the condemnation of accused persons was reduced from eight to seven out of twelve in the jury; it was the simple majority instead of the two-thirds. The offences of exciting hatred or contempt of the king's person, or of his constitutional authority, were in these bills made crimes liable to be brought before the court of peers. The penalties were increased in extravagant proportions. Terms of imprisonment were much lengthened and fines were raised from ten thousand to fifty thousand francs. In proportion as the penalties were increased the difficulty of escaping them was augmented not only by changes in jurisdiction, but by the introduction of a flood of new definitions.

The deposits required of newspapers were considerably increased. All the illustrations and engravings were submitted to preliminary authorisation, that is to say, to the censorship. Some republican artists of much talent had made caricature a perfect implement of war against Louis Philippe and against all men of the *Juste Milieu*; they had far surpassed the English in this style of polemics, the sharpest and most incisive of all. The new laws broke this weapon in their hands.

The constitutional opposition resisted energetically; it felt that the government of July, by seeking to exaggerate its actual strength, was risking its future. There was deep emotion in the assembly when Royer-Collard, the aged head of the doctrinal school, recalled to constitutional principles his disciples, Broglie and Guizot. He worthily crowned his career by his grand and austere defence of legitimate liberty. One seemed to have gone back to the Restoration, and it was the doctrinaires and one of the liberal parties who replaced Villèle and Peyronnet.

Dupin, with less haughtiness, but plenty of common-sense and logic, also supported the cause of press and jury. But all in vain. The majority was maddened by Fieschi's attempt, and voted for everything; even increasing the terms proposed. The chamber of peers followed the chamber of deputies. There also, however, eloquent protests were made; Villemain, Guizot's former and celebrated colleague at the Sorbonne, made a brilliant but ineffectual defence of liberty. The laws against press and jury were termed the "laws of September," because the decisive vote took place on the 9th of that month. The republicans called them the "Fieschi laws."^c

THE RISE OF THIERS AND GUIZOT

Amongst the prominent possibilities for ministerial power two were specially prominent—Guizot and Thiers. Guizot was a Protestant and a native of Nîmes. He was still quite young in 1815, but had already occupied important positions. At first an enthusiastic royalist, the extremist members of his party had driven him to join the opposition. As a professor of history he had won the applause of his pupils. His mind was dry but powerful; as a writer he was stiff but dignified; in the tribune the ideas he expressed were methodically formulated and his style was cold and haughty; in public life he maintained an attitude of proud severity. Since Royer-Collard had grown too old for public functions Guizot had been the leading man of the "theoretical politicians." This name was given at the Restoration to a party of men whose power consisted more in their talents than in their number (a wag had said that the whole party could sit on one sofa). The name did not imply that they were consistently attached to the same

theories for long together, but there was a certain sententiousness in their language which justified the title.

Guizot was the historian and the theoretical exponent of the policy whose statesman had been Casimir P rier. He had founded a historical and philosophical system on the power given to the upper middle class, that is to say on the most ephemeral of expedients. His past life and his opinions constituted him the most conservative of the Orleanist party.

Thiers was just the reverse; at that time he was young and modern; a little rotund man, with a peculiar face already adorned by the traditional spectacles, sparkling with wit and vivacity, very supple minded, clever in adapting himself to circumstances, understanding or at least in touch with everything, drawn to the people by the poverty of his early life and by his ardent enthusiasm, imbued with the history of the empire, an ardent admirer of military exploits and of strong measures, he formed, during six years of uninterrupted rivalry, the strongest possible contrast to Guizot.

Guizot and Thiers both became members of the same government that of the 11th of October, 1833. This ministry passed through many vicissitudes, was modified several times, and had many different chiefs.

The marked feature of all succeeding combinations, the union of Guizot and Thiers, disappeared in 1836. For a short time Thiers was alone. But the king had made a plan of his own, and on the 15th of April, 1837, as we shall see, he made Mol  prime minister. Mol 's chief merit in the king's eyes was that he was ready to do as he was told; in short, he acknowledged the king as his master. The idea of a personal government made men of all shades of opinion, and even those who were bitter rivals, unite against the new minister. Thiers, Guizot, and the man who wished to bring the new r gime back to the traditions of the Revolution of 1830, Odilon Barrot, formed a coalition which included men of every party who had united with all those who had taken leading parts in the government of July. Mol  tried to make himself popular. He set free political prisoners, and resolved to grant the amnesty which everyone, as everyone always does, had declared to be impossible, but which everybody, and this too is a common occurrence, applauded as soon as it was accomplished. The amnesty reflects credit on the Mol  ministry, but it did not save it. It succumbed in 1839 beneath the repeated attacks of its opponents.

The latter split up into sections immediately after their victory. A crisis which seemed interminable supervened. For two months, abortive measures and man uvres which became the laughing-stock of the newspapers perpetually proclaimed the inefficacy of the government. It was only when, during an insurrection, the sound of firing was heard, that a ministry was formed in which neither of the leaders of the party had a place. This was the last expedient of the reign. Soon, after so many short ministries, there was to be one which was too durable and which was to put an end to the existing state of things.

The struggle between Thiers and Guizot occupied the closing years of the reign. On the 1st of March, 1840, Louis Philippe decided to request Thiers to form a government. In doing this the king acknowledged himself defeated: first because Thiers was most intolerant of the king's interference in affairs of state, and secondly because he represented the boldest element, the section which was most nearly allied to the Left benches, of the Orleanist party. Louis Philippe resigned himself, not without misgivings, to this state of things, and Guizot agreed to absent himself from the debates in the chamber, and even to serve under his rival by accepting the embassy in London.

[1834-1840 A.D.]

And what was Thiers going to do that would not have been done by a docile instrument of the king? He gave up all the reforms, and all the principles in whose name he had just made such a determined opposition. The minister's language was different, his relations with the left benches were dissimilar, but the policy was the same. Thiers began by refusing either to change anything in the repressive laws made during the previous ten years, or to undertake any electoral reform. One or two hundred thousand rich men would continue to vote and to govern, to the exclusion of the ten million citizens; and, in order to keep the latter in subjection, all the weapons which had been forged during the government of July for the maintenance of authority were preserved.

Outside the kingdom Thiers did nothing more; indeed he could do nothing. The fact was it was difficult enough for him to get the king to accept him at all. Unpopular and feeling his position continually threatened at the Tuileries, he dared not act. He governed, but was paralysed by opposition.

Only two measures were prepared by him, and he had not time to carry them through. He formed the plan for the fortification of Paris, a plan which was variously regarded by different parties. The liberals looked upon it as a military precaution against foreign foes; the court as a means of subduing Paris in case of need. The events of 1870 sufficiently proved that, from a national point of view, Thiers was right. The plan was revived by Marshal Soult during the next ministry and was sanctioned. Thus, thirty years later, Paris was able to defend herself.

With Thiers, too, originated the idea of bringing back the remains of Napoleon I in triumph from St. Helena and placing them in the Invalides. Thus more warlike ideas, which would have given France a prouder position amongst the nations of Europe, but which were held in check by the king, and which the minister found himself obliged to abandon one after another, were all merged in a sort of funeral procession in honour of the conqueror who, in the name of France, had dictated laws to the whole world.^k We may now review in some detail the ministries from 1836 to 1840, first noting the war with Abdul-Kadir.^a

WAR WITH ABDUL-KADIR

In the province of Oran a new power had arisen, one very dangerous to the French, that of a young Arab chief, full of courage and intelligence, the descendant of a family which exercised a hereditary religious influence. Abdul-Kadir presented himself to the Moslem tribes as being the man whom the prophet Mohammed had destined to deliver them from the "Rumis" (Christians). General Desmichels, who commanded at Oran was imprudent enough to treat Abdul-Kadir as an equal and to recognise him as the emir, the prince of all the Moslems of that country (February 25th, 1834). French authority thus imposed Abdul-Kadir on those very Moslems who till then had not wished to submit to him. He was not content with dominating the province of Oran, where the French occupied only a few points; he presumed to establish his lieutenants even in the province of Algeria.

A rupture was inevitable; and, at the battle of the Maeta, a small French force commanded by General Trézel disengaged itself only with great difficulty and loss from the midst of large numbers of Arabs united under Abdul-Kadir (June 26th, 1835). The French government decided finally to send into Africa General (later Marshal) Clausel, accompanied by the duke of

Orleans. Marshal Clausel took the offensive against Abdul-Kadir, scored a victory at Mascara, the residence of the emir, and occupied Tlemcen (November, 1835-January, 1836). These were the two principal cities of the province of Oran.

The marshal, however, had not received sufficient forces; Abdul-Kadir might continue the war, and, on the other hand, the bey of Constantine, who ruled in the east of Algeria and constituted another independent power in that region, was defying and harassing the French. Clausel returned to Paris to ask for reinforcements. It was during the ministry of Thiers, who had understood the necessity of putting an end to half-measures. He would have enabled Clausel to act on a large scale. Unfortunately he fell and his successors did not inherit his broad views. Clausel did not have at his disposal all the resources which he thought necessary to make an attack upon Constantine. There was necessity for it, however, if all authority in the eastern province was not to be lost. The weather was bad, the season advanced. Clausel decided nevertheless to risk the expedition.

The marshal set out from Bona November 8th, 1836, with a small force of less than nine thousand men, including some native auxiliaries. He arrived before Constantine on the 21st, after having crossed the Little Atlas with great difficulty in the midst of winter rains which made this rugged country almost impassable. As Ahmed Bey was unpopular, it had been hoped that the Kabyle and Arab tribes would join the French. But upon seeing the numerical weakness of the French, they remained on the side of the bey and the French troops saw them upon their flanks while the city was defended by a strong garrison well provided with artillery. The ground was so soft that it had not even been possible to bring up the light field-guns on this kind of isthmus.

A double attack failed. Provisions and even munitions were growing scarce. Retreat became inevitable. It was forty leagues to Bona and the French troops must cross the mountains harassed by thousands of Arab horsemen. The Arabs tried to destroy the rearguard, where a weak battalion of the 2nd light cavalry was protecting the ammunition wagons loaded with the wounded. The Arab cavalry threw themselves in a body upon this handful of men. The commandant Changarnier gave orders to form a square and resolutely await the multitude of enemies. The fire of two ranks at pistol range covered the ground with men and horses. The Arabs were thoroughly tired of the charge and contented themselves henceforth with sharpshooting at a distance. This incident made the military fortune of the commandant Changarnier.

Marshal Clausel conducted the retreat to Bona with much vigour and skill. The ministry, with which he was not in favour, made him bear all the responsibility of this defeat and recalled him. They appointed General Damrémont to succeed him, but returned to the bad system of having a general at Oran who was independent of the governor of Algiers. General Bugeaud, who had the reputation of an energetic officer, was sent to Oran; there was reason to hope that he would dispose of Abdul-Kadir. But he allowed himself to be entangled in the diplomatic schemes of the Arab chief and signed a new treaty with him worse than that of his predecessor, Desmichels. In return for a vague acceptance of the sovereignty of France, Bugeaud recognised Abdul-Kadir as emir, not only of nearly the whole of the province of Oran, but of the province of Titer, intermediate between the provinces of Oran and Algiers; he even conceded to him a part of the territory of Algiers. Abdul-Kadir's authority extended then beyond Medea,

[1836-1837 A.D.]

to the last chain of the Little Atlas, above Blida, in fact, into the Metidja itself. The wretched Treaty of the Tafna thus meant a precarious peace which gave the emir the means and the time to organise a strong opposition. The governor of Algiers at least made use of it to operate in the province of Constantine and repair the losses of Clausel; for it had been felt to be impossible to remain quiet under this blow.

General Damrémont had not a much larger force than Clausel — 10,000 men altogether; but he set out much earlier in the season, well provisioned and equipped with siege guns. The army arrived before Fort Constantine in the best of condition on the 6th of October. The autumn rains had begun. Unprecedented efforts were necessary to drag the cannon up Coudiat-Aty. The breach, nevertheless, was opened the 11th of October. On the following morning General Damrémont approached to reconnoitre the breach. He was instantly killed by a bullet. The loss of this brave leader, instead of disheartening the army, inspired it. An old soldier of the republic, the artillery-general Valée, took the command, immediately ordered the firing to recommence, and on the morning of the 13th sent three columns to the assault. The first was in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lamoricière, and was composed principally of Zouaves. This corps, since become so famous, had originally been formed of native auxiliaries and retained its picturesque oriental costume, though recruited with Frenchmen and frequently with Parisians. Lamoricière impetuously spurred on his men, scaled the breach, and penetrated into the city, supported by the other two columns. A bloody struggle was kept up from house to house in the narrow streets and amid the ruins made by the cannon. Lamoricière was cruelly burned by the explosion of a powder magazine, but he survived and had a brilliant military career.

When the French columns had united in the middle of the city, what was left of the Mussulman authorities surrendered, and the firing ceased. A frightful scene marked the end of resistance. A great number of the inhabitants had madly attempted to escape from the city by descending the jagged rocks of the gorge of the Rummel. Many of these unfortunates tumbled from rock to rock and were dashed to pieces in the bed of the torrent. The conquest of the ancient capital of Numidia gave France a firm base for the future in the interior of Algeria. The event did the army much honour; but the ministry did not derive from the amnesty nor from the taking of Constantine the hoped-for effect upon the elections.^c

MINISTERIAL CRISES (1836 A.D.)

Between 1836 and 1840, the cabinet was modified five times successively: its leaders were Thiers, Count Molé, Broglie, Marshal Soult, and once again Thiers.

In the first ministry of Thiers the cabinet did not last long. Thiers soon settled the internal difficulties; he succeeded in adjourning the conversion of stock, and was supported by the majority of the chamber. It was during this ministry that one of the men who were to a great extent responsible for the revolution of July, having, with Thiers and Mignet, founded *Le National*, disappeared from the scene. Armand Carrel, separated from his former colleagues, had ardently embraced republican doctrines of which his paper soon became the mouthpiece, he had however rejected communism. A political quarrel with M. de Girardin who had just founded *La Presse* brought about a duel in which the editor of *Le National*

was mortally wounded. He died at St. Mandé, after having refused the consolations of religion, saying that he died in the faith of Benjamin Constant, of Manuel, and of liberty. The home policy of Thiers was very judicious but his foreign policy was a failure. Wishing to restore France to the position she had formerly occupied amongst the powers of Europe, Thiers was anxious for the French government to interfere in Spanish affairs by sending troops to put a stop to the civil war in Spain, by repulsing Don Carlos and by supporting the young queen Isabella II. The king took fright at the idea of an expedition into the Peninsula. "Let us help the Spaniards from without," he said, "but do not let us embark on their ship; if we do we shall certainly have to take the helm, and God knows what will happen." Thiers sent in his resignation and was succeeded by Molé and Guizot.

The union of these two ministers did not last long and was brought to an end by an important event.

THE STRASBURG BONAPARTIST PLOT

This ministry had not been in existence two months when the attempt made at Strasburg by Louis Bonaparte took place.

The nephew of Napoleon I had been living for some years at the castle of Arenenberg in Switzerland with his mother, and was a captain of artillery in the Swiss army. The continual risings which took place in France, and the letters of his partisans, made him believe that the time had come for attempting, by means of a military revolution, to replace on the throne the Napoleonic dynasty of which he was the head now that the duke of Reichstadt was dead. He had succeeded in opening communications with the garrison of Strasburg. On the 29th of October, 1836, he arrived at Strasburg. The next day at five o'clock in the morning, Colonel Vaudrey presented him to the fourth artillery regiment. For a few moments he succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of the soldiers who cried "Long live Napoleon! Long live the Emperor!" But the 46th line regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Taillandier, turned a deaf ear to these outcries and remained faithful to their duty. By order of their commanding officer, the infantry surrounded Louis Bonaparte and took him prisoner. Louis Philippe sent him to America. The other conspirators were brought to trial and acquitted, for the jury were unwilling to pronounce them guilty when the chief culprit had been sent away unpunished.

This acquittal made the government uneasy and the "bill of Separation," or law of Disjunction, was brought before the chambers. This bill provided that when civil and military offenders were both implicated in the same plot, the former only should be tried at the assizes, and the others by a court martial. The bill, which was fiercely attacked by Berryer, was rejected. The ministry were unable to survive this reverse. A ministerial crisis supervened, and ten days were spent in intrigues and negotiations, but eventually the court party led by Molé carried the day.

Molé remained in power nearly two years. Four important events relating to foreign policy took place during this ministry. The first was the marriage of the duke of Orleans, the king's eldest son. This young prince married on the 30th of May, 1837, the Lutheran princess Helen of Mecklenburg. It was on the occasion of this marriage that the galleries of Versailles, containing sculptures and paintings illustrating the chief events of French history, were thrown open to the public. An amnesty was granted to all criminal and political offenders who were then in prison. The second public

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act of the ministry was their intervention in America. The Mexican government refused to make any reparation for injuries suffered by French merchants. A fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral Baudin and the prince de Joinville bombarded the fort of San Juan de Ulúa near Vera Cruz. By the treaty of March 9th Mexico granted the claims of France. An intervention of the same kind took place in Buenos Ayres, but it was many years before the required reparation was obtained.

The republic of Haiti, formerly under French rule, had obtained its independence in 1825 by paying an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs to the original colonists. The payment of this indemnity was so long delayed that it was found necessary to send a fleet to these parts also. The republic thus intimidated, yielded and agreed to pay 60,000,000 francs, which sum the French consented to accept. The other two events, which have been already recorded, were the recognition of Belgium and the evacuation of Ancona.

The ministry was keenly attacked by the coalition. The heads of parties in the chamber, Thiers, Guizot, and Odilon Barrot, united against M. Molé. The debate on the address in reply to the king's speech was very heated (January, 1839). M. Molé obtained only a very slight majority in favour of the amendments, which he himself proposed, to this document, which was drawn up in a spirit very hostile to the ministry. He wished to retire, but the king retained him and dissolved the chamber. The elections went in favour of the coalition. Molé retired on the 8th of March, 1839. Parliamentary tradition triumphed over monarchical tradition. The deputies had vanquished the king, of whom Thiers said "he reigns but he does not govern."

For two months all sorts of systems and plans were discussed. The three chiefs could not agree; each one wished to have the chief power. The king, who did not much relish being ruled by them, put them aside saying, "Gentlemen, try to come to an agreement." Provisional ministers were appointed to carry on the necessary business. Their names were greeted by peals of laughter and by gibes. The disorder became so great that the republican party took advantage of it to raise an insurrection. On the 12th of May the society called "The Seasons," led by Barbès and Blanqui, attacked an armourer's store. Being repulsed, they entrenched themselves behind a barricade. After a desperate resistance, they were almost all killed or taken prisoners. Barbès and Blanqui were condemned to death, but their punishment was commuted to imprisonment for life. However, they were released in 1848. On the very evening of this attempted rising a regular ministry was formed.

THE SOULT MINISTRY

This ministry lasted only ten months. At this period the Eastern question began to occupy public attention, but its difficulties were not the cause of the fall of the ministry, which was due to the disagreements on the question of a royal dowry. The marriage of the duke de Nemours seemed to Louis Philippe a suitable occasion for demanding for his son an income of half a million, to be provided from the public treasury. Public opinion was very hostile to such demands for money. Numerous petitions called on the chamber to refuse the dowry. The day for deciding the question by vote arrived. The ministry, feeling certain of success, did not defend the measure, and realised what an error had been committed only when the votes were counted and two hundred and twenty-six black balls were announced

against two hundred white ones. The ministry went out of office. M. Thiers loved revolutions, glory, and fighting, and professed a sort of cult for the genius of the emperor. These predilections being in accordance with popular feeling, he was recalled to power.

Since 1792 Louis Philippe had been fearing lest a victory of his foreign foes might encourage them to march on Paris, which was undefended. In 1814 and in 1817 he had vainly tried to induce Louis XVIII to render the heart of France invulnerable, by the adequate fortification of Paris. Since 1830 all propositions in favour of carrying out this scheme had been frustrated. At length, however, the march of events supplemented the king's convictions and perseverance. France was apprehensive of a war with the whole of Europe. A French defeat, and a bold march on the part of the enemy might lead to the taking of Paris. A bill was passed for encircling Paris with ramparts protected by enormous forts. This work, which was carried out in less than seven years, cost 140,000,000 francs.

THE RETURN OF NAPOLEON'S REMAINS

Either as a means of exciting patriotic feeling or in accordance with the policy which wished to found the government of July on the renown of the first Napoleon, the king, in accordance with his ministers, resolved to demand from England the ashes of the emperor, who had died at St. Helena. Lord Palmerston granted the demand, and the prince de Joinville, on board the frigate *Belle Poule*, went to fetch these precious relics.ⁱ

The frigate made a good passage, and arrived in safety at St. Helena. The officers intrusted with the melancholy duty were received with the utmost respect by the English garrison, and every preparation was made to give due solemnity to the disinterment of the emperor's remains. The solitary tomb under the willow tree was opened, the winding-sheet rolled back with pious care, and the features of the immortal hero exposed to the view of the entranced spectators. So perfectly had the body been embalmed that the features were undecayed, the countenance serene, even a smile on the lips, and his dress the same, since immortalised in statuary, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz or Jena. Borne first on a magnificent hearse, and then down to the harbour on the shoulders of the British grenadiers, amidst the discharge of artillery from the vessels, batteries, and all parts of the island, the body was lowered into the French frigate, and England nobly and in a right spirit parted with the proudest trophy of her national glory. The *Belle Poule* had a favourable voyage home, and reached Havre in safety in the beginning of December. The interment was fixed for the 15th of the same month — not at St. Denis, amidst her ancient sovereigns, but in the church of the Invalides, beside the graves of Turenne, Vanban, Lannes, and the paladins of France; and every preparation was made for giving the utmost magnificence to the absorbing spectacle.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and excitement which prevailed in Paris when the day fixed for the august ceremony arrived. The weather was favourable; the sun shone forth in unclouded brilliancy, but a piercing wind from the north blew with such severity that several persons perished of cold as they were waiting for the funeral procession. Early on the morning of the 15th, the coffin, which had been brought by the Seine to Courbevoie the preceding evening, was placed on a gigantic funeral-car, and at ten it began its march, attended by an immense and splendid military escort, and amidst a crowd of six hundred thousand spectators. So dense

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was the throng that it was half-past one when the procession reached the place de la Concorde, from whence it passed by the bridge of the same name to the church of the Invalides, where it was received by the king, the royal family, with the archbishop and all the clergy of Paris. "Sire," said the prince de Joinville, who approached at the head of the coffin, "I present to you the body of the emperor Napoleon." "General Bertrand," said the king, "I command you to place the sword of the emperor on his coffin." When this was done, he said, "General Gourgaud, place the hat of the emperor on his coffin." This also was done; and, the king having withdrawn, the coffin was placed on a magnificent altar in the centre of the church, the funeral service was performed with the utmost solemnity, and the *Dies Iræ* chanted with inexpressible effect by a thousand voices. Finally, the coffin, amidst entrancing melody, was lowered into the grave, while every eye in the vast assemblage was wet with tears, and the bones of Napoleon "finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the people whom he had loved so well."^d

THE EASTERN QUESTION

France intervened in the interests of the pacha of Egypt, for whose success she was anxious, though she did not desire the destruction of Turkey. The pacha checked the march of his victorious army. France and England ought to have come to an understanding, for their interests were similar; but England was jealous of France's position in Egypt. Besides, the czar Nicholas hated Louis Philippe. In London a conference met to discuss the affairs of the East; Russia, England, Austria, and Prussia signed a treaty without deigning to include France. When this insult became known, popular feeling was aroused, and a sentiment of keen irritation spread through France. It was suggested that the nation should rise in arms to avenge this insult to the national honour. Thiers made preparations for war, and called out the national guard. This was a dangerous attitude for France to adopt for it was impossible to declare war on the whole of Europe. Louis Philippe understood this, and when Thiers, having drawn up a statement which assumed war to be imminent, asked the immediate convocation of the chambers to support this policy, the king refused to follow his advice. This was equal to dismissing the minister and Thiers resigned. A short time after, the Eastern difficulty was settled by the Convention of the Straits, which was signed by France as well as by the other powers. This treaty forbade all vessels, of whatever nationality, to enter the Dardanelles, and made Egypt subject to Turkey. France had thus regained her position in Europe. There followed the ministry which lasted from the 29th of October, 1840, till the 24th of February, 1848.

Marshal Soult was directed to form a ministry. This cabinet had more stability than those which preceded it and lasted till the fall of Louis Philippe. M. Guizot had complete management of affairs, and relied constantly on the support of the majority in the chamber, without taking into consideration either the wishes or opinion of the country.ⁱ

LOUIS-NAPOLEON'S SECOND ATTEMPT AT A COUP D'ÉTAT

Louis Philippe left Paris for his castle of Eu, where he had given a rendezvous to MM. Thiers and Guizot for the purpose of discussing Eastern affairs. There he received strange tidings: Louis Napoleon had landed at Boulogne on August 6th, 1840. The latter, since he had transferred his

residence to England, had recommenced the same operations as in Switzerland; bribing newspapers, distributing pamphlets, tampering with officers and sergeants. He believed he could count upon the commander of the département du Nord, General Magnan, an equivocal character, to whom he had offered a large sum of money, and who, later on, was to be one of his chief accomplices on December 2nd. He had even entered into relations with a higher official, Marshal Clausel. He determined to land near Boulogne, purposing to capture the small garrison of that town, to seize the castle, which contained a gun magazine, then to direct his steps towards the département du Nord, and from thence to Paris.

He prepared declamatory proclamations wherein he promised to the soldiers "glory, honour, wealth," and to the people reduction of taxes, order, and liberty. "Soldiers," he said, "the great spirit of Napoleon speaks to you through me. Traitors, be gone, the Napoleonic spirit, which cares but for the welfare of the nation, advances to overwhelm you!"

He asserted that he had powerful friends abroad as well as at home, who had promised to uphold him; this was an allusion to Russia, whose support he believed he possessed and from whom he had very probably received some encouragement. In a sketch of a decree, he named Thiers president of the provisional government, and Marshal Clausel, commander of the Army of Paris. His plans thus laid, he left London by steamer, with General Montholon, several officers, about sixty men, and an eagle, destined to play the part of a living symbol in the forthcoming drama.

The expedition landed at night at Vimereux, north of Boulogne, and proceeded to that town. The confederates entered the courtyard of the barracks of the 42nd regiment of the line. A lieutenant, who was for Napoleon, had mustered the men and told them that Louis Philippe reigned no longer; then Louis Bonaparte harangued them. Confused, fascinated, they were beginning to shout "Long live the emperor," when there appeared upon the scene a captain, who, breaking through the confederates, and regardless of their threats, summoned the non-commissioned officers and men to his side. Louis Bonaparte fired a pistol at him, but it missed him and wounded a grenadier; the soldiers rallied round their captain.

The confederates left the barracks without delay, and ascended to the castle, but they were unable to break in the doors. None of the townspeople had joined them. The rappel was sounded, and the national guard assembled, but against them. They left the town and retreated to the foot of the column raised in Napoleon's time in honour of the Grande Armée. The national guard and the line regiment advanced upon them. They disappeared. Louis Bonaparte and a few of his followers fled towards the sea and swam to a yawl, in which they attempted to regain their vessel.

The national guards opened fire upon the fugitives, several of whom were severely wounded; the yawl capsized and a spent bullet struck Louis Bonaparte. Two of his accomplices perished, one was shot, the other drowned. Louis Bonaparte survived for the sorrow of France.

The pretender was this time arraigned with his accomplices before the court of peers, which condemned him to imprisonment for life (October 6th). He was imprisoned in the castle of Ham, in the same chamber where Polignac had been confined. This non-capital sentence confirmed in effect the abolition of the death penalty in political affairs, which had been implied in the pardon of Barbès.

This attempt, even more feebly conceived than that of Strasburg, had thus failed still more miserably. The pretender had made himself ridicu-

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lous in the eyes of the enlightened and educated classes,¹ who perused the newspapers and knew the details of his adventures. But it was a great mistake to look upon him now as harmless, and to forget that the majority are not in the habit of reading.^c

EVENTS FROM 1840-1842

On the 13th of July, 1842, an unfortunate event cast a gloom over the whole country without distinction of party. The duke of Orleans, a kind and justly loved prince, was thrown from his carriage and killed. At his death, his right of succession passed to his son, the comte de Paris, and a child of four years became the heir of the heaviest crown that could be borne. From that day the legitimists ceased to hope. The liberals and the republicans expected everything for the triumph of their ideas from the inevitable weakness of a regency.

The chambers were convoked at once. They were presented with a law which in advance named the duke de Nemours regent. This prince did not have the brilliant reputation of the duke of Orleans, the popularity which the prince de Joinville had acquired by his services off San Juan de Ulúa, nor the budding renown which the capture of Abdul-Kadir's *smala* had brought to the duke d'Aumale. The law was passed but without public concurrence.

During several years France had enjoyed a period of remarkable prosperity attested by a budget of receipts amounting to 1,343,000,000 francs. Popular instruction was advancing; the penal code had been lightened in severity and the lottery suppressed. The law of expropriation for the cause of public utility prevented work undertaken in the interest of the general good from being impeded by private interests. Industry took a new start from the introduction of machinery and commerce was extending. The coasts began to be lit up by lighthouses, the primitive roads to be improved, and a vast network of railways was planned. But this plan once conceived, instead of first concentrating all the energy of France on the chief artery of the country, from Boulogne to Marseilles, the resources were scattered on all the lines at once for the sake of satisfying every locality and of thus preparing favourable elections.

These enterprises, as often happens, gave rise to boundless speculation. The evil went far, for a minister of the king had been condemned for having sold his signature, a peer of France for having bought it.

National sentiments had been deeply wounded by the events of 1840. Guizot sought a compensation for French pride. He caused the Marquesas Islands, sterile rocks in the Pacific Ocean, to be occupied (May, 1842). New Zealand was more worth while. The French were about to descend upon it when England, being forewarned, took possession and began to show jealous susceptibilities. A French officer placed the flag of France on the large oceanic island of New Caledonia; the ministry had it torn down. The states of Honduras and Nicaragua claimed French protection. Santo Domingo wished the same. It was refused and England seemed to have imposed the refusal. On the Society Islands, which the French also took, their commercial interests were not sufficient to necessitate an expensive establishment. The cession of Mayotte (1843) was a better negotiation because that island offered a refuge to French ships which Bourbon could

[¹ A tame eagle, which he carried to suggest the Napoleonic eagles, was captured, and put in the Zoölogical Gardens of Paris.]

not give them, and a naval station in the vicinity of Madagascar. On Tahiti, in the Society Islands, an English missionary, Pritchard, stirred up the natives against the French.^f

Queen Pomare, who governed the island of Tahiti, placed herself under French protection. But Pritchard, the Englishman, who was at the same time consul, Protestant missionary, and dispensing chemist, fearing to lose his influence over the natives, urged the queen to pull down the French flag and roused the natives to rebellion; many French sailors were massacred. The admiral, indignant at this conduct, had Pritchard arrested, and he was set at liberty only on condition that he would go to the Sandwich Isles. The English government claimed that it had been insulted, and demanded satisfaction. The king refused first of all; then, fearing a rupture, disavowed the admiral's act and offered a pecuniary indemnity to England, which was accepted.

Public opinion considered that the dignity of the country had been compromised by this act. People were tired of always yielding to England. In the address to the throne in 1845, a majority of only eight votes prevented the expression of severe censure on the conduct of the government in the Pritchard affair.[‡]

The right of mutually inspecting ships, agreed upon with England in 1811, for the repression of the slave-trade, was another concession to the proud neighbours of France. This time the opposition in the country was so active that the chamber forced the minister to tear up the treaty and, by new conventions, to replace the French marine under the protection of the national flag (May, 1845).

War with Abdul-Kadir

The chamber, impelled in this direction by public opinion, wanted at least to continue the conquest of Algeria. The ministry had the merit of choosing an energetic and skilful man, General Bugeaud, who succeeded in impressing both respect and terror on the Arabs.

Abdul-Kadir had violated the Treaty of Tafna, proclaimed the holy war, and by the rapidity of his movements spread terror in the province of Oran, and even brought inquietude to the very gates of Algeria. The general pursued him without relaxation clear to the mountains of the Ouarensénis, pacified this difficult region and crowded the enemy back into the desert. It was in his flight towards the Sahara that the emir, attacked by the duke d'Aunale, lost his *smala* (his family and flocks), May, 1843.

Taking refuge in Morocco, the emir engaged the emperor in his cause. England, perhaps, was not a stranger to this resolve. French territory was violated on several occasions and an army which seemed formidable was collected on the banks of the Muluah. France responded to these provocations by the bombardment of Tangiers and Mogador, which the prince de Joinville directed under the eyes of the irritated English fleet, and by the victory of Isly, which General Bugeaud gained with 8,500 men and 1,400 horses over 25,000 horsemen (August 14th, 1844). The emperor, being so severely punished, signed the peace — which was not made onerous for him, since France was rich enough, said the ministry, to pay for its glory. The principal clause of the treaty, providing that Abdul-Kadir be confined to the west, remained for a long time unexecuted; but after a new and vain attempt upon Algeria the emir tried to establish a party in the empire itself. This time Abd ar-Rahman, being directly threatened, bethought

[1840-1847 A.D.]

himself of his treaty with the French, and Abdul-Kadir, thrown back on the French advance posts, was reduced to surrendering to General Lamoricière (November 23rd, 1847).

In Morocco, as at Tahiti, England had been found opposed to France. Thus the English alliance, too eagerly sought after, had brought only trouble. But it was said that it assured the peace of the world. However, a marriage came near breaking it—that of the duke of Montpensier with the sister of the queen of Spain.

The Spanish Marriages

Queen Christina, then regent of Spain, feeling herself entirely dependent on the liberal party for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and being well aware that it was in France alone that she could find the prompt military assistance requisite to support her against the Carlists, who formed a great majority of the Spanish population, naturally bethought herself of the favourable opportunity presented by the marriageable condition of the princes of one country and the princesses of the other, to cement their union by matrimonial alliances. With this view, although the princesses, her daughters, were as yet too young for marriage, she made formal proposals before 1840 to Louis Philippe for a double marriage, one between the duke d'Aumale, the king's third son, and Queen Isabella, her eldest daughter, and another between the duke of Montpensier, his fourth son, and the infanta Luisa Fernanda, her second daughter.

How agreeable soever these proposals were to Louis Philippe, who desired nothing so much as to see his descendants admitted into the family of European sovereigns, he was too sagacious not to perceive that the hazard with which they were attended more than counterbalanced the advantages. It was evident that such a marriage of the duke d'Aumale with the queen of Spain would at once dissolve the *entente cordiale* with Great Britain, on which the stability of his throne so much depended; for however much the liberal government of England might desire to see constitutional monarchies established in the peninsula, it was not to be expected it would like to see the crown of Spain placed on the head of a French prince. It was already surmised, too, that the cabinet of London had views of its own for the hand of the younger princess. He therefore returned a courteous answer, declining the hand of the queen for the duke d'Aumale, but expressing the satisfaction it would afford him to see the duke of Montpensier united to the infanta.

The next occasion on which the subject of the Spanish marriages was brought forward was when Queen Christina took refuge in Paris, during one of the numerous convulsions to which Spain had been subject since the attempt was made to introduce democratic institutions among its inhabitants. Louis Philippe then declared to the exiled queen-regent that the most suitable spouse for her daughter the queen would be found in one of the descendants in the male line of Philip V, king of Spain, the sovereign on the throne when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. The object of this proposal was indirectly to exclude the pretensions of the prince of Coburg, cousin-german to Prince Albert, whom rumour had assigned as one of the suitors for the hand of the young queen, and at the same time avoid exciting the jealousy of the British government by openly courting the alliance for a French prince.

Matters were in this situation, with the question still open, so far as diplomatic intercourse was concerned, but the views and interests of the two

cabinets were well understood by the ministers on both sides, when Queen Victoria in the autumn of 1842 paid a visit to the French monarch at the château d'Eu in Normandy, which was followed next spring by a similar act of courtesy on the part of Louis Philippe to the queen of England in the princely halls of Windsor. Fortunately the pacific inclinations of the two sovereigns were aided by the wisdom and moderation of the ministers on both sides; and under the direction of Lord Aberdeen and Guizot a compromise was agreed on of the most fair and equitable kind. It was stipulated that the king of France should renounce all pretensions, on the part of any of his sons, to the hand of the queen of Spain; and, on the other hand, that the royal heiress should make her selection among the princes descendants of Philip V, which excluded the dreaded competition of a prince of the house of Coburg. And in regard to the marriage of the duke of Montpensier with the infanta Doña Luisa Fernanda, Louis Philippe positively engaged that it should not take place till the queen was married and had had children (*des enfants*). On this condition the queen of England consented to waive all objections to the marriage when these events had taken place; and it was understood that this consent on both sides was to be dependent on the hand of the queen being bestowed on a descendant of Philip V and no other competitor.

The sagacious Louis Philippe now discovered a certain half-idiotic cousin of Isabella of Spain, deficient in every power both of body and mind; and in a secret and underhand manner he celebrated the wedding of this miserable being with the queen; and immediately afterwards that of his son with the handsome, blooming, and wealthy Luisa Fernanda, who, in addition to her present possessions, which were very large, carried to her husband the succession to the Spanish crown, in the absolute impossibility of any issue from her sister's unhappy marriage. Hard feeling and political opposition were roused by this degrading trickery—and England learned, with a sentiment of regret and compassion, that Guizot, whose talents and character had hitherto commanded her respect, had been deluded by the crowned tempter at his ear to defend his conduct on the quibble that the marriages were not celebrated at the same time—some little interval having occurred between them—and that this was all he had promised. Suspicion and jealousy took the place of the former cordial relations. Losing the fervent friendship of the only constitutional neighbour on whom it could rely, France, like a beggar with its bonnet in its hand, waited at the gates of Austria and Russia, and begged the moral support of the most despotic of the powers. The moral support of Austria and Russia there was but one way to gain, and that was by an abnegation of all the principles represented by the accession of Louis Philippe, and an active co-operation in their policy of repression.

At this time the Swiss broke out into violent efforts to obtain a reform. Austria quelled the Swiss aspirations with the strong hand, and took up a menacing attitude towards the benevolent pontiff, Pius IX. France was quiescent; and the opposition rose into invectives, which were repeated in harsher language out of doors.

The stout shopkeeper who now occupied the throne of Henry IV thought that all the requirements of a government were fulfilled if it maintained peace with the neighbouring states. Trade he thought might flourish though honour and glory were trampled under foot. He accordingly neglected, or failed to understand, the disaffection of the middle class, whose pecuniary interests he was supposed to represent, but whose higher aspirations he had insulted by his truckling attempts to win the sympathy of the old aristocracy

[1847-1848 A.D.]

and the foreign despots. Statesmen like Thiers and Odilon Barrot, when the scales of office fell from their eyes and the blandishments of the sovereign were withdrawn, perceived that the parliamentary government of the charter had become a mockery, and that power had got more firmly consolidated in royal hands under these deceptive forms than in the time of the legitimate kings. A cry therefore suddenly rose from all quarters, except the benches of the ministry, for electoral and parliamentary reform; and there was also heard the uniformly recurring exclamation, premonitory of all serious disturbance, for a diminution of the taxes. The cries were founded on justice, and urged in a constitutional manner. Corruption had entered into all the elections; parliamentary purity had become a byword under the skilful manipulation of the purse-bearing king; and the expenses of the country far exceeded its income, owing to the extravagant building of forts and palaces, with which, in the years of his prosperity, he had endeavoured to amuse the people.^j

RIISING DISCONTENT (1847-1848 A.D.)

The state of the budget, which was threatened with a yearly deficit, increased the difficulty of the situation which was still further aggravated by a scarcity of provisions. The method of taxing corn made it difficult to provision the country, a matter which was never easy in times previous to the construction of railways. There was a succession of bad harvests, and in the winter of 1847 a famine resulted. There were riots in all directions, and bands of men tramped through the country. At Buzançais, cases of death from starvation occurred. Thus everything combined to make the people dissatisfied with the government. And there was indeed little to be said in its favour. It had achieved nothing and no progress had been made. "To carry out such a policy as this," said Lamartine, "a statesman is not required, a finger-post would do." And one of the moderate party summed up the work done by this ministry as: "Nothing, nothing, nothing."

In short, this strange result was all that Guizot could boast. Little by little public opinion unanimously turned against him, and the more unpopular he became, the more solid became his majority in the chamber, thanks to the system, which, placing the country in the hands of a handful of rich men, made the elections a mere mockery. Then a universal outcry arose, and the demand for progress and democracy seemed to be concentrated on one point: "electoral reform."

Guizot opposed an obstinate refusal to this demand. Yet very little was asked for—not universal suffrage (and Guizot said "the day for universal suffrage will never come"), but some reform, however slight it might be. Guizot refused to give the vote even to jurymen and academicians! The opposition appealed to public opinion. Banquets were organised in many different places for the discussion of reform, at Paris, then at Colmar, Strasbourg, Soissons, St. Quentin, and Mâcon.

THE BANQUET OF 1848

It could not be denied that the excitement was singularly out of proportion to the idea which was its ostensible cause. The spirit of democracy in France had been aroused. Lamartine's book *Les Girondins* added the charm of lyric poetry to the recollections of the Revolution. The spectacle offered by the July monarchy had gradually influenced the great poet to espouse

the cause of popular progress. In his striking speech at the banquet of Mâcon, which was organised as a tribute to him in honour of his *Girondins* in the midst of a violent thunderstorm which had not deterred a crowded audience from coming to hear him speak, he threatened Guizot's retrograde government with "a revolution of scorn."

The year 1848 opened with heated debates, in the course of which Guizot's whole policy was denounced. A banquet on a vast scale was organised in Paris immediately after for the purpose of forwarding electoral reform. A large piece of ground enclosed by walls near the Champs-Élysées had been taken for the occasion.

The ministry, with less tolerance than it had shown in the preceding year, claimed the right to forbid this banquet. This involved the question of the liberty of holding public meetings. This right had never yet been contested, but Guizot wished to take one more retrograde step.

Orleanists, liberals, republicans, and legitimists all united in defending their rights. Parliament rang with the vehement discussions which ensued and in which Ledru-Rollin showed all his great oratorical powers. In spite of the threats of the government, it was decided to meet at the Madeleine and proceed from there to the banquet. The very evening before the banquet was to take place this plan was changed for fear of bringing about a massacre. It was stated in the morning papers that the meeting was put off, and instead of the demonstration which they had been obliged to abandon, the opposition members signed a vote of censure on Guizot. But the people nevertheless assembled at the appointed time in front of the Madeleine.

History repeats itself strangely. It had been the chief anxiety of Louis Philippe to avoid another 1830, and yet he was now about to undergo, in every detail, the experience of Charles X. The rising of the people to support the claims of the opposition, but soon leaving these behind them; a disturbance indefinite at first, but developing into a fierce struggle; a king obstinate at first, then willing to make one concession after another, but never agreeing to make them until it was too late; then the flight across France and the departure for England: such was the history of both these revolutions.

Two things increased Louis Philippe's confidence: Firstly, he had not violated the letter of the law. Though he had in a measure twisted the revolution of 1830 to his own purposes, he had done so by ruling his ministers, and by gaining over the electoral body. He did not realise that he was in the long run preparing a lasting disgrace for himself. His fall was none the less certain because instead of violating the rights of the people he had merely distorted them. His fall would only be the more petty for that. Secondly, he had in Paris, what Polignac had so signally lacked, a strong and numerous army.

Had he not easily succeeded in suppressing all risings which had taken place? He forgot that troops which are always firm and always victorious when dealing with the revolt of part of a nation, are useless when the people as a whole are actuated by the same opinion. Under such circumstances revolution pervades the air and paralyses the powers of the army. The troops hesitate, and sometimes recede. However this may be, on the 22nd of February, while the deputies of the opposition were preparing to ask Guizot's majority to pass a vote of censure on Guizot, an enormous crowd surged round the Madeleine, the populace began to parade the streets, and columns were formed at various points.

[1848 A.D.]

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Among the troops called out to defend the government, the municipal guards, then very unpopular, made a vigorous charge and several on the other side were wounded. The army began to hesitate. At one place the crowd awaited an attack crying, "The dragoons forever!" The dragoons sheathed their swords. The government was afraid to call out the national guards, whom they mistrusted: wherever they were called out they cried, "Reform forever!" and tried to interpose between the troops and the people. But though a storm was brewing it did not burst yet. The streets were crowded with an infuriated mob, demonstrations were continually taking place, and now and then there was a skirmish with the troops. That was all, so far, but the more enthusiastic among the republicans were making steady efforts to get the populace to rise.

The king slept that evening confident that nothing serious would happen. During the night the troops bivouacked in the silence of Paris beneath a rainy sky, and the cannon were fixed ready for use. The next morning (February 23rd) the troops, who had spent the night in the mud, were weary and discontented.

Barricades had been hastily raised in all parts of the town. There was no desperate struggle like that of 1830. The barricades were attacked without much spirit and were soon deserted only to be reconstructed at a little distance. However—in the part where risings usually took place, in the populous heart of Paris—the battle raged more fiercely: the veterans of St. Merry were fighting against the municipal guard. At the Tuileries no anxiety was felt: "What do you call barricades?" said the king, "do you call an overturned cab a barricade?" However, General Jacqueminot resolved on that day to call out the national guard.

During a reign which was virtually that of the bourgeoisie, the national guard, like the electoral body, consisted only of bourgeois. The governing class alone carried arms, just as they only were allowed to vote. Therefore in the elections previous to 1840 the national guard had been the faithful ally of the government. They had shown themselves no less energetic against the barricades of the first half of the reign than the rest of the troops. But times had changed and everyone was thoroughly sick of Guizot's policy. When the soldiers were called out, they assembled crying, "Reform forever!" One regiment had inscribed this on its flag; another refused to cry "God save the king!" A third sent a deputation to the Bourbon palace to try to overcome the resistance of the ministry. At another place when the municipal guards were going to charge the crowd, the national guard opposed them with their bayonets. When the news of all this reached the king at the Tuileries he was filled with surprise and grief. He realised that he had lost the allegiance of the national guard in which he had such absolute confidence, the men for whose sake he had governed!

He then made a first concession agreeing that Molé should form a ministry. It was not much of a concession, for the difference between Guizot and Molé was only a difference in mental capacity and the rivalry for power which existed between them. Besides Molé had already represented the personal policy of the king. The king liked him, and in calling him to the ministry he merely changed the surname of his minister. But there are times when, if a certain name has become universally hateful, such a change is sufficient to pacify the public. Besides Molé was obliged to choose his

cabinet in a conciliatory spirit. Paris, delighted to think that the strife was at an end, put on a festive appearance; the streets were illuminated, and gay crowds filled the boulevards when a spark re-ignited the flame of faction.

Near the Madeleine, troops barred the way. A column of demonstrators wished to pass through, and, in accordance with the peaceable feelings just then prevailing in Paris, to fraternise with the soldiers. The officer in command gave the order to fix bayonets: a shot was fired — whether by the soldiers or by the crowd is not known. How many times in French history have such accidents, the source of which is wrapped in mystery, proved the cause of terrible bloodshed! What sinister results may ensue from the chance which causes a gun to go off and, at the same time, gives the signal for a battle!

A soldier had been wounded — the troops fired; a storm of bullets riddled the peaceful crowds on the boulevards. At first there was a cry of terror, then a cry of furious rage, as here and there men fell dead, and the street was sprinkled with blood.

Some men then improvised a sort of theatrical background for the massacre, with the genius that Parisians certainly possess for giving dramatic effect even to their most painful emotions. A cart was stopped, and the corpses were placed upon it; men walking beside it carried torches which illumined the ghastly cargo. The procession passed on through Paris while a man standing on the cart lifted up and showed to the people the dead body of a woman whose face was horribly mutilated by bullets. This frightful spectacle aroused a frenzy of rage throughout the city and Paris was again plunged into civil war. The real battle was that of the 24th. On this occasion the king had placed Marshal Bugeaud in command of the royal forces. Bugeaud was the best of the African generals, but at the same time he was the one whose name was most dreaded by the people; he had the reputation of having gained some most bloody victories over insurgents on former occasions.

This time Paris was covered with barricades; the fighting continued all the morning. Whenever the army seemed likely to yield or retreat, the king, who but a short time since was so full of confidence, and to whom the marshal had promised a brilliant victory, made some fresh concession. First he agreed that Thiers should form a ministry, then Odilon Barrot, as if the shades of difference which separated the centre of the chamber from the left-centre or the left-centre from the dynastic centre were of any importance in this mortal struggle between the people and the monarchy.

THE KING ABDICATES AND TAKES FLIGHT

All these flimsy negotiations were going on amidst the smoke of battle. Now Thiers, now Odilon Barrot was to be seen rushing from one barricade to another announcing the king's last concession. Ministerial episodes mingled with the episodes of battle, and raised their weak voice amid the thunder of the cannon. Then, one after another, these political personages gave up what was an impossible task; and, like Charles X, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of a child, his grandson, the count de Paris.

The battle at this moment was brought to an end by its most bloody episode: the attack on the château d'Eau opposite the Palais Royal. The people on one side and the municipal guard on the other showed, at this point, indescribable energy, and fought with the courage of desperation.

[1848 A.D.]

Bullets were dealing out death all around, and all the staunchest republicans were there, including Caussidière, Albert, and Lagrange. By two o'clock the people had gained the victory.

Louis Philippe and his family fled from the Tuileries. There was some difficulty in finding a cab to take him as far as St. Cloud. The crowd allowed this fallen king to pass, while behind him, the people for the third time invaded the Tuileries where they wrote, "Death to robbers!"

The duchess of Orleans had gone with her son to the chamber. The sight of a child and an unhappy woman, surrounded by sympathy, might induce the people in a moment of emotional excitement to agree to the maintenance of the monarchy. Some seemed ready to accept a regency. Lamartine felt the weakness and inadequacy of such a solution of the difficulty. Meantime the crowd was taking possession of the palace. The duchess of Orleans followed the old king into exile.

The latter was going abroad like Charles X, but he had more to make him anxious. He was obliged to conceal himself, was often suspected, and sometimes had not enough money to supply his needs. When at last he reached the little Norman port which was his destination he found a stormy sea, and could not for a long time get any vessel to take him across the Channel; finally, having disguised himself, he secured a passage from Havre on board an English ship.

On leaving the chamber the leaders of the people had gone to the Hôtel-de-Ville. Crowds assembled from every direction, crying out in favour of ten different ministries at the same time; contradictory lists were made, but in the end the government was composed of Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, the deputies of the Left benches to whom were added later Louis Blanc, Albert a working-man, Flocon, and Armand Marrast.^k

ALISON'S ESTIMATE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

Louis Philippe, who by the force of circumstances and the influence of dissimulation and fraud obtained possession of the throne of France, is, of all recent sovereigns, the one concerning whose character the most difference of opinion has prevailed. By some, who were impressed with the length and general success of his reign, he was regarded as a man of the greatest capacity; and the "Napoleon of peace" was triumphantly referred to as having achieved that which the "Napoleon of war" had sought in vain to effect. The prudent and cautious statesman who, during a considerable portion of his reign, guided the affairs of England, had, it is well known, the highest opinion of his wisdom and judgment. By others, and especially the royalists, whom he had dispossessed, and the republicans, whom he had disappointed, he was regarded as a mere successful tyrant, who won a crown by perfidy, and maintained it by corruption, and in whom it was hard to say whether profound powers of dissimulation, or innate selfishness of disposition, were most conspicuous. And in the close of all, his conduct belied the assertions and disappointed the expectations of both; for, when he fell from the throne, he neither exhibited the vigour which was anticipated by his admirers, nor the selfishness which was imputed to him by his enemies.

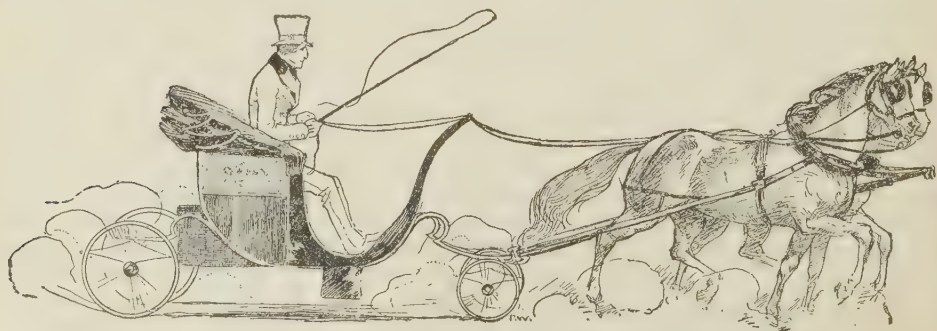
In truth, however, he was consistent throughout; and when his character comes to be surveyed in the historic mirror, the same features are everywhere conspicuous. His elevation, his duration, and his fall are seen to have been all brought about by the same qualities. He rose to greatness, and was long

maintained in it because he was the man of the age; but that age was neither an age of heroism nor of virtue, but of selfishness.

The vicissitudes of his life had exceeded everything that romance had figured, or imagination could have conceived. The gallery of portraits in the sumptuous halls of the Palais Royal exhibited him with truth, successively a young prince basking in the sunshine of rank and opulence at Paris, a soldier combating under the tricolour flag at Valmy, a schoolmaster instructing his humble scholars in Switzerland, a fugitive in misery in America, a sovereign on the throne of France.

These extraordinary changes had made him as thoroughly acquainted with the ruling principles of human nature in all grades as the misfortunes of his own house, the recollection of his father guillotined had with the perils by which, in his exalted rank, he was environed. Essentially ruled by the selfish, he was incapable of feeling the generous emotions; like all egotists, he was ungrateful. Thankfulness finds a place only in a warm heart. He was long deterred from accepting the crown by the prospects of the risk with which it would be attended to himself, but not for one moment by the reflection that, in taking it, he was becoming a traitor to his sovereign, a renegade to his order, a recreant to his benefactor. His hypocrisy, to the last moment, to Charles X was equalled only by his stern and hard-hearted rigour to his family, when he had an opportunity of making some return for their benefactions.

His government was extremely expensive; it at once added a third to the expenditure of Charles X, as the Long Parliament had done to that of Charles I; and it was mainly based on corruption. This, however, is not to be imputed to him as a fault, further than as being a direct consequence of the way in which he obtained the throne. When the "unbought loyalty of men" has come to an end, government has no hold but of their selfish desires, and must rule by them; and when the "cheap defence of nations" has terminated, the costly empire of force must commence. As a set-off to these dark stains upon his moral character, there are many bright spots on his political one. He stood between Europe and the plague of revolution, and, by the temperance of his language and the wisdom of his measures at once conciliated the absolute continental sovereigns, when they might have been expected to be hostile, and overawed the discontented in his own country when they were most threatening.^d





CHAPTER IV

THE REPUBLIC OF 1848

Perhaps there is no event in her history which has done more to lower France in the estimation of the world than the revolution of 1848. The old monarchy had a glamour and brilliancy which gave it a high place in the world's affairs as they stood then, but the evils and the injustice which it brought about furnished some excuses for the first Revolution, even in the eyes of those who most bitterly condemned that event. The first empire, though infinitely more disastrous to France than the Revolution, covered its sins in a blaze of military glory. The revolution of 1830 had its explanation, if not justification, in the inquietude and the reactionary character of Charles X and his surroundings. The errors and calamities of 1870-71 were condoned by the courage, the endurance, and the elasticity of the French people. But in 1848 France had enjoyed eighteen years of constitutional government. It had maintained peace abroad and in good measure at home, and the country had advanced greatly in wealth and prosperity. The king was humane, liberal, and well intentioned, and it seemed as if gradual reform might have remedied the moderate comparative disadvantages from which the country suffered. But all this was overturned at a blow, the country plunged into anarchy, civil war averted only by fierce bloodshed in Paris, and after a few years of hesitation and fear the nation was handed over to despotism almost as mean and contemptible as that of Louis XV.—GAMALIEL BRADFORD.^b

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

It was the 24th of February; the hour was half past one. The king had gone, and the dynasty had now no representative. The count de Paris was a child, with no immediate right to the throne. The duke de Nemours, invested legally with the regency, had followed the king's example and abdicated; the duchess of Orleans was not yet regent. The king, out of respect for legality, had not appointed her; and she had not been recognised by any public power. Some friends had gone with her to the chamber of deputies in the hope of renewing in her favour the election of 1830. To support this monarchy with no constitutional title, there was neither army, ministry,

nor ministers. Thiers felt himself left behind, and abandoned the struggle. Odilon Barrot alone, an obstinate minister with only undefined and temporary powers, had made himself minister of the interior. But such was the effect of the Revolution that in the midst of all the news he knew nothing; in the very centre of action, he was quite devoid of power. Influence, authority, power were elsewhere—in the open street, at the discretion of the first comer.

Moreover, Armand Marrast, thanks to his tact and quick decision, had managed for some weeks both the intrigue and the intriguers. He knew, as a true disciple of Aristophanes, that the people love to be flattered and led; that they vote and applaud, but must have matters decided for them. In a secret council, which was held a few days before the Revolution, Marie had suggested the advisability of naming a provisional government. This advice, when adopted, became the signal for order. *Le National* hastened to name those who should compose the government: Dupont (de l'Éure), François Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Ledru-Rollin, Odilon Barrot, and Marrast; a compromise list, doubtless, since Armand Marrast figured by the side of Ledru-Rollin and the latter with Odilon Barrot. But it was a list with a double tendency, favouring both the republic and the regency.

Emmanuel Arago, who brought the corrected list to *Le National*, arrived at the Palais Bourbon and went in at the same time as the duchess of Orleans. This latter placed herself in the semicircle at the foot of the tribune, having beside her the duke de Nemours and her two sons, the count de Paris and the duke de Chartres. Dupin spoke, interrupted by acclamations from the national guard, the army, and the people who had thronged round the duchess as she passed from the Tuileries to the Palais Bourbon and in the palace itself. He demanded a formal act of procuration. Cheers burst out again, while on the other hand they cried, "A provisional government!"

Lamartine demanded that the sitting be suspended "out of respect to the national representation and the duchess of Orleans." "It was almost the same thing," says Dupin, "as proposing to put the young king and his mother out of the hall as intruders who had no right to be present at the sitting. But this same sitting, because the king was present, was in reality a royal one." Sauzet suspended the sitting, but the duchess did not leave the hall. She only went to the higher seats in the amphitheatre. An outburst of enthusiasm in the chamber, the presence of the duchess, the concurrence of several resolute men might have determined for a regency. Like those of 1830, the barricades of 1848 might have served to support a throne. The men of *Le National* felt the peril. La Rochejaquelein demanded an appeal to the people: "You count for nothing here; you are no longer in power," he said to the deputies; "the chamber of deputies as a chamber no longer exists. I say, gentlemen, that the nation should be convoked, and then

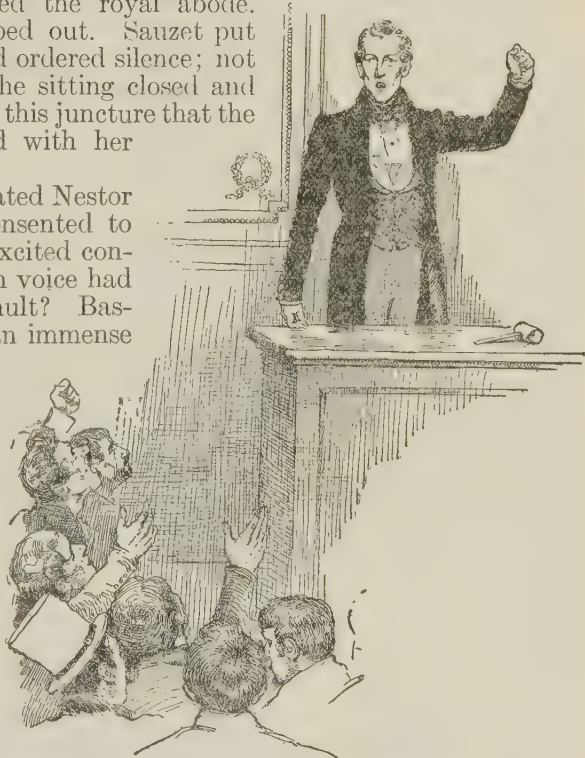
Here the nation indeed interrupted by an irruption of the crowd, which now for the first time came pouring in, uttering cries of "Dethronement! Dethronement!" The cause of the regency was lost. Crowd followed crowd, orator followed orator. Crémieux, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin contested the tribune with invaders from the people. "No more Bourbons! Down with traitors!" they cried.

Lamartine succeeded Ledru-Rollin in the tribune. Even before he began to speak they cheered and applauded him, as if to win him over forever to the republic. In 1842 he had defended the regency of the duchess of Orleans, but he dismissed this inopportune recollection. He let fall, however, a sym-

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pathetic phrase about "this august princess and her innocent son." Then fearing, from the murmurs which arose, that he would be taken for a partisan of the monarchy, he hastened to demand a provisional government. He made no distinction between "national representation and representation by citizens from the people, but accepted the competency of this multitude and drew up the programme of a government which would first restore public peace and then convoke all the citizens in popular assemblies. At these words, and as if touched by one common impulse, new combatants invaded the assembly—men from the château d'Eau, pillagers and devastators of the Tuileries, who came to soil with their presence the palace of national representation as they had soiled the royal abode. The dynastic deputies slipped out. Sauzet put on his hat, rang his bell, and ordered silence; not obtaining it, he declared the sitting closed and quitted the chair. It was at this juncture that the duchess of Orleans escaped with her children.

Dupont de l'Eure, venerated Nestor of the republican party, consented to preside over this horde of excited constituents. But what human voice had power to dominate the tumult? Bastide thought of writing on an immense sheet of paper, with a finger dipped in ink, the five names of those who should compose the government; but the sheet slipped and fell down from the rail where it was hung. The list was passed to Lamartine: "I cannot read it," he said; "my own name is there." They asked M. Crémieux: "I cannot read it," he answered; "my name is not there." At last, after many fruitless efforts, while repeated cries of "No more Bourbons! We want a republic!" arose, Dupont de l'Eure succeeded in reading out the names of Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Arago, Dupont de l'Eure, and Marie, which were accepted unanimously. A voice cried: "The members of the provisional government must shout '*Vive la République*' before being named and accepted." But Bocage, the democratic actor, cried, "To the Hôtel-de-Ville with Lamartine at our head!" and Lamartine, accompanied by Bocage and a large number of citizens, left the hall.



LAMARTINE DEMANDING A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

While this tumultuous proclamation was being made in the chamber of deputies, Louis Blanc in the office of *La Réforme* was holding a meeting of the editors of the journal and some political friends. He also was drawing up a list for a provisional government.

However, the provisional government wandered about the nation's palace without finding any spot where they could deliberate in peace, or where they

would be free from the importunate sovereignty of the people. They shut themselves up in a room, but petitioners hunted them out; they hid in another, certain delegates intervened with authority; with much trouble they found refuge in a third. Lamartine drew up the first proclamation to the French nation; then the members of the government disposed of the ministerial offices. Dupont de l'Eure, on account of his age, was exempted, but was given the title of president of council. Lamartine became foreign minister; Arago, head of the admiralty; Crémieux, solicitor-general; Marie, minister of public works; Ledru-Rollin, minister of the interior (home secretary). Garnier-Pagès was confirmed in his office of mayor of Paris.

Towards half past eight Louis Blanc, Marrast, and Flocon were introduced into the deliberating assembly. Louis Blanc imperiously demanded the inscription of his name and those of Marrast and Flocon on the list of members of the provisional government. He was offered the post of secretary. He refused at first; then, seeing himself abandoned by Marrast and Flocon, he retracted his refusal.

Thus the government was finally completed. Every shade of republicanism was represented: moderate opinions, by Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Marie; adaptability, by Garnier-Pagès and Crémieux; socialism, by Louis Blanc; communism, by Albert; recollections of the convention, by Ledru-Rollin and Flocon; republican bourgeoisie, by Armand Marrast. Lamartine, who by his past, his name, and his aristocratic connections was looked on with the least favour by the public, personified in himself the diverse characters of his colleagues. He was not exactly the adversary nor the ally of any of them, but was dominated by a superior impartiality. But this same impartiality which constituted his strength was also a source of weakness. Sometimes he resisted, sometimes he yielded—less from force of conviction than from a spirit of tolerance, and in order to evade immediate embarrassment or peril. Among the members there was one whose ideas and sentiments were totally opposed to these—Louis Blanc. According to him the Revolution ought to call itself the republic, and the republic ought to realise high ideals. He would allow no temporising, no concession. We have seen him exact the inscription of his name on the government list: we shall see him in the council oppose himself to all, supported in his isolation by the intervention of the masses, and succeed in dictating measures most fatal to the republic.

In short, from the first hour, such was the critical situation of the provisional government, which owed its origin to popular sovereignty, that it was constantly in dispute with that sovereignty. The crowd had encroached upon royalty; it now began to complain that the provisional government encroached upon its domain. First it had applauded; then it asked arrogantly by what right they had seized the power.

"By what right?" cried Lamartine, who faced the danger; "by the right of the blood which flows, of the fire which devours your buildings, of the nation without leaders, of the people without a guide or orders, and tomorrow, perhaps, without bread. By right of our most devoted and courageous citizens. Since I must say it, in right of those who were the first to yield their souls to suspicion, their blood to the scaffold, their heads to the vengeance of peoples or kings to save the nation." The provisional government, after it had acquired power, paid for it at the price of complaint, opposition, and hostility from the crowd. In the narrow place where they deliberated their electors besieged them, kept them prisoners. None of their decrees reached their destination without having passed through the hands

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of strict censors who took note of their contents and their destination. It was the punishment of those who all their lives had invoked the sovereignty of the people, to be suddenly left face to face with them, with no alternative save to bow before their decrees or perish under their blows.^d

THE FIRST PROBLEMS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The first care which devolved upon the provisional government was to make head against the violence of its own supporters. During the three days that Paris had been in a state of insurrection, no work had been anywhere done; and as the great bulk of the labouring classes were alike destitute of capital or credit, they already began to feel the pangs of hunger on the morning of the 25th, when the provisional government, having surmounted the storms of the night, was beginning to discharge its functions. An enormous crowd, amounting to above one hundred thousand persons, filled the place de Grève and surrounded the Hôtel-de-Ville on every side, as well as every passage, stair, and apartment in that spacious edifice itself. So dense was the throng, so severe the pressure, that the members of the government itself could scarcely breathe where they sat; and if they attempted to go out to address the people outside, or for any other cause, it was only by the most violent exertion of personal strength that their purpose could be effected.

Decrees to satisfy the mob were drawn up every quarter of an hour, and, when signed, were passed over the heads of the throng into an adjoining apartment, where they were instantly thrown off by the printers of *Le Moniteur*, and thence placarded in Paris, and sent by the telegraph over all France. Under these influences were brought forth the first acts of the provisional government, some of which were singularly trifling, but very descriptive of the pressure under which they had been drawn up. One issued on the 25th of February changed the placing of the colours on the tricolour flag, putting the blue where the red had been; a second abolished the expressions *Monsieur* and *Madame*, substituting for them the words *Citoyen* and *Citoyenne*; a third liberated all functionaries from their oaths of allegiance; a fourth directed the words *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* to be inscribed on all devices and on all the walls of Paris, and changed the names of the streets and squares into others of a revolutionary sound and meaning. This was followed on the 27th by others of a more alarming import, or deeper signification. One ordered everyone to wear a red rosette in his button-hole; another directed trees of liberty to be planted in all the public squares, and reopened the clubs; a third changed the names of the colleges of Paris, and of the titles of general officers; and a fourth abolished all titles of nobility, forbidding anyone to assume them.

But the provisional government soon found that it was not by such decrees that the passions of the people were to be satiated, or their hunger appeased. Already, on the morning of the 25th, before they had had time to do anything, the well-known features of popular insurrection had displayed themselves. The Tuileries and the Palais Royal had been abandoned to the populace the evening before, as in truth, after the king had abdicated, there was no longer any government to withstand their excesses. These august palaces were sacked from top to bottom, their splendid furniture was burned or thrown out of the windows, the cellars were emptied of all the wines which they contained. The presence of the national guard and troops of the line, who were still under arms, prevented these excesses going further in the metropolis; but that only caused the storm to burst with the more fury on the

comparatively unprotected buildings in the country around it. Over a circle formed by a radius of thirty leagues round Paris, all the railway stations were sacked and burned; the bridges were in great part broken down, or set on fire; even the rails in many places were torn up and scattered about. The beautiful château of Neuilly near Paris, the favourite abode of the late king, was plundered and half-burned. Versailles was threatened with a similar fate, which was only averted by the firm attitude of the national guard, which turned out for the protection of that palace, no longer of kings but of the fine arts. But the magnificent château of Rothschild near Sur-

resnes was sacked and burned by a mob from Melun, at the very time when that banker was putting at the disposal of the provisional government fifty thousand francs, to assuage the sufferings of the wounded in the engagements.

Imagination may figure, but no words can convey, an adequate idea of the tremendous pressure exercised on the provisional government during the first days succeeding their installation. But of all the pressing cases, by far the most urgent was to pacify and feed the enormous multitude of destitute workmen whom the Revolution had thrown out of employment, and who crowded into the place de Grève, threatening the government with destruction if they did not instantly give them bread and work. They inundated the *salle du gouvernement*, and extorted from the overwhelmed members a decree "guaranteeing employment to all, and bestowing on the combatants on the barricades the million of francs saved by the termination



BURNING OF A CHÂTEAU

of the civil list." Though this decree was a vast concession to the working classes, and indicated not obscurely the commencement of that socialist pressure on the government which was ere long felt so severely, yet it was far from meeting the wishes of the angry and famishing crowd who filled the place de Grève and all the adjoining streets.^e

Hardly had they published the proclamation on the labour question, when a great uprising broke forth on the square of the Hôtel-de-Ville. New bands sallied forth firing off their muskets and crying, "The red flag! the red flag!" They penetrated into the hôtel, a red banner at their head. It was a decisive moment. It was important to know whether the flag of the Revolution and of modern France were to disappear before a factional standard; if all tradition were broken, and society plunged into an unknown abyss.

Lamartine forced his way to the grand staircase, from the top of which,

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after the most heroic efforts, he made himself heard by the crowd. He endeavoured to calm this seething multitude by appealing to the sentiments of harmony and humanity which they had shown in the victory of the previous evening; he implored the people not to impose on his government a standard of civil war, not to force it to change the flag of the nation and the name of France: "The government," cried he, "will die rather than dishonour itself by obeying you—I will resist unto the end this flag of blood. The red flag has made but the tour of the Champ de Mars, bedraggled with the blood of the people in '91; the tricoloured flag had made the tour of the world, with the name, the glory, and the liberty of the country." These men, passionate but easily influenced, broke forth into cheers. Lamartine had conquered them. They tore down their red flag.

The high stature, the noble and handsome face of Lamartine, his fine gestures, his grave and sonorous voice, his serene attitude during the most violent demonstrations of the unruly populace, had, as much as his eloquent words, seized the imagination and touched the heart of his stormy audience. These scenes, which occurred many times, made of Lamartine, for several weeks, one of the most original and most majestic figures in the history of France. He resembled perhaps more the ancient orators than those of the Revolution.

THE NATIONAL WORKSHOPS AND OTHER EXPEDIENTS

But although the danger of a bloody republic was got over at the moment, yet it was evident to all that some lasting measures were indispensable in order to provide security for the government, and the employment of the idle and violent persons who were assembled in the streets. The municipal guard had been disbanded, and the whole military had been sent out of the city by the provisional government, in order to appease the people and avoid the risk of collisions, which might be highly dangerous. Thus the government was entirely at the mercy of the mob, and the only protection they could invoke consisted in two battalions formed of volunteers, who had placed their bayonets at the disposal of the authorities.

They decreed the formation, accordingly, of a new urban corps called the *garde mobile*, to be composed of those who had been most determined on the barricades; and the plan would, it was hoped, enrol on the side of the government the most formidable of those who had recently been leagued together for its overthrow. It perfectly succeeded. High pay—double that of the troops of the line—soon attracted into the ranks the most ardent of those who had been engaged in the late disturbances, and the *garde mobile*, which soon consisted of twenty-four battalions, and mustered fourteen thousand bayonets, rendered essential service to the cause of order in the subsequent convulsions.

Several other measures, less creditable to the authorities but not less descriptive of the pressure under which they laboured, emanated at the same time from the busy legislative mill in the Hôtel-de-Ville. Acts of accusation were launched forth against Duchâtel, Salvandy, Montebello, and all the members of the late ministry, March 1st; but this was a mere feigned concession to the passions of the people; the provisional government, to its honour be it spoken, had no intention of proceeding seriously against them. Gratuitous tickets to the opera were largely distributed among the people; but, as well observed, it was poor consolation for a man who had got no dinner to be presented with an opera ticket. The licentious mob who had plundered and kept possession of the Tuileries were at length got out March 6th, but

only by a great display of military force, and on the express condition that they were to be taken to the Hôtel-de-Ville, thanked for their patriotic conduct, and presented with certificates of good behaviour.

A fresh element of discord soon arose from the liberation of Blanqui, Barbès, Bernard, Huber, and all the political prisoners in Paris, whom long confinement had roused to perfect frenzy against authority of every kind. Their first measure was to reopen all the clubs, which soon resounded with declamations as violent as any which had ushered in the horrors of the Reign of Terror. A hundred of them were opened in a few days, chiefly in the worst parts of Paris, and every night crowded by furious multitudes. The government, in compliance with their demands, authorised the planting of trees of liberty, in imitation of the orgies of the first revolution.

But the provisional government had soon more serious cares to occupy them. Distrust and distress, the inevitable attendants on successful revolution, ere long appeared in their most appalling form. The government, having guaranteed employment and sufficient wages to every citizen, soon found themselves embarrassed to the very last degree by the multitudes every day thrown upon them. Credit was at a stand; the manufactories and workshops were closed, and the thousands who earned their bread in them were thrown destitute upon the streets. So violent was the panic, so strong the desire to realise, that the five-per-cents fell in the beginning of March to forty-five!

"Nothing," says Lord Normanby,^g "surprised me more, in the wonderful changes of the last few days, than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, became as useless lumber. Ladies, anxious to realise a small sum in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavoured to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified that they were 'rich and rare,' when no one could or would buy them?" It was melancholy to see the most civilised capital in the world suddenly reduced to the primitive condition of barter.

In these circumstances it was vain to think of the ordinary channels of employment being reopened, and nothing remained but for the government to take upon themselves, in the meantime at least, the employment of the people. For this purpose, on the 27th and 28th of February, decrees were passed appointing great workshops called *ateliers nationaux*, where all the unemployed might be set to work. As the idle were the very men who had made the Revolution, it was indispensable to keep them in good humour, and for this purpose the wages given were two francs a day. This was more than the average rate even in prosperous periods, and it had the effect of bringing a host of needy and clamorous claimants, not only from Paris but all the towns in the neighbourhood. The numbers in the first week were only five thousand, but they soon increased in a fearful progression; from the 1st to the 15th of April they swelled to 36,250, and at length reached the enormous number of 117,000! The daily cost of their maintenance exceeded two hundred thousand francs. This enormous expenditure was necessary, for the universal prostration of credit, hoarding of specie, and disappearance of capital rendered it impossible to get quit of workmen once enrolled in the brigades of the unemployed; the government were obliged to add much from the secret-service money to support them, in addition to the vast sums publicly applied to their relief; and, in truth, they were kept up as well from the desire always to have a huge army of dependants ready to support the revolutionary government as from the necessities of their situation.

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In these huge workshops were collected a crowd of workmen, all of different trades; and they were all set to the same employment, which was generally that of removing nuisances, levelling barricades, or taking away dunghills. Even these humble employments were soon done: nothing remained for the enormous multitude to do; for as to making articles of luxury, or even convenience, for the public, that was out of the question at a time when no one was purchasing more than the absolute necessities of life. Thus the *ateliers nationaux* soon turned into vast pay-shops, where idle crowds hung about all day, receiving two francs a day for doing nothing. In the latter period of their existence there were not two thousand actually at work out of 110,000 on the public rolls. There was no one concerned in the administration who was to blame for this state of things. It was unavoidable in the circumstances, just as was the employing of two hundred thousand starving labourers on the public roads in Ireland, at the same time.

When the increasing necessities of the numerous classes whom the Revolution had deprived of bread forced the subject of their maintenance on an unwilling government, the cry was for the appointment of a minister *pour l'organisation de travail*; and the public voice, expressed on an hundred banners reared aloft in the place de Grève, designated Louis Blanc, whose socialist principles had long been known, for the high office. To avoid the danger, and yet escape the obloquy of openly resisting a demand so supported, they fell upon the device of appointing Louis Blanc president of a commission appointed to sit at the Luxembourg and inquire into the condition of the working classes and the means of relieving their distresses. They associated with Louis Blanc in this commission the acknowledged chiefs of all the sects of socialists and communists. The *ateliers nationaux*, however, were not put under their direction. They remained under the orders of Marie, the minister of commerce; and in consequence of this not being generally adverted to, and the Luxembourg being regarded as the centre of the communist action and the source of communist measures, much unjust obloquy has been brought upon Louis Blanc and his socialist supporters.

Three circumstances distinguished this revolution from both of those which had preceded it. The first is the entire absence of all religious jealousy or rancour by which it was distinguished. No one needs be told that the very reverse was the case in the first revolution. The same was the case, though in a lesser degree, in the revolution of 1830. Hatred of the Jesuits, and jealousy of the influence they were supposed to be acquiring in the government and the educational establishments of the country, were the chief causes of the overthrow of Charles X. But on this occasion, this, the most deadly poison that can be mixed up with the revolutionary passions, was entirely wanting. The old animosity of the revolutionists against the clergy seemed to have disappeared. The Revolution was ardently supported by the clergy, in the first instance at least, especially in the rural districts. The priests blessed the trees of liberty which were planted in the villages and squares; fervent prayers were offered up for the republic from the altars; the priests, surrounded by their flocks, marched to the polling-places for the elections for the assembly when they came on. This change is very remarkable, and suggests much matter for reflection; but it is easily explained when we recollect that the Church had lost all its property during the first revolution, and ceased to be either an object of envy from its wealth, or of jealousy from its power. Thrown upon their flocks for support, since the miserable pittance of forty pounds a year allowed by the government barely sufficed for existence, the clergy had identified themselves with their interests and

shared their desires. The government of Louis Philippe had been so hostile to religion that they in secret rejoiced at its overthrow.

The second circumstance which distinguished this revolution was the sedulous attention now paid to the demands and interests of labour. It was the interests of capital and the bourgeoisie which were chiefly, if not exclusively, considered in the revolution of 1830. Robespierre and Saint-Just had professed, and probably felt, a warm interest in the concerns of the working classes; but they could see no other way of serving them but by cutting off the heads of all above them. The lapse of thirty-three years' peace since 1815, and the vast increase of industry which had in consequence taken place, had now, however, given a more practical direction to men's thoughts. They no longer thought that they were to be benefited by placing the heads of the rich under the guillotine; they adopted a plan, in appearance at least, more likely to be attended with the desired effect, and that was to put their own hands into their pockets. Encouraged by the conferences at the Luxembourg and the socialist declamations of Louis Blanc, as well as the decrees of the government, which guaranteed employment and full wages to all the working classes, they all united now in demanding from their employers at once an increase of wages and a diminution in the hours of labour! By a decree of the government, the hours of labour of all sorts in Paris were fixed at ten hours a day, though in the provinces they were left at twelve hours. These demands, too, were made at a time when, in consequence of the panic consequent on the Revolution, and the universal hoarding of the precious metals which had ensued, the price of every species of industrial produce, so far from rising, was rapidly falling, and sale of everything, except the mere necessities of life, had become impossible! The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was that mostly all the master-manufacturers closed their workshops; and in the first two weeks of March, above an hundred thousand were out of employment in Paris alone, and thirty or forty thousand in Rouen, Lyons, and Bordeaux!

A third effect which ensued from the peculiar character of this revolution, as the revolt of labour against capital, was the strongest aversion on the part of all its promoters to the principles of free trade, and a decided adherence to that of protection.

But all other consequences of the Revolution fade into insignificance compared with the commercial and monetary crisis which resulted from its success, and, in its ultimate results, was attended with the most important effects upon the fortunes of the republic. The panic soon spread from the towns to the country; the peasants, fearful of being plundered, either by robbery or the emission of assignats, hastened to hide their little stores of money; specie disappeared from the circulation.

THE REPUBLIC ESTABLISHED

The time was now approaching when something definite required to be adopted by the provisional government in regard to the future constitution of the republic. With this view the government felt that it was necessary to convoke a national assembly; but before that could be done, the basis required to be fixed on which the election of its members should proceed. In these moments of republican fervour, there could be no doubt of the principle which required to be adopted. The convention of 1793 presented the model ready made to their hands. The precedent of that year accordingly was followed, with a trifling alteration, merely in form, which subsequent

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experience had proved to be necessary. The number of the assembly was fixed at nine hundred, including the representatives of Algeria and the other colonies, and it was declared that the members should be distributed in exact proportion to the population. The whole was to form one assembly, chosen by universal suffrage. Every person was to be admitted to vote who had attained the age of twenty-one, who had resided six months in a commune, and had not been judicially deprived of his suffrage. Any Frenchman of the age of twenty-five, not judicially deprived of his rights, was declared eligible as a representative. The voting was to be secret, by signing lists; and no one could be elected unless he had at least two thousand votes. The deputies were to receive twenty-five francs a day for their expenses during the sitting of the assembly. This was soon followed by another decree, which ordered all prisoners for civil or commercial debts to be immediately set at liberty.

The provisional government, at the head of which was Lamartine, were at the same time labouring courageously and energetically to coerce the violent party, and direct the Revolution into comparatively safe and pacific channels. The first act which evinced the objects of this section of the government, and obtained the concurrence of the whole, was a most important and noble one—the abolition of the punishment of death in purely political cases. This great victory of humanity and justice over the strongest passions of excited and revengeful man was achieved by the provisional government in the very first moments of their installation in power, and when surrounded by a violent mob loudly clamouring for the *drapeau rouge* and the commencement of foreign war and the reign of blood. Whatever may be said of the tricolour flag making the tour of the globe, there can be no doubt that this great and just innovation will do so. To regard internal enemies, provided they engage only in open and legitimate warfare, in the same manner as external foes, to slay them in battle, but give quarter and treat them as prisoners of war after the conflict is over, is the first great step in lessening the horrors of civil conflict. On the contrary, the full merit of their noble and courageous conduct will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that, without guards or protection of any sort, they were, at the very time they passed this decree, exposed to the hostility of a bloodthirsty faction, loudly clamouring for the restoration of the guillotine, a second reign of terror, and a forcible propagandism to spread revolution through foreign nations.

Though the republic, generally speaking, was received in silent submission in the provinces when the telegraph announced its establishment in Paris, yet, in those places where the democratic spirit was peculiarly strong, it was not inaugurated without very serious disorders. At Lyons it was proclaimed at eight at night, on the 25th of February, 1848, by torchlight; and before midnight, the incendiary torch had been applied to the religious and charitable establishments of the Croix Rouge, Fourvière, and the faubourg du Paix.

Delivered over to the rule of a tumultuous mob, the condition of Lyons for several months was miserable in the extreme; and though perfectly aware of these disorders, the government did not venture to attempt their suppression. In the midst of this universal excitement and fever, a very serious run took place on the savings banks, and these establishments soon found that they were unable to pay the deposits in specie.

When such elements of discord existed, not only in the state but in the provisional government itself, it was only a question of time when an open rupture was to take place between them. It was brought on, however,

somewhat sooner than had been expected, by an ordinance of Ledru-Rollin, published on the 14th of March, ordering the dissolution of the flank companies, or *compagnies d'élite* as they were called, of the national guard, and the dispersion of their members, without distinction or equipment, among the ordinary companies of the legion. The object of this was to destroy the exclusive aspect and moral influence of these companies, which, being composed of the richer class of citizen, formed the nucleus of a body which naturally inclined to conservative principles, and might impede the designs of the extreme revolutionary party. To "democratise," as it was called, the whole body, the decree ordered these companies to be dispersed among the others, and the whole to vote together for the election of the officers, which was to take place in a few days.^e

On the 16th of March, these élite companies of the old national guard made a demonstration in a body twenty-five thousand strong at the Hôtel-de-Ville in order to test the strength of the forces at the disposal of the people. In revenge, on the following day, the workmen's corporations, the delegates to the Luxembourg, and the national workshops, excited by leaders who wished to drive them to extremes, organised a counter-demonstration in favour of the proletariat. The provisional government, whose members clung together in spite of internal rivalries, was obliged every day to deliver speeches and proclamations which gave Lamartine an ever-increasing but ephemeral popularity. In order not to leave the capital undefended in the hands of the factionists, the provisional government ordered back to Paris some battalions of the army which had left humiliated on the 23rd of February.

After a new socialistic demonstration which repulsed the national guard and a feast of fraternity on the 21st of April which reconciled no one, the electoral colleges met on Sunday, the 23rd of April. The elections were held, for the first time, by universal suffrage. This meant passing from 222,000 electors to 9,000,000—a sudden upheaval of political life which had not been expected and which would inevitably cause disaster.

The election of Lamartine in ten departments characterised this moment of the Revolution. The 4th of May the constituent assembly met and solemnly proclaimed the republic; and, despite the remembrance of the feebleness of the Directory, it imprudently placed the agreement in the hands of an executive commission composed of five members: Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin.

It seemed that nothing was left but to frame a constitution. Unfortunately, every day the Revolution was interpreted in a different way. Some held that it was exclusively political and tried to restrict it to a few modifications in the form of government, while others wanted it to be social and aimed at transforming society. Many even spoke of returning to the monarchy, and some dreamed of entirely demolishing all public authority.

They began by an attack on the national assembly. The 15th of May, under the pretext of carrying to the deputies a petition in favour of Poland, a movement was made against the chamber.^h

THE INSURRECTION OF MAY 15TH, 1848

The petitioners assembled at the place de la Bastille, and began their march about 11 o'clock. Their attitude was not hostile; but, on the boulevard du Temple, Blanqui and his club awaited their coming, quickly placed themselves at the head of the column, and moved forward with the greatest

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rapidity. The assembly came forth on the place de la Madeleine much earlier than they were expected. The national guard, weary of being summoned so often in vain, had not responded in a large number to the call upon them; in spite of this they would have been able to avert the danger had they concentrated. Instead of taking this necessary measure at once, General Courtais had the unfortunate idea of overtaking this mass of people—he imagined he could stop them by kind words. In the first lines were the most violent characters; amongst them were some armed men. These paid no attention to Courtais, but passed on; the rest followed. The crowd bordered the place de la Concorde and advanced toward the bridge. In a short time it hurled itself against the gratings of the assembly.

Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin attempted to harangue the multitude from the top of the stairs where the assembly, some days before, had come to mix its republican acclamations with those of the people of Paris. The eloquence of the poet and of the tribune did not have the same ascendancy at this moment as at the Hôtel-de-Ville. The multitude continued to shake the gratings and cry, "Down with the bayonets!" Courtais gave the command to a thousand of the national guard and the garde mobile to sheathe their bayonets; then he had a grating opened to admit twenty delegates: a much larger number followed Blanqui. The crowd went round the palace to the place de Bourgogne; there they joined the club de Barbès, not to invade but to observe. When they were sure that Blanqui had entered they wished also to enter; there took place, on the place de Bourgogne, a *milée*, a terrible stampede. The gratings on that side were forced: the multitude poured into the assembly room; others entered directly by forcing the doors. At the moment of the invasion the assembly were discussing Poland and Italy.

In the midst of the tumult which followed, Louis Blanc, with the permission of the president, began to speak; he demanded silence in order that the petition in favour of Poland might be read, and the right of petition sanctioned. In spite of the protestations of a number of representatives, Raspail, who was not a member of the assembly, mounted the tribune and read the petition. The president, Buchez, asked the crowd to leave and allow the assembly to deliberate. Barbès, seeing Blanqui at the foot of the tribune, hastened to make the first move, and pressed the assembly to carry out the wishes of the people for Poland. "Citizens," cried he, "you have done well to come and exercise your right to petition, and the duty of the assembly is to execute what you demand, which is the wish of France; but in order that she should not appear violent it is necessary that you retire."

Cries of "No! No!" were heard, and Blanqui on the other hand demanded of the assembly a decree that France should not put her sword in the scabbard until Poland had attained her independence. He added that the people came also to demand justice for the massacres of Rouen and claim from the assembly that it should see that they had work and bread. Contradictory cries broke forth: "Poland! we are interested only in Poland!" and "The minister of work, immediately!"

The struggle was, in fact, between those who wished to continue the invasion of the assembly and those who wished it to cease. Raspail, who found himself carried there without intending it, joined Ledru-Rollin and Barbès in trying to clear the assembly room; Huber himself, the promoter of the manifestation, tried to induce the people to retire before the assembly, whose representatives had held their posts with dignity in the midst of this chaos. The party of Blanqui resisted, the struggle became intense in this close atmosphere—when, from outside, was heard the sound of drums.

Garnier-Pagès had sent, in the name of the executive commission, the order to beat to arms all the legions. At the news of what had happened the national guard gathered in great throngs. The crowd, on the contrary, around the Palais Bourbon, on the bridge, at the place de la Concorde, began to thin. All those who had come with no evil intentions became disquieted, grieved; and one by one they went away. In the interior of the hall, among the invaders, many were exhausted, some even fainted. Barbès' head was turned. He, who had no intention but to defend the assembly against Blanqui, declared that it was necessary that they should vote, at that sitting, the sending of an army to Poland, a tax of a thousand millions on the rich, and that they should forbid the call to arms; if not, the representatives would be declared traitors to the country! He and those around him were delirious. The clamours redoubled at the same time for Poland and for the organisation of work. "We wish Louis Blanc," cried someone, and Louis Blanc was brought forward, against his will, in triumph; harassed, almost fainting, he protested in vain and felt that he was lost. The fury increased in a measure at the sound of the drums. Armed men with sinister faces surrounded and threatened the president Buzé, who had remained immovable on his seat, and the vice-president Corbon, who had come to join Buzé at his perilous post. The president was called on to give the order to stop the call to arms. He resisted. The commands became frantic. An officer of the national guard came to the president to tell him that the legions would be ready to act within a quarter of an hour.

The order to the mayors to cease the call to arms could no longer have any result. The refusal to give this order would inevitably have led to a catastrophe. Men of unquestioned courage amongst the representatives counselled the president to gain a quarter of an hour at any price and to accede to the wishes of the people. He signed the orders. This action without doubt prevented violent acts, but did not quiet the tumult, as the invaders seemed to be possessed by an uncontrollable fury. Amidst the stamping and howling of the crowd, Huber suddenly mounted the tribune and declared the national assembly dissolved. A group of the most frantic hurled themselves on the desk and threw the president from his seat. The president and the vice-president at last went forth accompanied by most of the representatives.

The invaders, remaining masters of the hall, commenced to argue on the candidates for a new provisional government, when the drums began echoing in the interior of the palace. "The garde mobile!" they cried; a panic seized the invaders and they fled in disorder from the hall, crying, "To the Hôtel-de-Ville!" This political orgy had lasted nearly four hours. A little after four o'clock, the garde mobile and the national guard entered and finished clearing the hall.^f

The assembly came back and reopened the sitting. Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin, at the head of the representatives and of the national guard, marched to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where Marrast, the mayor of Paris, had seized a new provisional government which had attempted to install itself there; the agitators were sent to Vincennes. This riot, a sad and senseless parody of the too famous days of the first revolution, had the result of putting the assembly in a position of defiance against the Parisian populace. It was decided to dissolve the national workshops, which formed an army of one hundred thousand labourers having arms, officers, and discipline. This news excited the anger of the agitators who were still free, and the despair of the workmen who had been misled by dangerous utopian ideas.^h

In June there were several new elections, and Paris returned Proudhon

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and other socialist leaders. The general result of these elections, however, was not favourable to that party; while Count Molé, Thiers, and several other statesmen of the monarchy recovered seats in the assembly, and at the same time Prince Louis Napoleon was elected by no less than four departments. He had been supported not only by Bonapartists but by red republicans, and even by communists to whom his speculative writings had commended him. Many parties confronted one another in the assembly, but the ultra-democrats formed an insignificant minority. Growing more desperate as political power eluded their grasp, they were plotting another insurrection, when the assembly determined to disperse the idle and dangerous workmen in the national workshops, who had now risen to one hundred and twenty thousand. This moment of discontent was promptly seized upon. The clubs and the red republican leaders appealed to the workmen, to the revolutionary proletairists and to the forçats, and Paris flew to arms.ⁱ

CIVIL WAR IN PARIS (JUNE 22ND-25TH, 1848)

Every symptom indicated the approaching movement. It broke out on the 22nd of June at ten at night. The government, warned of the rioting and clamour which attended the first steps that had been taken for distributing a portion of the workmen through the departments, assembled at the Luxembourg. In the course of the evening numerous mobs had several times assailed the palace with furious shouts of "*À bas Marie!*" "*À bas Lamartine!*" The government had appointed General Cavaignac commander-in-chief of the troops of the national guard, with the view of concentrating the whole plan and the unity of its execution in a single individual.

The night was tranquil; it was spent in arrangements for the attack and defence. Neither the socialists nor the anti-republican party joined in the insurrection. Everything indicated that this undecided, feeble movement, incoherent in its principle, had been organised and planned in the heart of the national workshops themselves. It was a plebeian and not a popular movement, a conspiracy of subalterns and not of chiefs, an outbreak of servile and not of civil war.

At seven o'clock on the 23rd of June, the government received information that mobs, forming altogether an assemblage of from eight to ten thousand men, had collected on the place du Panthéon to attack the Luxembourg. The occupants of the national workshops poured down from the barriers, and the populace, excited by some of their armed leaders, threw up barricades. Their leaders were, for the most part, the men who acted as *brigadiers* of the national workshops, and who were agents of the seditious clubs. They were irritated by the proposed disbandment of their corps, whose wages passed through their hands, and some of them, it was alleged, did not scruple to divert the money from its destined object, for the purpose of paying sedition. From the barriers of Charenton, Bercy, Fontainebleau, and Ménilmontant, to the very heart of Paris, the capital was almost totally defenceless, and in the power of a few thousand men.

General Cavaignac resolved to concentrate his troops (as had been determined beforehand) in the garden of the Tuileries, in the Champs Élysées, on the place de la Concorde, on the esplanade des Invalides, and round the palace of the representatives. Meanwhile, the conflict had commenced on the boulevards. Two detachments of volunteers of the 1st and 2nd legions attacked two barricades erected on that point. Most of these brave volunteers perished heroically under the first fire of the insurgents.

Duvivier commanded the central part of Paris at the Hôtel-de-Ville. Dumesne and Lamoricière, who seemed, as it were, to multiply themselves, performed prodigies of resolution and activity with the mere handful of men at their disposal. By four o'clock in the afternoon Dumesne had cleared and made himself master of the left bank of the Seine, and had overawed the whole mass of insurrectionary population in the quarter of the Panthéon.

Lamoricière, invincible, though hemmed in by two hundred thousand of the insurgents, occupied the space extending from the rue du Temple to the Madeleine, and from Clichy to the Louvre. He was incessantly galloping from one point to another, and always exposing himself to receive the first shot that might be fired. He had two horses killed under him.

A summer storm was at that moment breaking over Paris. General Cavaignac, surrounded by his staff, with Lamartine, Duclerc, and Pierre Bonaparte (son of Lucien), and followed by about two thousand men, advanced amidst flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, mingled with the applauding shouts of the well-disposed citizens, as far as the château d'Eau. After repeated assaults, kept up for the space of three quarters of an hour, and amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets, decimating both officers and men, the barricades were carried. Lamartine felt as though he could have wished for death to release him from the odious responsibility of bloodshed which pressed upon him so unjustly, but yet so unavoidably. Four hundred brave men lay killed or wounded in different parts of the faubourg. Lamartine returned to the château d'Eau to rejoin General Cavaignac.

Accompanied only by Duclerc, and a national guard named Lassaut, who had been his companion the whole of the day, Lamartine passed the line of the advanced posts, to reconnoitre the disposition of the people on the boulevard of the Bastille. The immense crowd, which fell back to make way for him as he proceeded, still continued to shout his name, with enthusiasm and even amidst tears. He conversed long with the people, pacing slowly and pressing his way through the crowd by the breast of his horse. This confidence amidst the insurgent masses preserved him from any manifestation of popular violence. The men, who by their pale countenances, their excited tone, and even their tears bore evidence of deep emotion, told him their complaints against the national assembly, and expressed their regret at seeing the revolution stained with blood. They declared their readiness to obey him (Lamartine), whom they had known as their counsellor and friend, and not as their flatterer, amidst the misery they had suffered and the destitution of their wives and children. "We are not bad citizens, Lamartine," they exclaimed, "we are not assassins; we are not factious agitators! We are unfortunate men, honest workmen, and we only want the government to help us in our misery and to provide us with work! Govern us yourself! Save us! Command us! We love you! We know you! We will prevail on our companions to lay down their arms!"

Lamartine, without having been either attacked or insulted, returned to rejoin General Cavaignac on the boulevard. At midnight the regiments nearest to the capital and the national guards of the adjacent towns entered Paris in a mass, marching through all the barriers. Victory might still be tardy, yet it was now certain.¹

"THE DAYS OF JUNE"

On the morning of the 24th matters looked very serious, and the assembly, which had endeavoured to ignore the danger, was forced to recognise and

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take measures to avert it. The inefficiency of the executive commission and the distrust they had inspired in the national guard having become painfully conspicuous, a motion was made, at noon on the 24th, to confer absolute power on a dictator; and General Cavaignac was suggested and approved almost unanimously. The executive commission, finding themselves thus superseded, resigned their appointments, and absolute uncontrolled authority was vested in the dictator.

The effects of this great change were soon apparent. Immense was the difference between the hesitation and disunited action of five civilians in presence of danger, and the decided conduct of one single experienced military chief. The first object was to repel the enemy from the vicinity of the Hôtel-de-Ville. The task was no easy one, for the streets around it swarmed with armed men; every window was filled with tirailleurs, and from the summit of barricades, which were erected across the narrow thoroughfares at every hundred yards, streamed a well-directed and deadly fire of musketry. At length, however, after a dreadful struggle, the nearest streets were carried, and the Hôtel-de-Ville was put for the time in a state of comparative safety.

The attack was next carried into the adjoining quarters of the Église St. Gervais and the rue St. Antoine, while General Lamoricière pushed on towards the faubourg St. Denis, and then, wheeling to his left, commenced an assault on the faubourg Poissonnière. The insurgents defended each barricade as it was attacked, as long as possible, and when it was about to be forced they quickly retired to the next one in rear, generally not more than one or two hundred yards distant, which was stubbornly held in like manner; while upon the column which advanced in pursuit a heavy and murderous fire was directed from the windows of the adjoining houses.

It was not surprising that the progress even of the vast and hourly-increasing military force at the disposal of the dictator had been so slow; for the task before them was immense, and to appearance insurmountable by any human strength. The number of barricades had risen to the enormous and almost incredible figure of 3,888, nearly all of which were stoutly defended. The great strongholds of the insurgents were in the clos St. Lazare and the faubourg St. Antoine, each of which was defended by gigantic barricades, constructed of stones having all the solidity of regular fortifications, and held by the most determined and fanatical bands.

The night of the 24th was terrible; the opposing troops, worn out with fatigue and parched with thirst, sank down to rest within a few yards of each other on the summit of the barricades, or at their feet, and no sound was heard in the dark but the cry of the sentinels. Early on the morning of the 25th the conflict was renewed at all points, and ere long a frightful tragedy signalled the determination and ferocity of the insurgents. General Bréa humanely went with a flag of truce to the headquarters of the insurgents. He was overwhelmed with insults, shot down, and left for dead on the ground; his aide-de-camp, Captain Manguin, was at the same time put to death, and his remains mutilated to such a degree that the human form could hardly be distinguished. After waiting an hour for the return of his general, Colonel Thomas, the second in command, having learned his fate, and announced it to his soldiers, made preparations for an assault. Infuriated by the treacherous massacre of their general, the men rushed on, and carried at the point of the bayonet seven successive barricades. All their defenders were put to the sword, to avenge their infamous treachery.

But ere the attack commenced, a sublime instance of Christian heroism and devotion occurred, which shines forth like a heavenly glory in the midst

of these terrible seasons of carnage. Monseigneur Affre, archbishop of Paris, horror-struck with the slaughter which for three days had been going on without intermission, resolved to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, or perish in the attempt. Having obtained leave from General Cavaignac to repair to the headquarters of the insurgents, he set out, dressed in his pontifical robes, having the cross in his hand, accompanied by two vicars, also in full canonicals, and three intrepid members of the assembly. Deeply affected by this courageous act, which they well knew was almost certain death, the people, as he walked through the streets, fell on their knees and besought him to desist, but he persisted, saying, "It is my duty. *Bonus pastor dat vitam suam pro ovibus suis.*" At seven in the evening he arrived in the place de la Bastille, where the firing was extremely warm on both sides.

Undismayed by the storm of balls, the prelate advanced slowly, attended by his vicars, to the summit of the barricade. He had descended three steps on the other side when he was pierced through the loins by a shot from a window. The insurgents, horror-struck, approached him when he fell, stanching the wound, which at once was seen to be mortal, and carried him to the neighbouring hospital of Quatre-Vingts. When told he had only a few minutes to live, he said, "God be praised, and may he accept my life as an expiation for my omissions during my episcopacy, and as an offering for the salvation of this misguided people"; and with these words he expired.

Immediately after his decease, proposals came for a capitulation from the insurgents, on condition of an absolute and unqualified amnesty. General Cavaignac, however, would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender. All attacks proved successful, and at last the enemy capitulated. With this the terrible insurrection came to an end. The losses on either side in this memorable conflict were never accurately known; for the insurgents could not estimate theirs, and the government took care not to publish their own. But on both sides it was immense, as might have been expected, when forty or fifty thousand on a side fought with the utmost courage and desperation for four days in the streets of a crowded capital, with nearly four thousand barricades erected and requiring to be stormed. General Négrier was killed, and Generals Duvivier, Dumesne, Koste, Lafontaine, and Foncher were wounded mortally—General Bedeau more slightly. Ten thousand bodies were recognised and buried, and nearly as many, especially on the side of the insurgents, thrown unclaimed into the Seine. At the close of the contest nearly fifteen thousand prisoners were in the hands of the victors, and crowded, almost to suffocation, all places of confinement in Paris. Three thousand of them died of jail fever; but the immense multitude which remained created one of the greatest difficulties with which for long the government had to contend.

The concourse of troops and national guards who flocked together from all quarters, on the 27th and 28th, enabled the dictator to maintain his authority, and restore order, by the stern discipline of the sword. The assembly divided the prisoners into two classes: for the first, who were the most guilty, deportation to Cayenne, or one of the other colonies, was at once adjudged; the second were condemned to transportation, which with them meant detention in the hulks, or in some maritime fortresses of the republic. But all means of detention ere long proved inadequate for so prodigious a multitude, and many were soon liberated by the government from absolute inability to keep them longer. This terrible strife cost France

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more lives than any of the battles of the empire; the number of generals who perished in it, or from the wounds they had received, exceeded even those cut off at Borodino or Waterloo.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAVAIGNAC

The victory once decidedly gained, Cavaignac lost no time in abdicating the dictatorial powers conferred upon him during the strife. But the assembly were too well aware of the narrow escape which they had made, to entertain the thought of resuming the powers of sovereignty. If they had been so inclined, the accounts from the provinces would have been sufficient to deter them, for the insurrection in Paris was contemporary with a bloody revolt at Marseilles, occasioned by the same attempt to get quit of the burdensome pensioners at the ateliers nationaux, which was only put down after three days' hard fighting by a concentration of troops from all the adjoining departments.

At Rouen and Bordeaux the agitation was so violent that it was evident nothing but the presence of a large military force prevented a rebellion from breaking out. Taught by these events, the national assembly unanimously continued to General Cavaignac the powers already conferred upon him, and prolonged the state of siege in the metropolis. The powers of the dictator were to last till a permanent president was elected either by the assembly or the direct voice of the citizens; and in the meantime General Cavaignac proceeded to appoint his ministers, who immediately entered upon their several duties.

The first care of the new government was to remodel the armed force of the metropolis, and extinguish those elements of insurrection which had brought such desolation, bloodshed, and ruin upon the country. The ateliers nationaux were immediately dissolved: this had now become, comparatively speaking, an easy task; for the most formidable part of their number, and nearly all who had actually appeared with arms in their hands, had either been slain or were in the prisons of the republic. Those legions of the national guard which had either hung back or openly joined the insurgents, on occasion of the late revolt, were all dissolved and disarmed. Already, on June 25th, when the insurrection was at its height, a decree was issued, which suspended nearly all the journals of a violent character on either side, and even *Émile de Girardin*, an able writer and journalist of moderate character, was arrested and thrown into prison. These measures, how rigorous soever, were all ratified by a decree of the assembly on the 1st of August, and passed unanimously. "The friends of liberty," says the contemporary annalist, "observed with grief that the republic had in a single day struck with impunity a severer blow at the liberty of the press than the preceding governments had done during thirty years." At the same time the clubs, those great fountains of treason and disorder, were closed. Thus was another proof added to the innumerable ones which history had previously afforded, that popular licentiousness and insurrection, from whatever cause originating, must ever end in the despotism of the sword.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE PLEBISCITE

The duty of framing a constitution had been intrusted, in the beginning of June, to a committee composed of the most enlightened members. The discussion commenced on the 2nd of July, and was only concluded by the

formal adoption of the constitution, as then modified, on the 23rd of October. On the important question whether the legislature should be in one or two chambers, the debate was conducted by two distinguished men, Lamartine and Odilon Barrot.

The assembly, as might have been anticipated, decided in favour of one chamber by a majority of 530 to 289. The "sovereign power" of legislation accordingly was vested in a single assembly, and Lamartine, who was not without a secret hope of becoming its ruler, was triumphant. But the all-important question remained—by whom was the president of the chamber to be appointed, and what were to be his powers as the avowed chief magistrate of the republic? Opinions were much divided on this point, some adhering to an election by the assembly, others to a direct appeal to the people. Contrary to expectation, M. de Lamartine supported the nomination by the entire population of France.

He could not be convinced of the fatal blow which his popularity had received from his coalition with Ledru-Rollin. He still thought he was lord of the ascendant, and would be the people's choice if the nomination was vested in their hands. By extending the suffrage to all France, the revolutionists had dug the grave of their own power. The result, accordingly, decisively demonstrated the strength of this feeling even in the first assembly elected under universal suffrage, and how well founded were the mournful prognostications of Lamartine as to the approaching extinction of liberty by the very completeness of the triumph of its supporters.¹

The formation of the constitution having been at length concluded, it was finally adopted, on the 4th of November, by a majority of 737 to thirty votes. Among the dissentients were Pierre Leroux and Proudhon, extreme communists, and Berryer and La Rochejaquelein, royalists. Victor Hugo and Montalembert were also in the minority, though no two men could be found whose opinions on general subjects were more opposite. On the evening of the day on which it was adopted by the assembly, the intelligence was communicated to the Parisians by 101 guns discharged from the Invalides. The sound at first excited the utmost alarm, as it was feared the civil war was renewed; and when it was known that it was only the announcement of a constitution, the panic subsided, and the people, careless and indifferent, dispersed to their homes.

By the constitution thus adopted, the form of government in France was declared to be republican, the electors being chosen by universal suffrage, and the president in the same way. The right of the working classes to employment was negatived, it being declared, however, that the government, so far as its resources went, was to furnish labour to the unemployed. The punishment of death was abolished in purely political offences. Slavery was to be abolished in every part of the French dominions. The right of association and public meeting was guaranteed; voting, whether for the representatives or the president, was to be by ballot; the representatives once chosen might be re-elected any number of times. The president required to be a French citizen, of at least thirty years of age, and one who had not lost on any occasion his right of citizenship. He was to be elected for four years,

[An expression of the philosopher Jean Reynaud during "the Days of June" characterised the situation with poignant truth: "We are lost if we are conquered; lost if we conquer." It was too true: the Republic was stabbed to the heart. Victorious, the body politic drifted, in a few months, to a monarchic cæsarism by the path of reaction; vanquished, it had drifted, in a few days, to a demagogic cæsarism by the path of anarchy. Like the Janus of fable, Bonapartism was ready to present the one or the other of its two faces to France doomed to be its prey.—MARTIN.]

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and a simple majority was to determine the election. The president was re-eligible after having served the first four years; he was to reside in the palace of the assembly, and receive a salary of six hundred thousand francs a year. All the ministers of state were to be appointed by the president, who also was to command the armed force, declare peace and war, conduct negotiations with foreign powers, and generally exercise all the powers of sovereignty, with the exception of appointing the judges of the supreme courts in Paris, who were to be named by the assembly, and to hold their offices for life.

Disguised under the form of a republic, this constitution was in reality monarchical, for the president was invested with all the substantial power of sovereignty; and as he was capable of being re-elected, his tenure of office might be prolonged for an indefinite period. Though there were several candidates for the high office, yet it was soon apparent that the suffrage would really come to be divided between two—General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon.

THE CANDIDACY OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

The door had already been opened to the latter by an election which took place at Paris on the 17th of September, when the young prince was again elected by a large majority. Four other departments in the country had already elected him. On this occasion he no longer hesitated, but accepted his election for the department of the Seine. He took his seat on the 26th of September, and made the following speech on the occasion, which was very favourably received by the assembly:

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES :

After three-and-thirty years of proscription and exile, I at length find myself among you, I again regain my country and my rights as one of its citizens. It is to the republic that I owe that happiness : let the republic then receive my oath of gratitude, of devotion ; and let my generous fellow-citizens, to whom I am indebted for my seat in its legislature, feel assured that I will strive to justify their suffrages, by labouring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, the first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the country is entitled to reclaim. My conduct, ever guided by a sense of duty and respect for the laws, will prove, in opposition to the passions by which I have been maligned and still am blackened, that none is more anxious than I am to devote myself to the defence of order and the consolidation of the republic.^e

THE ELECTIONS OF DECEMBER, 1848

Both Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and General Cavaignac had exceptional advantages: the first, that of a great name; the second, that of the immense resources with which executive power is necessarily invested. But in addition to the advantage of his name, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte belonged to no party whatsoever. Isolated between the army of socialism and the "party of order," he offered in his very person a sort of compromise. His attitude, his remoteness from the stormy debates of the chamber rendered his conduct conformable with his situation. In his seclusion at Auteuil, he had held conferences with men of all parties. All could place some of their hopes on him, without his binding himself to any single one. He belonged at the same time to the democracy, on account of the worship of the proletariat for the name of Napoleon; to socialism, by a few of his pamphlets; and to the party of order by the religious and military tendencies of his policy; and this is what no one in those times of blindness perceived.

A serious incident of far-reaching consequences dealt a terrible blow to the candidateship of General Cavaignac—the sitting of the national assem-

bly of November 25th, 1848. As the terror of the June Days faded away, the examination of facts had, little by little, convinced many that General Cavaignac, during those terrible days, had disdained the means of quelling the insurrection in its infancy; that he had served as an instrument for the seditious mutinies against the executive commission; that, in consequence of his calculated nervelessness and inaction, the insurrection had assumed formidable proportions, and the general had been obliged to shed the blood of France in torrents. As he had greatly benefited by this same bloodshed,

and owed his inconceivable elevation to it, public feeling traced in this ensemble the manœuvres of criminal ambition. These rumours soon acquired such consistency that General Cavaignac thought he ought to give an explanation in the tribune of the national assembly. The debate took place at the sitting of November 25th.

When General Cavaignac had challenged his adversaries to declare if he had in any way betrayed his trust, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire ascended the tribune and asked permission of the assembly to read an unpublished page of history. This statement embraced an accumulation of the most damaging evidence against the vacillations of General Cavaignac and against the faction which had striven for the overthrow of the executive commission.

General Cavaignac defended himself with the skill of a barrister. The danger of his position sharpened his wits. In spite of the affirmations of Garnier-Pagès and Ledru-Rollin, General Cavaignac came through this dangerous debate with the appearance of having triumphed. An alleged order of the day, presented by Dupont (de l'Eure), was adopted by a very large majority. The order of the day was expressed thus: "The



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national assembly, persevering in the decree of June 28th, 1848—thus worded, 'General Cavaignac, chief of the executive power, deserves well of his country'—passes on to the usual business of the day."

"The country will judge," many voices exclaimed when General Cavaignac ended the discussion by vaunting his devotion to the republic; and indeed the country was not slow in formulating its judgment.

In the election of December 10th, 1,448,302 votes were returned for General Cavaignac, whilst Louis Napoleon Bonaparte obtained 5,534,520; Ledru-Rollin had 371,434 suffrages, Raspail 36,964, and Lamartine, who had once been simultaneously elected by ten departments, received a dole of 17,914 votes.

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The election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte greatly surprised many zealous minds; and seriously disturbed the dreamers. Like carrion crows wheeling round to seek their route and filling the air with their cries, they were seen raising their heads and scenting the wind, seeking the meaning of an event they could not comprehend. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte appeared upon the scene like Fortinbras at the end of Hamlet. Brutal in fact, his election cut the knot of a thousand intrigues. The people, by their vote, had expressed the idea of a great popular dictatorship which put an end to the quarrels of the citizens, to the subtlety of utopians, to party rancour, and guarded them against the endlessly recurring crises engendered by the parliamentary régime amongst nations with whom sentiment dominates reason, action and discussion. The poll also expressed an ardent desire for unity. The proletariat knows well that what takes place in the republic of barristers and landlords concerns it but little. It was by analogous reasons that Cæsar triumphed in Rome. Having nothing to gain from party struggles, knowing by experience that for them the only result is lack of work, imprisonment, exile, or death, the people always aspire to rise above them. Louis Bonaparte, in his electoral address, was careful to give expression to this thought: "Let us be men of the country," he said, "not men of a party!"

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed president of the republic on December 20th at four o'clock, by the president of the national assembly. We know the political oath had been abolished by the February revolution, which thus seemed to confess its absence of belief. But by a miserable democratic equivocation, the oath was still taken by one man, by the president of the republic. The contract was not a mutual one. Each one reserved to himself implicitly the right of violating the constitution, and we shall see that the national assembly did not fail to do so; but each one desired at the same time that the president of the republic should be bound thereby as with a strait-jacket. The least fault of this vain ceremonial was its lack of common sense, the constitution being fatally and necessarily violated.]

VICTOR HUGO'S PORTRAIT OF "NAPOLEON THE LITTLE"

It was about four in the afternoon of December 20th, 1848; it was growing dark, and the immense hall of the assembly having become involved in gloom the chandeliers were lowered from the ceiling, and the messenger placed the lamps on the tribune. The president made a sign, the door on the right opened, and there was seen to enter the hall, and rapidly ascend the tribune, a man still young, attired in black, having on his breast the badge and riband of the Legion of Honour.

All eyes were turned towards this man. His face wan and pallid, its bony, emaciated angles developed in prominent relief by the shaded lamps; his nose large and long; his upper lip covered with moustaches; a lock of hair waving over a narrow forehead; his eyes small and dull; his attitude timid and anxious, bearing in no respect a resemblance to the emperor—this man was the citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. During the murmurs which arose upon his entrance, he remained for some instants standing, his right hand in the breast of his buttoned coat, erect and motionless on the tribune, the front of which bore this date—22nd, 23rd, 24th of February; and above which was inscribed these three words—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Prior to being elected president of the republic, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had been a representative of the people for several months, and

though he had rarely attended a whole sitting, he had been frequently seen in the seat he had selected, in the upper benches of the left, in the fifth row in the zone, commonly designated the Mountain, behind his old preceptor, the representative Vieillard. This man, then, was no new face in the assembly, yet his entrance on this occasion produced a profound emotion. It was to all, to friends as to foes, the future that had entered on the scene, a future unknown. Through the space of immense murmur, formed by the concurrent voices of all present, his name circulated in connection with the most opposite estimates. His antagonists recalled to each other his adventures, his *coups-de-main*, Strasburg, Boulogne, the tame eagle, and the piece of meat in the little hat. His friends urged his exile, his proscription, his imprisonment, a well-compiled work of his on artillery, his writings at Ham, impressed with a certain degree of liberal, democratic, and socialist spirit, the maturity of the graver age at which he had now arrived; and to those who recalled his follies, they recalled his misfortunes.

General Cavaignac, who, not having been elected president, had just resigned his power into the hands of the assembly with that tranquil laconism which befits republics, was seated in his customary place at the head of the ministerial bench, on the left of the tribune, and observed, in silence and with folded arms, this installation of the new man.

At length, silence became restored, the president of the assembly struck the table before him several times with his wooden knife, and then the last murmurs of the assembly having subsided, said: "I will now read the form of the oath."

There was an almost religious halo about this moment. The assembly was no longer an assembly, it was a temple. The immense significance of this oath was rendered still more impressive by the circumstance that it was the only oath taken throughout the extent of the territory of the republic. February had, and rightly, abolished the political oath, and the constitution had, as rightly, retained only the oath of the president. This oath possessed the double character of necessity and of grandeur. It was the oath taken by the executive, the subordinate power, to the legislative, the superior power; it was stronger still than this—the reverse of the monarchical fiction by which the people take the oath to the men invested with power, it was the man invested with power who took the oath to the people. The President, functionary and servant, swore fidelity to the people, sovereign. Bending before the national majesty, manifest in the omnipotent assembly, he received from the assembly the constitution, and swore obedience to it. The representatives were inviolable; he, not so. We repeat it: a citizen responsible to all the citizens, he was, of the whole nation, the only man so bound. Hence, in this oath, sole and supreme, there was a solemnity which went to the inmost heart of all who heard it. He who writes these pages was present in his place in the assembly, on the day this oath was taken; he is one of those who, in the face of the civilised world, called to bear witness, received this oath in the name of the people, and still, in their name, maintain it.

Thus it runs: "In presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the national assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, one and indivisible, and to fulfil all the duties imposed on me by the constitution."

The president of the assembly, standing, read this majestic formula; then, before the whole assembly, breathlessly silent, intensely expectant, the citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, raising his right hand, said, with a firm full voice, "I swear it."

[1848 A.D.]

The representative Boulay (de la Meurthe), since vice-president of the republic, who had known Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte from his childhood, exclaimed: "He is an honest man, he will keep his oath."

When he had done speaking, the constituent assembly rose, and sent forth, as with a single voice, the grand cry, "Long live the republic!" Louis Napoleon Bonaparte descended from the tribune, went up to General Cavaignac, and offered him his hand. The General, for a few instants, hesitated to accept the pressure. All who had just heard the speech of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, pronounced in an accent so redolent of candour and good faith, blamed the general for his hesitation.

The constitution to which Louis Napoleon Bonaparte took the oath on the 20th of December, 1848, "in the face of God and man," contained, among other articles, these:

Article 36. The representatives of the people are inviolable. Article 37. They may not be arrested in criminal matters unless they are taken in the fact, nor prosecuted without the permission of the assembly, first obtained. Article 68. Every act by which the president of the republic shall dissolve the national assembly, prorogue it, or impede the exercise of its decrees, is a crime of high treason.

By such act, of itself, the president forfeits his functions, the citizens are bound to refuse to him obedience, and the executive power passes, of full right, to the national assembly. The judges of the supreme court shall thereupon immediately assemble, under penalty of forfeiture; they shall convoke the jurors in such place as they shall appoint, to proceed to the trial of the president and his accomplices, and they shall themselves appoint magistrates to fulfil the functions of the state administration.

In less than three years after this memorable day, on the 2nd of December, 1851, at daybreak, there might be read at the corners of all the streets of Paris this notice:

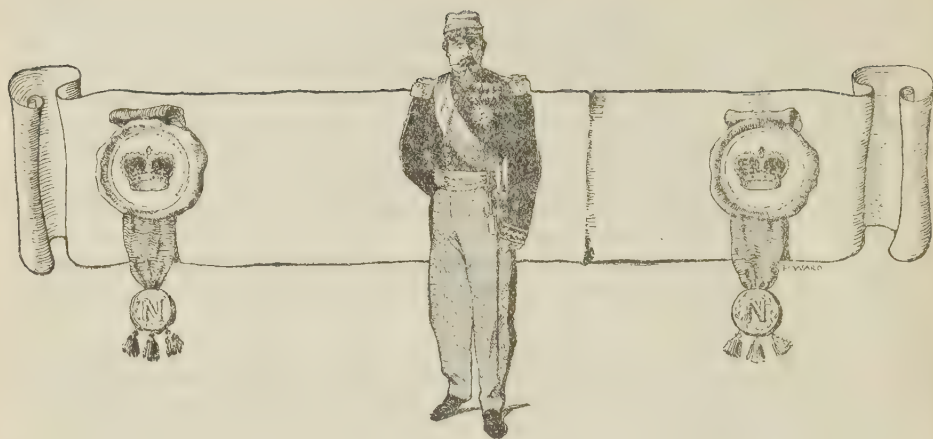
In the name of the French people, the president of the republic decrees: Article 1. The national assembly is dissolved. Article 2. Universal suffrage is re-established. The law of the 31st of May is repealed. Article 3. The French people are convoked in their comitia. Article 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the extent of the first military division. Article 5. The council of state is dissolved. Article 6. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

Done at the Palace of the Élysée, December 2nd, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

At the same time Paris learned that fifteen of the inviolable representatives of the people had been arrested in their homes, in the course of the night, by order of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.^k





CHAPTER V

LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT AND EMPEROR

[1849-1870 A.D.]

On the 20th of December, 1848, commenced the government of that man to whom France delivered herself in an access of dizziness and who was to preside over her destinies till the 2nd of September, 1870. "This unfortunate people," according to the expression of a great national historian, Michelet, "stabbed itself with its own hand." Cavaignac, a man whose ideas were simple and his words sincere, was replaced by a successor with whom all was ulterior purpose and subterranean scheme. Since Louis Napoleon's admission to the constituent assembly, nothing was visible in his politics but a double effort to reassure the conservatives and yet flatter the popular hopes. — MARTIN.^b

THE immense majority by which Prince Louis Napoleon had been created president of the republic added greatly to the power of the executive, and was an important step in the restoration of order after the Revolution; but it was far from appeasing the parties, or producing a similar union in the assembly. It was, in truth, a declaration of France against the Revolution, and bespoke the anxious desire of the inhabitants to terminate the disorders which it had introduced, and return to the occupations of peaceful industry. But to the legislature, or at least a large part of its members, it was a serious blow, and was felt the more severely that it had been so completely unexpected.

The executive power—so important in all countries, so powerful in every age in France—had been appointed over their heads by the general voice of the people; the president was no longer their officer or administrator, but the nominee of a rival power, and might be expected on a crisis to be supported by the army, which looked to him for promotion, employment, and glory. The seeds, in this way, not merely of discontent and division, but probably of strife, were sown in the very outset of the president's power; the balance between a popular chief magistrate and an ambitious but discontented legislature could not long be preserved; and as the nation would

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certainly not again go back to the republic, it was already foreseen that it must go forward to the empire.

The first care of the president, after installation in office, was to organise a powerful army under the command of Marshal Bugeaud at Lyons and the adjacent provinces near the Alps. It was now raised to seventy-two thousand infantry and eight thousand horse. The threatening aspect of affairs in the north of Italy amply justified these precautionary measures; and it was mainly owing to the formidable front thus presented that the Austrians, after their successes over the Piedmontese, had been prevented from crossing the Ticino. But the army was destined also for another object: it was to this powerful force that Louis Napoleon mainly looked for the support of his authority, in the event of that breach with the assembly and democratic party which, it was evident, sooner or later, must ensue.

Public opinion meanwhile in France was so rapidly turning against the legislature that it was foreseen its existence could not be long continued. The general feeling was forcibly expressed in meetings held in Rennes and Lille. "It will no longer do," said an orator in the former city, "for Paris to send us down revolutions by the mail-coach; for it is now no longer political but social revolutions with which we are visited. The departments in Jura have shown unequivocally that they are determined to put an end to this system. Reflect on the days which we denominate by the 24th of February, the 15th of May, the 23rd of June. Is it to be borne that we are still doomed to go to bed at night without knowing whether we shall ever waken in the morning?"

"It is unprecedented in history," said a speaker in Lille, "that a few thousand turbulent adventurers, ever ready for a *coup de main*, should have succeeded on so many occasions in putting in hazard the destinies of a people so advanced in civilisation as that of France. We present to Europe the extraordinary spectacle of a nation of thirty-five million of men ever ready to take the yoke from twenty thousand or thirty thousand creators of revolutions, who descend into the streets at a signal given by a few ambitious leaders, and treat France as a conquered country. A unanimous resistance has now declared itself against the Parisian tyranny; a violent desire to shake off its yoke has made itself felt even by the central government. It is not a conspiracy, still less a dream of a federative government; it is an open and deliberate movement by the provinces of France, as the old ones of Gaul were determined that their interests should no longer be swallowed up in those of Rome."

END OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (1849)

The general wish found vent in a motion made by Râteau, that the general election should take place on the 4th of next May, and the existing assembly be dissolved on the 19th of that month. The republicans were quite aware that it would annihilate their ascendancy, and they resolved to anticipate the legal dissolution of the assembly by a *coup d'état* against the president. This was a direct appeal to a civil war, and an invitation to a *coup d'état*; for the president, having been elected by the direct votes of the people, and not by the assembly, could not be removed but by the same authority which had created him, before the legal period of his tenure of office expired.

It was the hoisting of the signal for insurrection that was really intended; and this design was carried into execution on the 29th of January, 1849. It took place accordingly, but proved a miserable failure. The fire of democracy

in the great body of the people was burned out. The government were acquainted with the whole plan of the conspirators, and from an early hour of the morning all their places of rendezvous were occupied by large bodies of troops, who, far from joining them as they expected, forcibly prevented any attempt at assembling. Foiled, disconcerted, and utterly overmatched, the conspirators, who came up in considerable numbers from the clubs, had no alternative but to retire, and they did so worse than defeated — turned into ridicule.

The days of the assembly being now numbered, its legislative acts ceased to be an object of any consideration; and the regulations for the approaching election having been passed without a division on the 15th of February, the clubs were closed after a stormy debate on the 20th of March following, by the slender majority of nineteen votes — the numbers being 378 to 359. This was the last important act of the constituent assembly. It rejected, on May 15th, by a majority of thirty-seven, a motion to the effect that the ministry had lost the confidence of the country, and four days afterwards came to an end. Every eye was now fixed on the approaching general election, fraught as it was with the future destinies of France.^c

The constitution of the 12th of November, 1848, was not fitted to survive in the time and conditions in which it was produced. The executive and deliberative powers had one origin, since they both proceeded from universal suffrage and were renewed, the one after three, the other after four years' exercise. But the president had this advantage — that, being elected by millions of suffrages, he seemed to represent the entire nation; whilst the assembly consisted only of deputies, each of whom represented some thousands of votes. Moreover, whilst the foundations were laid for an inevitable antagonism, the idea had been to subordinate the executive to the legislative. Thus the president made appointments to innumerable offices in the administration: he negotiated treaties and had the army at his disposition: but he could not be re-elected; he had neither the right to take command of the troops nor that of dissolving the assembly or to oppose a bill which might seem to him pernicious. He had too much or too little; and with the temptation to resume the usual prerogatives of public authority, he had been given the means to acquire them.

Nevertheless, the president and the assembly maintained an understanding so long as it was a question of restoring order and restraining the extreme parties. Thus on the 29th of January, as we have seen, and again on the 13th of June, 1849, the army of Paris under their direction triumphed over revolt without bloodshed.

SIEGE OF ROME

A matter concerning a foreign nation had caused the latter conflict. The European revolutions, to which the revolution of February had given birth, had been promptly put down by the kings whom they had alarmed. Already Austria, victorious in Hungary, thanks to the Russians, had defeated the king of Sardinia, Charles Albert, at Novara; and Lombardy had again fallen into its power. The republic proclaimed at Rome, after the flight of the pope, vainly endeavoured to make the walls of the Holy City the last rampart of the independence of the peninsula. Victorious for an instant, six months before, Italy had refused the aid of France; now that she was vanquished and threatened by a heavier yoke, policy, and the solicitations of the Catholics who were then dominant in the chamber and the ministry, made it a duty of the government to protect the Italian peninsula and the

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holy see against the revolutionaries who wished to suppress the pope's temporal royalty. An army commanded by General Oudinot was sent into Italy to restore Rome to the pontiff.

The republicans of Paris endeavoured by an insurrection to save the republic of Rome. A member of the former provisional government, Ledru-Rollin, was with them. On the 13th of June, 1849, a timely display of troops nipped the rising in the bud. This riot cost the party its leaders, who were condemned by the high court of Versailles, and the Romans their last hope. On the 2nd of July General Oudinot, after showing the utmost discretion in the siege of the place, entered Rome, where the pope was reinstated. The legislative assembly, which had succeeded the constituent assembly, May 28th, 1849, although less unanimous on this question, nevertheless approved the president's conduct and it was decided that the troops should remain in Rome for the protection of the pope. From that day France had one arm occupied in Italy, to the advantage of the ultramontanes but to the detriment of her general interests.^d

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The first thing the assembly attacked was education, just as the ultra-royalists had done under the Restoration. A curious spectacle presented itself: those of the Orleanists who were best known for never having been devout, but who had shown themselves rather the reverse, as Thiers, for instance, were among the most enthusiastic in helping on this work for the Church. All conservatives, fearing the influence which was pushing the democratic section into the arms of the advanced republicans, courted the alliance of the clergy, and intrusted them with the mental training of France. Montalembert put the question in these terms: "We must choose between socialism and Catholicism."

This was the idea which influenced the best known of the followers of Voltaire to return to the church. They thought the elementary teachers were dangerous to the cause of order. They looked upon the unassuming conscientious men who taught the people to read as the forerunners, if not as apostles of revolution. Therefore the first law dealing with education withdrew from them the sanctions which the monarchy of July had granted them. The prefects had full power to deal with them, and a law treating them as "suspects" was passed.

Nor was the University any more favourably regarded; another law placed it under the supervision of a superior council, in which the bishops were largely represented. Some time after, the classes held by the great historian Michelet were closed. It was not long before universal suffrage was attacked. Some elections had taken place, and the assembly was alarmed to find that the country had changed its opinions, and now gave a majority to the advanced republicans. On the 10th of May Paris nominated its candidates — Carnot, Vidal, and Flotte. In all France, out of twenty-eight elections, the advanced party gained eighteen.

It was impossible openly to attack universal suffrage itself; but a residence of three years was required to entitle a man to vote; and this could only be proved by certain methods — for instance, by the payment of taxes. This measure involved the political fall of the greater part of the working population. Figures will give us an exact idea of the effect of the law: before it was passed, there were 9,936,000 electors in France; afterwards there were only 6,709,000. With a stroke of the pen the assembly had suppressed a

third part of the nation — 3,200,000 citizens who had had votes since 1848. Thiers stamped this mutilation of the suffrage with its true character when he made use, during the debate, of the notorious words "vile multitude."

These were the principal achievements by which the assembly showed the kind of spirit that animated it. It would take up too much time to recount the details of this long reaction. We will only quote a law on transportation which was described by the tragic expression "a bloodless guillotine." This meant, for the party threatened by the assembly, death in a distant country, with all the physical suffering which the deadly mists of a tropical climate hold in reserve for political offenders. Of course the press was not overlooked, and measures were passed limiting its liberties.

All these laws were brought about by an alliance between Louis Napoleon and the majority. The latter did not foresee how the former would be able to turn their joint work against them in the future. Of the two, which

became unpopular? The assembly. And when, on the 2nd of December, the president wished to get rid of the assembly, what pretext did he allege? The law of the 31st of May, supported by himself. Louis Bonaparte, the president, had assisted through his ministers in the mutilation of universal suffrage. Louis Napoleon, wishing to become emperor, gave as his motive for the *coup d'état* his desire to re-establish universal suffrage.

Nothing now remained but to substitute a monarchy for the republic. It was on this point that the president and the majority in the assembly, who were united against the republican spirit, were to disagree. Naturally the Bonapartists wished to reinstate the empire; and the majority of the Right benches only desired a monarchy.



ADOLPHE THIERS

The schism had begun less than a year after the presidential election. Till then, the president, Louis Napoleon, had allowed the united Orleanists and legitimist parties to govern, under the name of Odilon Barrot. On the 31st of October, 1849, with a suddenness that was almost melodramatic, he dismissed his ministers; and saying that France desired "to feel the hand and the will of him who had been elected on the 10th of December"—that "the name of Napoleon in itself constituted a programme," he formed a Bonapartist ministry, including Baroche, Rouher, Fould, Ferdinand Barrot, and others.

This did not prevent the Bonapartist ministry and the royalist majority from working together, in 1850, in their work of reaction against the republic, by means of the laws we have just mentioned. But as soon as the assembly was dispersed, on his return from a journey through France, the president reviewed the army at Satory. The cavalry cried, "Long live the emperor!" but the infantry was silent. And as proof that this demonstration was made to order is the fact that on inquiry the general, having asserted that the troops ought not to have uttered this cry while under arms and that they had thus prevented the infantry from joining in it, was immediately deprived of his command.

In this way plans for a restoration of the empire were revealed; and a visit paid by Berryer to the count de Chambord at Wiesbaden, and the fact

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that Thiers made a journey to Claremont to visit the Orleans family,¹ and energetic attempts to reconcile the two branches of the Bourbons, who had been estranged since 1830, showed that the royalists also were planning a restoration. The imperialists rallied round the president, while the royalists fixed their hopes on General Changarnier, who was in command in Paris. Louis Napoleon had him dismissed by the government, in which he had just made some changes. This showed what his plans were and a storm arose in the assembly. "If you yield," said Thiers, "the empire will be established." The assembly overthrew the ministry, but the president replaced it by another Bonapartist ministry, rather more insignificant than its predecessor. Changarnier, however, was not reinstated.

Monarchists of all shades of opinion were warmly petitioning for a revision of the constitution—the Bonapartists in order to prolong the powers of Louis Napoleon, who was about to stand for re-election; the royalists in order to shake the republic. The discussion was a brilliant oratorical struggle between the partisans of monarchy and the republicans. Berryer was the chief mouthpiece of the former. The republican party, already weakened by exile, had still quite a constellation of orators, from Jules Favre to Madier de Montjau. The chief of these heirs of Ledru-Rollin was Michel de Bourges, who, in debate on the revision, rose to splendid heights of oratory.

The advanced democrats had a still more famous orator: Victor Hugo had devoted himself entirely to the republic. His genius, which had at first taken little interest in politics, but which had blossomed in the royalist camp, had marched with the times. The sight of the reaction of 1850 had made him a radical. He was soon to show, amidst the bullets of the *coup d'état* and in exile, his loyalty and intrepidity in the cause of the people. His great speeches on the reactionary laws and his speech on the revision are among the most brilliant and most solid of his works. It was in the latter speech that he called the president, soon to be emperor, "Napoleon the Little."

The struggle between the latter and the royalist majority became more desperate. Even before the debate on the revision, at the opening of a railway, he had openly attacked the assembly. From the tribune Changarnier had replied that the soldiers would never march against the national representatives, adding emphatically, "Representatives of the country, continue your deliberations in peace." But these empty words did not allay the anxiety that was felt, and at the end of 1851, the quæstors of the chamber proposed to promulgate as a law, and to affix in the barracks, the clause in the decree of 1848 giving the president of the chamber the right to call out the troops and compelling the officers to obey him.

The republicans, equally distrusting the royalists who made the proposition and the Bonapartists against whom it was directed, made the mistake of voting against it. Michel de Bourges, in his blind confidence, spoke of the "invisible sentinel who guards the republic and the people." The proposition was rejected.

The *coup d'état* had been long prepared. General Magnan, minister of war, had already sounded and gained over the generals under his orders. The president Louis Napoleon was only waiting for a propitious moment to break the oath which he had sworn to the republic. Many times rumours had been set afloat, and many times the republicans had taken their precautions; and there was actually a question of risking the *coup d'état* earlier. But the

[¹ The chief of the Orleans branch, Louis Philippe, died in exile August 26th, 1850, at the age of seventy-six. As Martin^b says, "France has not cherished a hostile feeling toward his memory; if he erred in his policy, he made bitter expiation."]

wisest of the party resolved to wait until the vacation of the assembly had begun.^e

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF DECEMBER 2ND, 1851

All was ready. At the last moment Louis Napoleon began to hesitate. Bold in his projects, undecided in execution, a man of conspiracy without being really a man of action, he was capable of allowing the moment for action to go by; and yet both he and his were at the end of their pecuniary resources. Persigny, who thought he might take any liberty in consideration of his absolute devotion, subjected the president to a violent scene. Morny and Saint-Arnaud also made him feel that the time for dreaming had gone by. The day and hour were fixed.

There were groups in the assembly composed of Bonapartists and of men desirous, from other motives, to come to terms with the president, who now at the last moment also meditated an unconstitutional revision of the constitution, but at the hands of the assembly itself. Some politicians, rather clerical than legitimist or Orleanist, such as Montalembert and Falloux, were working in this direction. A Bonapartist historian (Granier de Cassagnac) has asserted that on the evening of the 1st of December Falloux made Louis Napoleon an offer to take the initiative at the tribune in proposing a prolongation of the president's powers by a simple majority, if it were necessary to have recourse to force in case the Left resisted. Louis Napoleon is said to have postponed his answer till the following day. Falloux has protested against this inculpation; in the evening Morny, Saint-Arnaud, and Maupas arrived at the Élysée and in concert with the president took all the steps for the coup d'état the next morning. Louis Napoleon, who paid a superstitious attention to anniversaries, had chosen that of his uncle's coronation and of the day of Austerlitz, the 2nd of December.^b

On that day, the prince went out on horseback, accompanied by a brilliant escorts of generals; they passed through the Champs Élysées, along the streets and the boulevards, greeted by the troops and by some of the people. It was the seal of his victory.

However, the struggle was not ended, lawful resistance was followed by riots, which had no chance of success with a government and generals who were decided on action. Both the representatives of the Mountain — who had declared so proudly on the 17th of November that the assembly was under its protection — and the people had tried in vain on December 2nd to organise resistance. On the morning of the 3rd, a barricade was raised in the faubourg St. Antoine; it was easily destroyed by the troops after a brief fire, during which a delegate, Baudin, was killed. In the course of the day and in the evening new barricades were erected in the districts of St. Martin and the Temple; they offered but a slight resistance to the troops. Measures had been carefully taken, and "the people" replied but faintly to the appeal of its representatives.

The following day, December 4th, was more serious though without endangering the new state of affairs. The troops had returned to their barracks, either because General Saint-Arnaud believed that resistance had come to an end, or because, following the example of Cavaignac in June, he did not wish to disperse his troops, or else because he wished to give the rebels an opportunity to form their army so that he might destroy it by a single blow: barricades were erected freely in the usual quarters; the troops were not brought out till the afternoon. There took place what has been called, not without exaggeration, "the boulevard massacre." A body of troops, which had been

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fired on, returned the fire without orders.⁹ Many onlookers were counted among the dead. Victor Hugo, who was banished for his opposition to Napoleon, wrote in exile an account of this massacre, from which we quote.

VICTOR HUGO'S ACCOUNT OF THE BOULEVARD MASSACRE

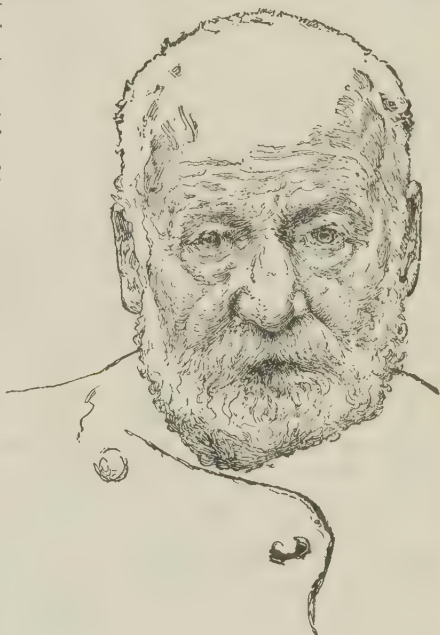
A little after one o'clock, December 4th, the whole length of the boulevards, from the Madeleine, was suddenly covered with cavalry and infantry, presenting a total of 16,410 men. Each brigade had its artillery with it. Two of the cannon, with their muzzles turned different ways, had been pointed at the ends of the rue Montmartre and the faubourg Montmartre respectively; no one knew why, as neither the street nor the faubourg presented even the appearance of a barricade. The spectators, who crowded the pavement and the windows, looked with affright at all these cannon, sabres, and bayonets, which thus blocked up the street.

"The troops were laughing and chatting," says one witness. Another witness says, "The soldiers had a strange look about them." Most of them were leaning upon their muskets, with the butt-end upon the ground, and seemed nearly falling from fatigue, or something else. One of those old officers who are accustomed to read a soldier's thoughts in his eyes, General —, said, as he passed the café Frascati, "They are drunk."

There were now some indications of what was about to happen. At one moment, when the crowd was crying to the troops, "*Vive la république! Down with Louis Bonaparte!*" one of the officers was heard to say, in a low voice, "*Ceci va tourner à la charcuterie!*" (We shall soon have a little to do in the pork-butcher's line!)

A battalion of infantry debouches from the rue Richelieu. Before the café Cardinal it is greeted by a unanimous cry of "*Vive la république!*" A literary man, the editor of a conservative paper, who happened to be on the spot, adds the words, "Down with Soulouque!" The officer of the staff, who commanded the detachment, makes a blow at him with his sabre. The journalist avoids the blow and the sabre cuts in two one of the small trees on the boulevards.

As the 1st regiment of Lancers, commanded by Colonel Rochefort, came up opposite the rue Taitbout, a numerous crowd covered the pavement of the boulevards. This crowd was composed of some of the inhabitants of that quarter of the town, of merchants, artists, journalists, and even several young mothers leading their children by the hand. As the regiment was passing by, men and women—everyone, in fact—cried, "*Vive la constitution! Vive la loi! Vive la république!*" Colonel Rochefort, the same person who had presided



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at the banquet given on the 31st of October, 1851, at the École Militaire, by the 1st regiment of Lancers to the 7th regiment of Lancers, and who at this banquet had proposed as a toast "Prince Louis Napoleon, the chief of the state, the personification of that order of which we are the defenders!"—this colonel, on hearing the crowd utter the above cry, which was perfectly legal, spurred his horse into the midst of the crowd, through all the chairs on the pavement, while the Lancers precipitated themselves after him, and men, women, and children were indiscriminately cut down. "A great number remained dead on the spot," says a defender of the coup d'état; and then adds, "It was done in a moment."

About two o'clock two howitzers were pointed at the extremity of the boulevard Poissonnière, at one hundred and fifty paces from the little advanced barricade of the guardhouse on the boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle. While placing the guns in their proper position, two of the artillerymen, who are not often guilty of a false manœuvre, broke the pole of a caisson. "Don't you see they are drunk!" exclaimed a man of the lower classes.

At half past two—for it is necessary to follow the progress of this hideous drama minute by minute, and step by step—the firing commenced before the barricade, but it was languid and almost seemed as if done for amusement only. The chief officers appeared to be thinking of anything but a combat. We shall soon see, however, of what they were thinking. The first cannon ball, badly aimed, passed above all the barricades and killed a little boy at the château d'Eau as he was procuring water from the basin. The shops were shut, as were also almost all the windows. There was, however, one window left open in an upper story of the house at the corner of the rue de Sentier. The principal mass of mere spectators were still on the southern side of the street. It was an ordinary crowd and nothing more—men, women, children, and old people who looked upon the languid attack and defence of the barricade as a sort of sham fight. This barricade served as a spectacle until the moment arrived for making it a pretext.

The soldiers had been skirmishing in this manner, and the defenders of the barricade returning their fire, for about a quarter of an hour, without anyone being wounded on either side, when suddenly, as if by the agency of electricity, an extraordinary and terrible movement was observed, first in the infantry and then in the cavalry. All of a sudden, as we have said before, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery faced towards the dense crowd upon the pavement, and then, without anyone being able to assign a reason for it, unexpectedly, without any motive, without any previous warning, as the infamous proclamations of the morning had announced, the butchery commenced from the theatre of the Gymnase, to the Bains Chinois—that is to say the whole length of the richest, the most frequented, and the most joyous boulevard of Paris. The army commenced shooting down the people, with the muzzles of their muskets actually touching them.

It was a horrible moment: it would be impossible to describe the cries, the arms of the people raised towards heaven, their surprise, their horror—the crowd flying in all directions, the shower of balls falling on the pavement and bounding to the roofs of the houses, corpses covering the road in a single moment, young men falling with their cigars still in their mouths, women in velvet gowns shot down dead by the long rifles, two booksellers killed on their own thresholds without knowing what offence they had committed, shots fired down the cellar-holes and killing anyone, no matter who happened to be below.

When the butchery was ended—that is to say when night had completely

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set in, and it had begun in the middle of the day—the dead bodies were not removed; they were so numerous that thirty-three of them were counted before a single shop. Every space of ground left open in the asphalt at the foot of the trees on the boulevards was a reservoir of blood. “The dead bodies,” says a witness, “were piled up in heaps, one upon the other, old men, children, persons in blouses and paletots, all collected pell-mell, in one indescribable mass of heads, arms, and legs.”

Ah! you will tell me, M. Bonaparte, that you are sorry, but that it was an unfortunate affair; that in presence of Paris, ready to rise, it was necessary to adopt some decided measure, and that you were forced to this extremity; that as regards the coup d'état, you were in debt, that your ministers were in debt, that your aides-de-camp were in debt, that your footmen were in debt, that you had made yourself answerable for them all, and that, deuce take it, a man cannot be a prince without squandering, from time to time, a few millions too much—that he must amuse himself and enjoy life a little; that the assembly was to blame for not having understood this, and for wishing to restrict you to two wretched millions a year, and, what is more, for wishing to make you resign your authority at the expiration of four years, and act up to the constitution; that, after all, you could not leave the Élysée to enter the debtors' prison at Clichy; that you had in vain had recourse to those little expedients which are provided for by Article 405 of the criminal code; that an exposure was at hand; that the demagogical press was spreading strange tales; that the matter of the gold ingots threatened to become known; that you were bound to respect the name of Napoleon; and that, by my faith, having no other alternative, and not wishing to be a vulgar criminal, to be dealt with in the common course of law, you preferred being one of the assassins of history!

So then, instead of polluting, this blood you shed purified you! Very good.

I continue my account. When all was finished, Paris came to see the sight. The people flocked in crowds to the scenes of these terrible occurrences; no one offered them the least obstruction. This was what the butcher wanted. Louis Napoleon had not done all this to hide it afterwards.

Thirty-seven corpses were heaped up in the cité Bergère; the passers-by could count them through the iron railings. A woman was standing at the corner of the rue Richelieu. She was looking on. All of a sudden, she felt that her feet were wet. “Why, it must have been raining here,” she said; “my shoes are full of water.” “No, Madam,” replied a person who was passing, “it is not water.” Her feet were in a pool of blood.

A witness says, “The boulevards presented a horrible sight. We were literally walking in blood. We counted eighteen corpses in about five-and-twenty paces.” Another witness, the keeper of a wine-shop in the rue du Sentier, says, “I came along the boulevard du Temple to my house. When I got home I had an inch of blood around the bottom of my trousers.”

The massacre was but a means; the end was intimidation. Was this end attained? Yes. Immediately afterwards, as early as the 4th of December, the public excitement was calmed. Paris was stupefied. The voice of indignation which had been raised at the coup d'état was suddenly hushed at the carnage. Matters had assumed an appearance completely unknown in history. People felt that they had to deal with one whose nature was unknown. Crassus had crushed the gladiators; Herod had slaughtered the infants; Charles IX had exterminated the Huguenots; Peter of Russia, the Strelitz guards; Mehemet Ali, the mamelukes; Mahmoud, the janissaries;

while Danton had massacred the prisoners: Louis Napoleon had just discovered a new sort of massacre—the massacre of the passers-by.

From this moment, in spite of all the efforts of the committees, of the republican representatives, and of their courageous allies, there was—save at certain points only, such as the barricade of the Petit Carreau, for instance, where Denis Dussoubs, the brother of the representative, fell so heroically—naught but a slight effort of resistance which more resembled the convulsions of despair than a combat. All was finished. The next day, the 5th, the victorious troops paraded on the boulevards. A general was seen to show his naked sword to the people, and was heard to exclaim: “There is the republic for you!”

Thus it was this infamous butchery, this massacre of the passers-by, which was meant as a last resource by the measures of the 2nd of December. To undertake them, a man must be a traitor; to render them successful, he must be an assassin. It was by this wolf-like proceeding that the coup d'état conquered France and overcame Paris. Yes, Paris! It was necessary for a man to repeat it over and over again to himself before he can credit it. Is it at Paris that all this happened?

Is it possible that, because we still eat and drink; because the coach-makers' trade is flourishing; because you, navigator, have work in the Bois de Boulogne; because you, mason, gain forty sous a day at the Louvre; because you, banker, have made money by the Austrian metallics, or by a loan from the house of Hope and Co.; because the titles of nobility are restored; because a person can now be called *Monsieur le comte* or *Madame la duchesse*; because religious processions traverse the streets on the occasion of the Fête-Dieu; because people take their pleasure; because they are merry; because the walls of Paris are covered with bills of fêtes and theatres—is it possible that, because this is the case, men forget that there are corpses lying beneath?

Is it possible that because men's daughters have been to the ball at the École Militaire, because they returned home with dazzled eyes, aching heads, torn dresses, and faded bouquets; because, throwing themselves on their couches, they have dozed off to sleep, and dreamed of some handsome officer—is it possible that, because this is the case, we should no longer remember that under the turf beneath our feet, in an obscure grave, in a deep pit, in the inexorable gloom of death, there lies a crowd that is still icy cold and terrible—a multitude of human beings already become a shapeless mass, devoured by the worm, consumed by corruption, and beginning to be confounded with the earth around them; a multitude of human beings who existed, worked, thought, and loved; who had the right to live, and who were murdered? ^h

SEVERITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT

The aspect of Paris on the morning of December 5th was sinister. Here and there pools of blood were to be seen on the pavements of the boulevards. Corpses had been ranged in the cité Bergère at the entrance to the faubourg Montmartre. A much larger number, more than three hundred and fifty, according to the testimony of the warden of the Cimetière du Nord, were transported to that cemetery; the warden had received orders to bury them immediately; he only half-obeyed and left the heads above ground so that the families might at least recognise their dead!

The Parisians could no longer laugh at Louis Napoleon: he had succeeded in getting himself taken seriously; ridicule had disappeared under horror.

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The coup d'état was winning the day. The weak hastened to come to terms; the strong were furious at their impotence to punish triumphant crime; the crowd, stunned, was silent: the greater number bowed prostrate. During the day of the 5th of December silent and sombre figures breathing concentrated fury were seen wandering slowly about the boulevards; in the central quarters some feeble attempts at barricades were renewed and almost instantly abandoned. All was indeed over in Paris! That same day, the 5th of December, a decree of the president declared that when troops should have contributed by fighting "to re-establish order" at home, that service should be counted as service in the field. Service in civil war was raised to the level of service in foreign war.

On the 6th of December a decree restored the Panthéon to religious worship and reconverted it into the church of Ste. Geneviève. Advances to the clergy followed the favours to the army. By a circular of the 15th Morny exhorted the prefects to do what authority could accomplish to secure respect for the Sunday rest. He prescribed the interruption of public work on Sundays and holy days. He declared that "the man who in contempt of the most venerated traditions reserves no day for the accomplishment of his duties becomes sooner or later a prey to materialism!" The voluptuary with bloodstained hands constituted himself a teacher of religious morality and of orthodoxy. This was characteristic of the new régime, in which every kind of excess was to be associated with every kind of hypocrisy.

A decree of the 7th of December had deferred all overt acts relative to what was called the insurrection, to the military jurisdiction. The next day it was decreed that any individual who should have made part of a secret society or who, having been placed under the surveillance of the *haute police*, should have left the place assigned to him, could be transported, as a measure required by the general safety, to Cayenne or Algeria. This placed a number of persons at the discretion of the government, especially in the south.

In Paris arrests multiplied in an alarming manner. According to the Bonapartist historians they exceeded twenty-six thousand. The prisons of Paris were filled; the overflow of prisoners was sent to the forts, where they were crowded together in damp and freezing casemates. Workmen and bourgeois mingled in almost equal numbers in the fraternity of the cell.

The struggle, stifled at Paris, continued in the departments. The departments were much divided. The democratic-socialistic propaganda had made but insignificant progress in these regions, although the industrial populations were beginning to practise with success the ideas of association—for example, in what concerned the societies of consumption. The democratic propaganda, on the contrary, in spite of the arrest of the first organisers, had developed to an extraordinary extent in the south and in a part of the centre. There it was no longer, as formerly, the workmen of the towns; it was the peasants, who were again taking action, as in '89—with this difference, to the great disadvantage of the new movement: there was no longer, as in '89, a clear idea, a definite object, namely the destruction of privilege and of the old régime. Men accepted the vague word socialism, while rejecting anything which might resemble communism. In all this nothing was clearly determined except the name of "republic" and the resolution of a general rising in 1852. The order had gone forth to go to the voting, each with arms in his hand, in defiance of the law of the 31st of May; it was calculated that a democratic restoration would be the result of this struggle. In what form exactly would it be? No one could well have told.

The year 1852 appeared to a great part of the popular masses as a sort of

mystic date, a new era of liberty and prosperity. The hope of some was the terror of others. This impending revolution inspired the conservatives with such fear that it prepared them to accept anything in order to escape upheaval. It goes without saying that the military and civil functionaries, selected and prepared long beforehand, adhered, with honourable exceptions, to the coup d'état. In the north and west the republicans could make only feeble manifestations in a few towns.

The attempts at revolt which had broken out on a hundred different points in the southwest indicated what the rising might have been if one at least of the two great cities of the Garonne had afforded it a centre of support. The democratic party was still more powerful in the southeast. The three old provinces of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné were everywhere covered with affiliations of the society of the Mountainists. Initiations took place with a ceremonial borrowed more or less from the free-masons and the *carbonari*, and calculated to impress the imagination. The neophyte, his eyes bandaged, took an oath on a sword. In Hérault he was made to swear by Christ that he would defend the democratic and socialistic republic. "Dost thou swear," said the initiator to him, "to quit father and mother, wife and children, to fly to the defence of liberty?" "I swear it three times by Christ." It is said that there were sixty thousand persons affiliated in Hérault.

After the suppression of the insurrection in Hérault more than three thousand persons were arrested, of whom more than two thousand were deported. In hunting down the fugitives, the pursuing soldiers constantly shot dead those who endeavoured to escape them. In Basses-Alpes the republican rising had been almost unanimous; there curés had been seen associating themselves with it with a sincere devotion, and sharing its perils. The ruin was general, as the movement had been. Many of the inhabitants fled, to escape the arrests en masse. Villages were depopulated. Sequestrations were employed against the fugitives—in fact, no means of persecution was neglected. In this department, the least populous of all, nearly one thousand persons were deported. The misfortunes and the patriotism of this honest and courageous population deserve the esteem and sympathy of France.

The struggle was everywhere terminated towards the middle of December. The few crimes committed here and there by insurgents cannot be brought into comparison with the atrocity of the tremendous reaction which extended over a great part of France. Many harmless persons, whole groups of the population, had done honour to themselves by their courageous resistance; but as Eugène Ténot,⁹ the excellent historian of the coup d'état, has remarked, events had exhibited on a large scale the impotence of secret societies to effect the general movements which decide the destinies of countries; and yet in this case those societies had the exceptional advantage of having justice as well as law in their favour.

THE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

The struggle had come to an end; it had been replaced by the terrorising of the conquered. Thirty-two departments were in a stage of siege. Nearly one hundred thousand citizens were captives in the prisons or the fortresses. The casemates of the forts about Paris were overflowing with prisoners. The examining magistrates proceeded to summary interrogations, after which the persons detained were sent before military commissions. The latter, in accordance with the *dossiers* of the police and a few words added by the judges

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to those notes, classed the prisoners in one of these three categories: (1) Persons taken with arms in their hands or against whom grave charges are brought; (2) Persons against whom less grave charges are brought; (3) Dangerous persons. The first category was to be judged summarily by court martial; the second sent before various tribunals; the third deported without sentence.

It was under such conditions that the vote on the appeal to the people was proceeded with on the 20th and 21st of December. It may be judged what degree of liberty was left to the electors. There were to be no newspapers, no meetings. The prefects classed electoral meetings with the secret societies. The general commanding the department of Cher had had placards put up to the effect that any person seeking to disturb the voting or criticising the result would be brought before a court martial. The prefect of Bas-Rhin had formally interdicted the distribution of the voting papers. The prefect of Haute-Garonne announced that he would prosecute anyone who should distribute voting papers, even in manuscript, without authority. The gendarmerie arrested electors on charge of having incited others to vote against the president of the republic.

The consultative commission instituted by Louis Napoleon on the 3rd of December was entrusted with the counting of the ballot of the appeal to the people. It reported 7,439,216 ayes, 646,737 noes, 36,880 papers rejected. At Paris there had been 132,181 ayes, 80,691 noes, 3,200 rejected papers; 75,000 electors had not voted.

What was the value of these figures? It is impossible to doubt that violence and fraud had considerably swelled them. What supervision had it been possible to exercise over the votes? What scruples were to be expected from a great number of the men who presided at the elections? The people voted under the influence of terror in many departments where all who were not in prison or in flight voted "aye" to pacify the conqueror. The immense majority of ten to one, which the consultative commission proclaimed was then evidently artificial; nevertheless, without this terrorising, Louis Napoleon would have obtained a much smaller but still a real majority in the greater part of France: the Napoleonic prestige still subsisted with some; others, as was inevitable in such a case, yielded to fear of the unknown, to the dread of a new crisis on the heels of the old.

Louis Napoleon tried to justify his usurpation by a sophism: "France," he said, "has realised that I exceeded the bounds of legality only to return to justice. More than seven millions of votes have now absolved me." He said that with the assistance of "all good men, the devotion of the army, and the protection of heaven," he hoped to render himself worthy of the confidence which the people would continue to place in him. "I hope," he added, "to secure the destinies of France by founding institutions which will answer at once to the democratic instincts of the nation and the universal desire to have henceforth a strong and respected government. To reconstitute authority without wounding equality is to plant the foundations of the sole edifice which will later on be capable of supporting a wise and beneficent liberty." Thus he deigned to promise liberty at a future date, while reserving to himself the choice of the moment.

On the morning of that day of the year which opened a period so different from that on which many hopes had waited in 1852, a decree had substituted the imperial eagle of Rome for the cock by which the constitutional monarchy and the republic recalled ancient Gaul. Another decree announced that the chief of the state was about to take the Tuileries for his residence,

Whilst the man of the 2nd of December was installing himself in the palace of the kings, the chief representatives of the republic were driven into exile.

EXILE BY WHOLESALE

From the day which followed the coup d'état the executors of the plot had given very different treatment to the captive representatives, according to whether they were conservatives or republicans. They had at first divided the 282 representatives, confined in the barracks of the quai d'Orsay, into three convoys; they had crowded them into the prison vans in which malefactors are carried. Forty members of the Right were set at liberty. The republicans were conducted to Mazas, where they were placed in the cells and under the same rules as thieves. The imprisoned generals had just been sent from Mazas to Ham. At Mazas they had left Thiers who, like the generals, had been arrested during the preceding night.

On the 4th, almost all the prisoners of Vincennes were set at liberty. On the 8th of January the generals detained at Ham and their companion in captivity, the *questeur* Baze, were conducted into Belgium. The next day appeared a series of decrees of proscription. The individuals "convicted of having taken part in the recent insurrections" were to be deported—some to Guiana, others to Algeria. A decree designated five representatives of the Mountain for deportation. The sentence of deportation was afterwards commuted into exile for three of them. A second decree expelled from France, from Algeria, and from the colonies, "on grounds of the general safety," sixty-six representatives of the Left, amongst them Victor Hugo and several others who were destined to aid in the foundation of the third republic.

A third decree temporarily removed from France and Algeria eighteen other representatives, amongst whom the generals figured, together with Thiers, Rémusat, and some members of the Left, of whom were Edgar Quinet and Émile de Girardin. The same day, January 9th, a first convoy of four hundred and twenty of the Parisian captives was sent from the fort of Bicêtre to Le Havre; they were crowded together at the bottom of the hold of a frigate. Convoys followed one another incessantly in the direction of the ports where, amid all kinds of moral and physical sufferings, thousands of unfortunates waited for the departure of the vessels. Cayenne and Lambessa divided the victims.

Whilst the prisons of Paris were being emptied in this fashion, attention was also given to the departments. The new government was embarrassed by the multitude of its captives. It authorised its prefects to set at liberty all those of the prisoners whom they might judge not dangerous (January 29th). This measure was the famous "mixed commissions" (*commissions mixtes*). In each department a sort of tribunal was set up, composed of the prefect, the military commandant, and the *chef du parquet* (procureur-général or prosecutor for the republic). On these commissions was conferred the power to decree citation before a court martial, transportation, or release.

It was the reversal of all law and justice—something worse than the revolutionary tribunals of '93 and than the provosts' courts (*cours prévôtales*) of the restoration, which at least admitted discussion and defence in public. The mixed commissions of 1852, as the historian of the coup d'état (Eugène Ténot?) says, "decided without procedure, without hearing of witnesses, without public sentence the fate of thousands and thousands of republicans." The mixed commissions have left the ineffaceable memory of one of the most monstrous facts of history,

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THE CONSTITUTION OF 1852

An act quite as extraordinary in another class was the promulgation of the new constitution fabricated by the dictator himself without assistance (January 14th, 1852). The conqueror of Italy and Egypt, the vanquisher of Austria, had at least, for the sake of formality, required eminent men to deliberate on his constitution of the year VIII. The vanquisher of the 2nd of December had not thought it necessary to cover himself by such forms. In a preamble skilfully enough drawn up, with the object of proving that for the last fifty years the French nation had only continued in virtue of the institutions of the consulate and the empire, he affirmed that society as existing was nothing other than France regenerated by the revolution of '89 and organised by the emperor. Having kept everything belonging to the consulate and the empire, save the political institutions overturned by the European coalition, why should France not resume those political institutions with the rest?

The constitution of 1852 starts by "recognising, confirming, and guaranteeing the great principles proclaimed in 1789, which are the base of the public law of the French." Only it says not a word of the liberty of the press, nor of the liberty of assembly and association. "The government of the French Republic is confided for ten years to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte." The constitution declares the chief of the state responsible to the French people; but it forgets to mention how this responsibility is to be realised; the French people will have no means of applying it except by the way of revolution. "The chief being responsible, his action must be free and unshackled." The ministers then must depend only on him and will no longer bear a collectively and individually responsible council. They will no longer bear any relation to the deliberative assemblies. "The president of the republic commands the sea and land forces, declares war, makes treaties of peace, of alliance and of commerce, nominates to all offices, makes the regulations and decrees necessary to the execution of the laws."

Justice is rendered in his name. He alone initiates laws. He sanctions and promulgates laws. All public functionaries make the oath of fidelity to him. The first wheel in the new organisation is to be a council of state of forty to fifty members, nominated and liable to be dismissed by the president of the republic, discussing bills with closed doors, then presenting them for the acceptance of the legislative body. In fact the constitution of 1852 outdid, as a monarchical reaction, the constitution of the year VIII. It was not the consulate; it was already the empire, organised dictatorship, and the total confiscation of public liberties. Thirty-seven years after the fall of Napoleon the Great, the long struggles of French liberty ended in re-establishing absolute power in hands without genius and without glory.

The same day, the 22nd of January, appeared a decree which obliged the members of the house of Orleans to sell within the space of a year all the property belonging to them in the territory of the republic. On the 29th of March the prince-president proceeded to the inauguration of the chambers in the Hall of the Marshals at the Tuileries. It was thought that in his speech he would make it understood that he expected another title—that of emperor. He left this subject still undetermined. He spoke of still preserving the republic. This was to mock at his listeners and at France; but he did not wish to appear to be in a hurry to seize what could not now escape him.

The session of the two chambers was then opened by the presidents whom

the dictator had given them. In the senate Louis Napoleon had chosen his uncle, Jerome, the ex-king of Westphalia. In virtue of the new constitution the presidents claimed from the members of the two chambers the oath of obedience to the constitution and of fidelity to the president of the republic.

During the session a rumour was current that Louis Napoleon would be proclaimed emperor on the 10th of May, after the distribution of the eagles to the army. The dictator did not wish to make himself emperor in this manner. He would proceed more artfully, and intended to obtain a guarantee that the accomplishment of his wishes should be imposed on him by the country. He therefore undertook a new tour through the departments.^b

NAPOLEON'S ADDRESS AT BORDEAUX (1852)

Master of himself in the midst of the general enthusiasm, Louis Napoleon was preparing for the great speech which would definitely decide his destiny and the destiny of France. It was made at Bordeaux on the 9th of October, at the close of a banquet which had been given him by the chamber of commerce. Contrary to his custom he went straight to the point:

"I say with a frankness as far removed from pride as from false modesty, that never has any nation manifested in a more direct, more spontaneous, more unanimous manner its wish to rid itself of all anxiety as to the future, by strengthening under one control the government which is sympathetic to it. The reason is that this people now realises both the false hopes which lulled it and the perils which threatened it. It knows that in 1852 Society was hurrying to its downfall. It is grateful to me for having saved the ship by setting up only the flag of France. Disabused of absurd theories, the nation has acquired the conviction that its so-called reformers were but dreamers, for there was always an inconsistency, a disproportion, between their resources and the promised results. To bring about the well-being of the country it is not necessary to apply new methods, but to give it, before all else, confidence in the present and security as to the future. These are the reasons why France appears anxious to revert to an empire."

The important word had at last been uttered. With insinuating cleverness Louis Napoleon also brought forward the principal objection to the scheme: "There is an apprehension abroad of which I must take note. In a spirit of distrust, certain persons are saying that imperialism means war. I say imperialism means peace. It means peace because France desires it, and when France is satisfied the world is at rest. Glory may well be bequeathed as an inheritance, but not war. Did those princes who were justly proud of being descendants of Louis XIV revive his quarrels? War is not made for pleasure, but by necessity; and in these times of transition when, side by side with so many elements of prosperity, on every hand so many causes of death arise, one may truly say: 'Woe unto him who first gives the signal in Europe for a collision whose consequences would be incalculable.'"

Prolonged cheers greeted these sentiments of pacific pride. The enthusiasm became tinged with emotion when the prince, continuing, outlined in superb language the programme of his future government—a stately plan for an edifice never, alas! erected. On the 10th of October the presidential address, "The Bordeaux Speech" as it was promptly dubbed, was telegraphed to Paris. So dignified, conciliatory, and loyal did its language appear, that it instantly produced an emotion which was not artificial or simulated, but profound and sincere.

Louis Napoleon visited in rapid succession Angoulême, Rochefort, La



NAPOLEON III LIBERATING ABDUL-KADIR
(From the painting by Jean Baptiste Tissier)

[1852 A.D.]

Rochelle, and Tours; he made a last halt at Amboise and there, to impress the public fancy by some new and striking act, he set free the imprisoned Abdul-Kadir.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of October, he arrived in Paris, and was received with full official pomp and circumstance. Representatives of official bodies went to the Gare d'Orléans to salute him. The sound of cannon mingled with the pealing of bells, while strains of military music alternated with patriotic songs. On the place de la Bastille the president of the municipal council, M. Delangle, publicly congratulated him.

Throughout the long line of the boulevards the theatres, public buildings, even some of the shops were decorated with triumphal arches. On one of them might be read some lines from Virgil: "May the Gods of our fathers be favourable to this youth in this troubled age." More even than the apt quotation, the continuous cheers of the crowd gave its true significance to the reception. Thus was Louis Napoleon borne to the palace of the Tuileries. Then in the evening, satiated with homage, eager for rest and repose, he escaped from the ovations and made his way to the château of St. Cloud.ⁱ

THE UNIQUE POSITION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

Bradfordⁱ has emphasised the fact that in showing its preference for Louis Napoleon, France was the first European nation that had "attempted to form or express any common will." No other ruler in Europe could know definitely, except by the vaguest of inferences, whether or not he held his official position with the approval of the majority of his subjects. But there could be no question as to the attitude of the French people as a whole toward the man who was about to become their supreme ruler. And in expressing their approval of that man, the people of France expressed also, in the view of Bradford, a desire for peace and order. They believed, justly enough, that to attain that end there must exist a strong executive power. It was not strange that they should feel that the most likely wielder of such a power would be the bearer of the magic name of Bonaparte.

It was the fond hope of the multitudes, then, that now in France, as in the Rome of an elder day, empire should mean peace. But this hope, as all the world knows, was not to be immediately realised. Within a few years Louis Napoleon, actuated by self-seekers like Morny and Saint-Arnaud, was to precipitate the Crimean War. Similar forces were to bring about the Austrian War within the same decade, with the resulting independence of Italy, paid for with the heavy price of abrogated treaties. Then there was, to follow the "surpassing folly" of the Mexican expedition, with the execution of Maximilian for its humiliating sequel. And not so far beyond was to come the crowning disaster of the Franco-Prussian War, which might almost be regarded as a just retribution upon the empire, but which fell heavily upon a people who suffered not so much for their own sins as for the delinquencies of their rulers. But few indeed were the prophets who could foretell, even vaguely, the disasters that the enthusiasts of 1852 were unwittingly preparing.^a

THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEON III

On December 1st, 1852, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the midst of a thick fog, two hundred carriages, lighted by torchbearers on horseback, crossed the bridge of Boulogne, and went in the direction of the palace of St. Cloud, the windows of which were seen shining from afar; the members

of the senate occupied these carriages; they carried the prince-president the decree of the senate which named him emperor.

The fête of the proclamation of the empire was very similar to that of the return of the prince-president, and curiosity began to be exhausted: the same flags, the same uniforms, the same people, the same decorations, a smaller crowd in the streets, but more animation in the theme. The new government, by way of a gift to celebrate the joyous accession, delivered from imprisonment and fine those who were condemned for misdemeanours and infractions of the laws covering the press and the book trade: official warnings which had been sent to the journals were considered null and void; there was to be no amnesty; exiles might return "if they acknowledged the national will," that is, if they demanded pardon. The absence of clemency, and the monotony of the same decorations, the same banners, the same arches, the same transparencies made the day dreary for some, fatiguing for others, long for all. Paris was anxious to escape from the outward trappings and to enter into the reality. A banquet for sixty persons and a simple reception at the residence of the sovereign ended the evening. At midnight a new guest slept in the Tuileries.

So began the reign which was to finish at Sedan.^k

NAPOLÉON'S MARRIAGE

The foreign powers which had greeted the coup d'état as a bulwark against revolution did not so highly approve the second empire; but none the less they had nothing to do but accord it recognition. The three eastern powers were the slowest; and, as in the case of Louis Philippe, the czar Nicholas could not bring himself to grant the usual title "brother," but called him "good friend." Like his uncle in the case of his second marriage, the parvenu emperor sought a bride among the ancient royal families; but the eastern powers managed to foil his suit for the princess Charlotte of Vasa.^l He thereupon married the beautiful Spanish woman Eugénie Montijo, duchess of Teba, January 30th, 1853. On March 16th, 1856, she bore him an heir, Prince Napoléon Eugène.^l

ERSKINE MAY ON THE COURT LIFE

After the coup d'état, Louis Napoleon had already restored titles of honour, and he now endeavoured to surround himself by the most illustrious nobles of France. The nobility of the first empire were naturally the chief ornaments of his court: but the old legitimist and Orleanist nobles generally held themselves aloof from the Bonapartist circle, and affected the more select society of their own friends in the faubourgs St. Germain and St. Honoré. But if the old nobility were absent from the Tuileries, there was no lack of aspirants for new honours and distinctions. Military dukedoms, and other titles of nobility, were created, as in the first empire. Plebeian names were dignified by the ennobling prefix, so much cherished in French society; and the Legion of Honour was lavished with such profusion that to be without its too familiar red ribbon was, at length, accounted a mark of distinction.

A court so constituted could not represent the highest refinement of French society. It was gay, luxurious, pleasure-seeking, and extravagant;

[^k The Hohenzollerns also received his advances discouragingly. The Spanish beauty he took for queen was not of royal blood. The legitimist nobility, as a rule, kept away from court and regarded the usurper and his circle with scorn.]

[1854-1856 A.D.]

but adventurers, speculators, and persons of doubtful repute were in too much favour to win for it the moral respect of France or of Europe. Nor did it gain lustre from the intellect of the age. Men of letters were generally faithful to the fallen monarchies or to the republic, and were not to be won over by the patronage of the empire. They had been cruelly scourged by Louis Napoleon, and neither the principles of his rule nor the character of his associates attracted the intellectual classes. Material force, wealth, and splendour were the idols of his court, and the poet and the philosopher were ill at ease in such a company.

The empire was now firmly established, and Louis Napoleon wielded a power as great as that of any former king or emperor. But he ruled by a different title, and upon other principles of government. His empire, founded upon the sovereignty of the people, was a strange development of democracy. He had been chosen by universal suffrage, yet he wielded a power all but absolute and irresponsible. He ruled by the voice of the people, but he forbade the expression of their sentiments in the press or at public meetings. The chamber of deputies was elected, like himself, by the whole people. An assembly so popular in its origin ought to have been a check upon the will of the emperor; but it did not hesitate to accept his policy and approve his acts. Enjoying a freedom of discussion unknown beyond its walls, it was able to give expression to public opinion; but it never aspired to independence. Yet the democracy of France was not ignored; the emperor was sensitively alive to the national sentiments, which he was always striving to propitiate: he never forgot the democratic origin and basis of his throne. Political liberties were repressed; but public opinion, so far as it could be divined without free discussion, was deferred to and respected.

To satisfy this public opinion, and to win the support of various sentiments, interests, and parties, the policy of the emperor assumed many forms. He had proclaimed the empire as peace: but, to gratify the susceptibilities of Frenchmen, he afterwards declared that not a gun should be fired in Europe without the consent of the Tuileries; and he desired to revive the military glories of France, to restore his influence in the councils of Europe, and to gratify the army, to whom he mainly owed his crown. Hence his forwardness in bringing about the Crimean War.^m

THE CRIMEAN WAR (1854-1856)

Since the treaties of 1815 Russia had exercised a threatening preponderance over Europe. The czar Nicholas had become the personification of a formidable system of compression and conquest. He had never forgiven the dynasty of July for having owed its existence to a rebellion; in Germany he had upheld the sovereigns in their resistance to the wishes of the peoples. He had done his utmost to denationalise Poland, his possession of which had been recognised by the treaties of 1815 on condition that he should assure to it a constitutional government. Dumfounded for a moment by the revolution of 1848, the czar had soon returned to his ambition. After having saved Austria by crushing the Hungarians who had revolted against her, he had thought that the presence of a Napoleon on the throne of France guaranteed to Russia the alliance of the English, and he had believed that the moment was come to seize the perpetual object of Muscovite covetousness—Constantinople. On every opportunity he affected a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire: he ended by trying to come to a secret understanding with England for the partition of the spoil

of the Sick Man (the sultan). In 1853 he occupied the Danubian principalities and armed what seemed a formidable fleet at Sebastopol.

The emperor Napoleon gave the first signal of resistance by boldly sending the French Mediterranean fleet to Salamis to have it within reach of Constantinople and the Black Sea. He won over England, at first hesitating, to his alliance, and assured himself of the neutrality of Austria and Prussia. Hostilities opened with the destruction by the Russians of a Turkish flotilla at Sinope. The Anglo-French fleet entered the Black Sea, whilst an army despatched from the ports of Great Britain and France assembled under the walls of Constantinople. The 14th of September, 1854, the army of the allies, seventy thousand strong, debarked on the Crimean coasts, and the victory of Alma allowed the commencement of the siege of Sebastopol, a formidable fortress whose annihilation was necessary in order to protect Constantinople against a sudden attack.

This siege, one of the most terrible in the annals of modern history, lasted for more than a year.¹ Generals Canrobert and Pélissier successively commanded the French troops. Continual fighting, two victories, those of Inkerman and the Tchernaya, earned for the French soldiers less glory than their dauntless courage against a terrible climate and an enemy who ceaselessly renewed his ranks. At last, on the 8th of September, 1855, after miracles of constancy, French dash and English solidity had their reward. The tower of the Malakoff was carried and the town taken. The emperor Nicholas had died a few months before.

In the Baltic the Anglo-French fleet had destroyed Bomarsund, the advanced bulwark of Russia against Sweden, and in the Black Sea the French iron-plated gunboats, now used for the first time, had compelled the fortress of Kinburn to surrender, thus opening southern Russia. An allied squadron had even taken Petropavlovsk on the Pacific Ocean. Finally French diplomacy had induced the king of Sweden and the king of Sardinia to enter the league against Russia, and was perhaps on the point of winning over the emperor of Austria. The czar Alexander II, successor of Nicholas, demanded peace; it was concluded at Paris, March 30th, 1856, under the eyes of the emperor of the French.^d

THE CONGRESS OF PARIS (1856)

The congress of Paris (March-April, 1856) was composed of two plenipotentiaries from each of the six powers—France, England, Russia, Turkey, Austria, and Sardinia—under the presidency of the French plenipotentiaries. Prussia was invited to take part afterwards.

The congress began by regulating the Eastern question. (1) The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the powers; the sultan promised reforms and the powers renounced all intervention in the internal affairs of the empire. (2) The Danube was declared free for navigation. (3) The Black Sea was recognised as neutral; no state might have arsenals or war ships in it, with the exception of small ships. (4) Moldavia and Wallachia became autonomous.

After having signed the peace the congress regulated the question of maritime law by four decisions which were incorporated in international European law: (1) Privateering is abolished. (2) All hostile merchandise sailing under a neutral flag is neutral. (3) All neutral merchandise under a hostile flag

[¹ Fuller accounts of this siege, as of the whole war, will be found in the histories of England and of Russia.]

[1856-1858 A.D.]

is neutral. (4) A blockade cannot be established by a simple declaration—it is not valid unless it is effective.

Cavour, representing Sardinia, succeeded in bringing up the Italian question in the congress, by coming to an understanding with the representatives of France and England. They spoke of the evacuation of the Piræus by French troops (which was still a discussion of the oriental question), and à propos of the occupation of the Piræus they spoke of the occupation (which still continued) of Tuscany by the Austrians. England demanded that it should come to an end; Austria refused to discuss it. But Cavour profited by the occasion to describe the lamentable condition of Italy.

The congress of Paris had been a personal success for Napoleon and his policy. Not only had he made France re-enter the European concert, but for the first time he had caused a European congress to be held on French territory and under her presidency. He had obtained the autonomy of the Rumanian nation and had posed the national question of Italy, making the instrument which had been created by Metternich against the nations to serve the cause of nationalities. He remained under this impression, and his policy was directed towards bringing together a new congress to alter the *status quo* of Europe and to abolish the treaties of 1815, but he never succeeded in his attempt.

The congress of Paris changed Napoleon's position in Europe. The sovereigns, seeing him solid at home and powerful abroad, drew closer to him. The example was set by the princes of the Coburg family. Ernest of Coburg-Gotha was the first to pay him a visit (March, 1854); then came Leopold, king of the Belgians; then the king of Portugal; finally Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria, consented to see Napoleon (September, 1854). Napoleon and the empress went to England (April, 1855); Victoria and Albert returned their visit (it was the first time since 1422 that a king of England had come to Paris). The example of the Coburgs decided Victor Emmanuel, who had refused till then. After the congress, the rulers of Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Tuscany arrived (1856-57).

Napoleon wished to profit by these relations to adopt an active policy. He tried to win over the king of Prussia, who refused to be won; he spoke at the English court of revising the treaties of 1815, but was coldly received (August, 1857). He then approached Russia in an interview at Stuttgart with the czar, in 1857. In 1858 France and Russia acted together to maintain Rumanian unity, against Turkey, Austria, and England; in Servia they together sustained the Obrenovitch dynasty against Austria.

Cavour, who was determined on war with Austria, declared publicly in the chamber that the principles of Vienna were irreconcilable with those of Turin. Austria replied that the emperor would continue to make use of his right of intervention (May, 1856). She ended by breaking off diplomatic relations with Sardinia (March, 1857).

But Napoleon still hesitated.ⁿ

INTERNAL AFFAIRS (1856-1858)

During the session of 1856 the baptism of the prince imperial, who had been born (March 16th) during the congress of Paris, was celebrated with great pomp at Notre Dame. The godfather was Pius IX, represented by a Roman cardinal. This intimate bond with the pope was to involve the policy of the empire on grave occasions. The powers of the legislative body elected in 1852, if they can be called powers, expired in 1857. It goes without saying

that the official candidature was worked by the prefects in every possible way. Billault, the minister of the interior, declared in a circular that "the government considered it just and politic to present for re-election the members of an assembly which had so well seconded the emperor and served the country." He was willing to admit that in face of these conditions "openly avowed and resolutely sustained," others might be brought forward. "If, however," he added, "the enemies of the public peace should find in this latitude an occasion for a serious protest against our institutions; if they try to make it an instrument of trouble and scandal, you know your duty, Monsieur le préfet, and justice will also know how to execute its duty with severity."

The prefects went further than the minister. One of them simply wrote to the officials of his department: "Impose silence on opponents if any are met with." Another was going so far as to interdict the publication and posting of circulars and declarations of opinion on the part of non-official candidates. The prefects set their newspapers violently not only against the enemies of the government, but against those of its friends who might permit themselves to dispute the ground with the official candidates. In presence of this attitude of the government agents the peasants said simply: "Why should we trouble ourselves to nominate deputies?" The government might as well nominate them itself. The opposition had assuredly no chance of depriving the government of its majority. It might attempt protests and obtain some partial success. There were eager debates between the republicans concerning the course to pursue.

The elections took place the 20th of June. Of the eight deputies of Paris the opposition gained five—Carnot, Goudchaux, Cavaignac, Ollivier, and Darimon: two republicans were nominated at Lyons and at Bordeaux. The struggle became almost impossible in the departments; meanwhile, in the large cities, a strong minority, sometimes even a majority, had declared itself in favour of the opposition.

The Chambers reopened on the 28th of November. Of the five republican deputies of Paris, one, Cavaignac, had died; two refused the oath, Carnot and Goudchaux; Ollivier and Darimon took it. The session of 1857 to 1858 seemed destined to be uneventful, when a tragic incident suddenly disturbed everything and added gravity to the situation.

ORSINI'S ATTEMPT TO KILL THE EMPEROR

The evening of the 14th of January, 1858, at the moment of the arrival of the emperor and empress at the opera, three explosions were heard. Three bombs had been thrown at the emperor's carriage. Cries of grief and horror resounded on all sides. The bursting of the projectiles had injured more than one hundred and forty persons, some of whom were mortally wounded. The carriage of the emperor was broken and one of the horses killed. A terrible anxiety filled the opera house as the royal pair entered their box; both had escaped injury.

The police arrested four Italians. It was seen immediately that three of them were but instruments; the fourth, Orsini, was remarkable in every way. His father had perished in 1831 in the insurrection against the pope in which Napoleon III and his elder brother had taken part. The son since his childhood had taken part in all the national Italian conspiracies.

In its form the attempt on Napoleon III recalled that of Fieschi under Louis Philippe; but in reality there was a wide gulf between the Corsican

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bandit of 1835 and the Roman conspirator of 1858. In spite of the horror of a crime which took aim at its object across so many indifferent and unknown victims, Orsini inspired in all those who saw and heard him during his trial an interest which it was impossible to withstand. This man had been actuated solely by an impersonal passion; he was under the spell of a misdirected patriotism. He had chosen as his counsel Jules Favre, who defended him as he wished to be defended, by endeavouring to save, not his head, but his memory as far as it could be saved. A profound impression was made on the audience when Jules Favre, by permission of the emperor, read aloud a letter addressed to the latter by Orsini. The criminal did not ask mercy for himself; he asked freedom for his unhappy country, "the constant object of all his affections." He did not go so far as to demand that the blood of Frenchmen should be shed for the Italians, but only that France should interdict the support of Austria by Germany—"in the struggles which are perhaps soon to begin. I adjure your majesty," he wrote, "to restore to Italy the independence which her children lost in 1849 by the fault of the French themselves (by the war of Rome). Let not your majesty repulse the last wish of a patriot on the steps of the scaffold!"

Orsini and his accomplices were condemned to death on the 26th of February. Orsini thanked the emperor for having authorised the publication of his letter. His second letter was not less moving than the first. He formally condemned political assassination and disavowed "the fatal aberration of mind" which had led him to prepare his crime. He exhorted his compatriots to employ only their abnegation, their devotion, their union, their virtue to deliver their country. He himself offered his blood in expiation to the victims of the 14th of January. The question of the commutation of the penalty was energetically agitated by those about the emperor. Napoleon would have judged such mercy politic if so many victims had not been struck by the instruments of death intended for his own person. Orsini was executed on the 14th of March, with one of his accomplices. He died without display as without weakness, crying, "*Vive l'Italie! Vive la France!*"

His death was soon to bring forth happy results to Italy. Before that his crime had had deplorable ones for France. In 1801 the first consul had made the affair of the infernal machine prepared by some royalists a pretext for proscribing a host of republicans. Napoleon III imitated and surpassed his uncle

THE "NEW TERROR" OF 1858

At the reopening of the chambers, a few days after the attempt of the opera (14th of January), the emperor delivered a speech which began with a splendid picture of the public prosperity. He called on the legislative body not to permit the renewal of "the scandal" of the refusals of the oath by elected candidates, and to vote a law which should oblige all those eligible for election to take the oath to the constitution before standing for election. Finally he appealed to the assembly of the representatives of the country to "find means to silence factious opposition." The meaning of this threat was soon made known. On the 1st of February a bill was presented to the legislative body; it punished with an imprisonment of from two to five years and a fine of from five hundred to ten thousand francs, whoever should have publicly incited to the crimes mentioned in articles 86 and 87 of the penal code (sedition, insurrection, etc.) when that provocation had not resulted in action. It punished with an imprisonment of one month to two years and a fine of

from one hundred to two thousand francs whoever should have manœuvred or entered into negotiations either at home or abroad with the object of disturbing the public peace. Every person sentenced for one of the above misdemeanours or for certain others also mentioned in the bill, including the detention of arms, seditious assemblies, etc., should as a measure for the general safety be incarcerated in France or Algeria or expelled from French territory. This same measure for the general safety could be applied to any person who had been either condemned, incarcerated, expelled, or transported on the occasion of the events of May and June, 1848; of June, 1849; or December, 1851, and whom "grave facts should again mark as dangerous to the public safety."

This was to deliver a multitude of citizens to the most lawlessly arbitrary treatment; the wide field covered by the categories and the vagueness of the definitions made anything possible. A man might be deported for having a musket in his possession!

The government was perfectly aware that the republican party had nothing to do with the isolated crime of Orsini; but this calumny had seemed necessary to serve as a motive for what was to follow. Émile Ollivier made his début as a political orator in contesting this bill. A few conservatives joined him, alarmed to see that a return to the 2nd of December was being made in a time of complete public tranquillity. Many deputies voted with reluctance and with a sense of shame; there were 227 voices for the law: twenty-four had the courage to vote against it. When the law was brought before the senate, whose mission it was to examine whether the laws adopted by the legislative body were conformable to the constitution, there was but a single vote against this so-called "Law of Suspects"; it was that of General MacMahon. History should give him credit for it.

The law was monstrous, its execution was worse. The new terror of 1858 did not echo so far as that of the 2nd of December; as no one resisted or could resist there were no fusillades, no massacres; but the absence of all struggle and of all peril to the persecutors rendered the persecution so much the more revolting. This time it was no longer, as on the 2nd of December, triumphant conspirators striking in fury at fallen adversaries to prevent them from rising; it was an absolute power which, in order to produce an effect of intimidation and to discourage a few attempts at legal opposition, proscribed in cold blood hundreds of victims, not for their acts but for their opinions. Even before the law had been presented to the legislative body, citizens had been carried into exile.

Immediately after the despatch of his circular the new minister of the interior "and of the general safety," as he styled himself, had sent for all the prefects to Paris. He received each by himself. He had in his hand a list in which the departments were inscribed with figures opposite their names. "You are prefect of such a department," he said: "so many arrests." "But who is to be arrested?" questioned the prefect. "Whoever you like! I have given you the number; the rest is your affair."

That so many high functionaries should have consented to make themselves the executors of such instructions is perhaps the most shameful fact in eighty years of revolutions. Besides some political adversaries who were still capable of and disposed to action, the government caused to be torn from their families and their professions a host of republicans who, while retaining their own opinions, sought only to court oblivion and had taken refuge in their work and in silence. When one was not to be found another was taken at haphazard; Espinasse and his délégués had to make up their number. A

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special attack was directed against a select number of active bourgeoisie: merchants, lawyers, doctors, notaries were mingled with honest and industrious working men; the old, the sick, mothers of families, were dragged to prison and thence to exile. The agents forced their way into houses, like nocturnal malefactors, carried off the appointed victims without allowing them time to provide themselves with money and clothing or to bid farewell to their families, and threw them into prison vans which did not stop till they reached the port of embarkation. Of about two thousand persons arrested more than 420 were transported to Africa. Arrived there the exiles received some miserable subsidies, scarcely sufficient to prevent them from dying of hunger until they could procure the means of subsistence; then those who did not find work were left to the care of such of their companions as were a little less unfortunate.

The aim of the new terror was not attained: the government had not succeeded in stifling the opposition, which on the contrary increased in the legislative body—if not in numbers at least in talents; of three seats left empty amongst the deputies of Paris, the Parisian electors filled two with republicans. Jules Favre and Ernest Picard formed, together with Ollivier, Hénou, and Darimon, that celebrated bench of the “Five” which held its own, for several years, against almost the whole assembly.

In this imperialist quasi-unanimity on the part of the legislative body, a considerable number of the members asked no better than to put some reserve into their devotion, and did not regard the course of events as entirely for the best. In the session of 1858 the law of military exemption was brought up. It was proved that this law had only aggravated the burden of the service to the detriment of the population, and the profit of the exchequer, which was in reality the beneficiary of what was called the endowment of the army. The law, instead of being mitigated, was rendered more onerous by the interdiction of substitutions except among relatives. Exemption by state intervention cost double what it had cost before; free substitution was forbidden, and fellow soldiers from the same canton were no longer authorised to change their numbers at the drawing of lots.

As to laws of social interests, the government presented one which contained penalties against the usurpers of titles of nobility. Napoleon III had restored the nobility by a decree which declared it one of the institutions of the state. The parodists of the past were still more ridiculous in 1858 than in 1814, when the ultras at least were the natural heirs of the old régime. Most of those who voted the law were ashamed of it; a small number took these things with a grotesque seriousness.^b

WAR IN ITALY: SOLFERINO (1858-1859)

As Russia was pressing on Turkey, so Austria was pressing on Italy. She had played an equivocal part during the Crimean War, whilst the kingdom of Sardinia, the only independent and constitutional state in Italy, had not feared to join her young army to the Anglo-French troops. This circumstance had made France the natural protectress of Piedmont, and by consequence of Italy, of which this little kingdom was the last citadel. Thus when the emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, in defiance of European diplomacy, passed the Ticino as the emperor Nicholas had passed the Pruth, France once more found herself face to face with this new aggressor and on the side of the oppressed.

In this war the emperor Napoleon resumed the secular policy of France,

which consists in not suffering the preponderance of Austria or Germany in Italy—that is to say, on the French southeastern frontier. A French army reappeared on that soil where three centuries before the arms of France had left so many glorious traces. Europe looked on with keen attention; England as a well-wisher, Russia and Prussia amazed. Austria and France were left alone facing each other. The war lasted scarcely two months.

After the brilliant affair of Montebello, which defeated an attempted surprise on the part of the Austrians, the Franco-Piedmontese army concentrated round Alessandria; then by a bold and

skilful movement turned the right of the Austrians, who had already passed the Ticino, and compelled them to recross that river. Caught between the army corps of General MacMahon and the guard at Magenta, the Austrians lost 7,000 killed or wounded and 8,000 prisoners (June 4th). Two days later the French regiments entered Milan.

The enemy, astounded at so rude a shock, abandoned his first line of defence, where, however, he had long been accumulating powerful means of action and resistance. He retired on the Adda, after vainly making a momentary stand at the already famous town of Marignano and on the Mincio, behind the illustrious plains of Castiglione and between the two fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua; then he took up his position, backed by the great city of Verona as an impregnable base. The emperor of Austria, with a new general and considerable reinforcements, had arrived there to await the French army.

The Austrians had long studied this battle-field; there were 160,000 of them ranged on the heights with their centre at the village and tower of Solferino, and ready to descend on the French in the plain. Napoleon III had scarcely 140,000 men available, and was obliged to fight on a line extending over five leagues. Whilst the right wing was struggling against the enemy in the plain in order to prevent itself from being turned, and King Victor Emmanuel with



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his Piedmontese was bravely resisting on the left, the centre delivered a vigorous attack, and after a heroic struggle successively carried Mount Fenile, the mount of the cypresses, and finally the village of Solferino. The enemy's line was broken; his reserves, before they could come into action, were reached by the balls from the new rifled cannon of the French. All fled in frightful confusion; but a fearful storm, accompanied by hail and torrents of rain, stopped the victors and permitted the Austrians to recross the Mincio; they left twenty-five thousand men put out of action. In the evening the emperor Napoleon took up his headquarters in the very room which Francis Joseph had occupied in the morning (June 24th). Twice a conqueror, the emperor suddenly offered peace to his enemy. Italy was freed, although a portion of Italian territory, namely Venetia, still remained in the hands of Austria.

[1860 A.D.]

Europe, bewildered by these rapid victories, allowed her awakening jealousy to appear. The emperor thought he had done enough for Italy by pushing Austria, so recently established on the banks of the Ticino, back behind the Mincio, and at Villafranca he signed with Francis Joseph a peace, the principal conditions of which were confirmed at the end of the year by the Treaty of Zurich. By this peace Austria resigned Lombardy, which France added to Piedmont that she might make for herself a faithful ally beyond the Alps. The Mincio became the boundary of Austria in the peninsula, where the various states were to form a great confederation under the presidency of the pope. But all those concerned rejected this plan, and the revolutionary movement continued. The emperor confined himself to preventing Austria from intervening. Then those governments of Parma, Modena, the Roman legations, Tuscany and Naples, which ever since 1814 had been merely lieutenants of Austria, were seen to fall to pieces successively, and Italy, minus Venice and Rome, was about to form a single kingdom, when the emperor thought himself called upon to take a precaution necessary to the security of France; he claimed the price of the assistance he had given and by the Treaty of Turin, March 24th, 1860, obtained the cession to himself of Savoy and the county of Nice (Nizza), which added three departments to France and carried her southern frontier to the summit of the Alps.

For the first time since 1815 France, not by force and surprise but as the result of a great service rendered to a friendly nation, by pacific agreement, and according to the solemn vote of the inhabitants, had overstepped the limits traced round her at the period of her reverses. Europe dared not protest.

EXPEDITIONS AND WARS IN SYRIA, CHINA, COCHIN CHINA, AND MEXICO

Europe can no longer isolate herself from the other continents; with the progress of civilisation, commerce, and the general relations of the peoples, it is the duty of France, the second of the maritime nations, to carry her eyes or her hand beyond the seas wherever her honour or her interests may be engaged. It is the first time that, with or without the support of England and often under her jealous surveillance, she has done so with so much independence and firmness.

In 1860 the massacre of the Christian Maronites by the Druses of Syria demonstrated anew the Ottoman Empire's powerlessness to protect its subjects, and excited the interested complaints of Russia. France, which was the first to move, had the honour of being charged by the great powers to send and maintain a body of troops in Syria to aid the Turkish government in punishing the guilty parties. The following year a diplomatic conference, assembled at Constantinople, regulated the government of Lebanon in such a manner as to avoid the return of these deplorable catastrophes. This apparition of the French flag in the East was not without utility in the pursuit of a great enterprise begun by M. de Lesseps under the auspices of the French government, namely the establishment at the isthmus of Suez of a canal which was to join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, and put Europe in direct communication with the Far East.

The same year, at the other extremity of Asia, France and England had been obliged to direct an expedition against China, who had violated the conditions of a treaty previously made with her. In less than six months the allied fleets had transported fifteen thousand men and the whole of an immense equipment a distance of six thousand leagues from the French

coast, to the shores of the Peiho. The emperor of China sent seventy thousand men to meet those whom he called barbarians. This army and the forts accumulated on the road to Peking did not stand before the small European force commanded by General Cousin-Montauban. The mouths of the river were forced, and the forts which defended them carried by an energetic and brilliant attack, after which the allies marched resolutely on Peking. The Chinese court tried to deceive them by feigned negotiations, to which some of the envoys fell victims, and to surprise the troops which won the battle of Palikao. The city of Peking, being laid open to attack, was bombarded; the summer palace had already been taken and given up to pillage. Prince Kong, the emperor's brother, made up his mind to treat seriously (October 25th, 1860). The allied armies entered Peking to receive the ratifications of the treaty, in virtue of which the Chinese government pledged itself to admit English and French ambassadors to the capital, paid an indemnity of 120,000,000 francs, opened the port of Tientsin, guaranteed advantageous commercial conditions to the conquerors, and restored to France the churches and cemeteries belonging to the Christians. The Celestial Empire was opened and, by way of consequence, the empire of Japan also, which, having in 1858 made treaties of commerce with the principal European states, was disposed by dread of a similar lesson to observe them better.

The French government took advantage of its strength in these regions to complete the expedition against the empire of Annam in Cochin China, an expedition begun two years before in concert with the Spaniards. It was impossible to obtain from this government security for French missionary and commercial relations. France had resolved to form a settlement at the mouths of the great river Mekong, and had taken possession of Saigon in order to make it the capital. But the French lived there in continual disquiet. Vice-Admiral Charner, who had returned from China with his troops, defeated the Annamites in the plains of Ki-Hoa and seized Mytho. Admiral Bonnard in his turn took Bien-Hoa and imposed on the emperor Tu-Duc a peace signed in 1863 which stipulated respect for missionaries, an advantageous treaty of commerce, and the possession of three provinces at the mouths of the Mekong, in a wonderfully fertile country between India and China, and within reach of the Philippines and the Moluccas. "The settlement of Saigon," an English traveller had said not long before, "might change the direction of trade and become the nucleus of an empire which perhaps might one day equal that of India."

Thus France, which it had become too much the custom to regard as an especially continental power, was carrying her activity to all the shores of the ocean. She was at the same time called to another end of the world. France, England, and Spain had long had injuries to avenge and claims to vindicate against the anarchical government of Mexico. At the beginning of the year 1862 the three powers came to an understanding to act in common, as the French had done in China with the English, in Cochin China with the Spaniards. The expedition was already on the way to be carried into effect when the cabinets of London and Madrid, in consequence of misunderstandings, renounced the enterprise. France, left alone, persisted in avenging the common injuries. A check having called in question the honour of the flag, the mistake was committed of declaring that France would not treat with the president Juarez; so that the French were condemned either to import a foreign government into the country or to conquer its immense solitudes. Instead of the six thousand men who had first started, it was necessary to send as many as thirty-five thousand soldiers. Puebla made a heroic re-

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sistance; but the keys of Mexico were there and the army took them (May 18th, 1863). A few days later (June 10th) it entered Mexico, and the population, prompted by France, proclaimed as emperor an Austrian prince, the archduke Maximilian. After the departure of the French troops in 1867 [owing to the forcible protest of the United States¹] the unfortunate prince was taken and shot by the republicans after the mockery of a trial. This imprudent and ill-conceived expedition was a grave check to French politics and finance.^d

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

The Crimean and the Italian wars having been carried out to a triumphant issue, the French had come to regard themselves as the foremost nation in Europe. But from the middle of the '60's Napoleon's fortune had begun to turn. During the American Civil War he had embarked, as we have seen, on the adventurous undertaking in Mexico, where he attempted to establish an empire, dependent upon himself, under Maximilian, the unfortunate brother of Emperor Francis Joseph; but after wasting immense sums of money and thousands of human lives, he was compelled to evacuate that country, and the bloody ghost of Maximilian, who was deserted by Napoleon's army and executed by the republicans, stood forth as the accuser of his guilty ambition.

In France itself the voice of the republicans rose ever higher against Bonaparte, while the victories of the Prussians over the Austrians [at Sadowa or Königgrätz, July 3rd, 1866, and elsewhere], as unexpected as they were overwhelming, weakened his position in Europe. Napoleon had hoped that Prussia would be defeated, or that a civil war of long duration would be started in Germany; in either case he had hoped to intervene as a peace-maker, taking as the reward of his labours certain Rhenish and Belgian districts, and being enabled, in addition, to play the rôle of protector over Germany and arbiter of the destinies of Europe. But it was fated otherwise; Prussia acquired a military reputation almost rivalling that of the first Napoleon, and Germany stood forth, not weak and disrupted, but more firmly united and stronger than ever before. And though Napoleon himself was far too prudent to venture on a military demonstration against the successes of Prussia, yet the French nation, and especially the French army, could not tolerate that another people should excel it in the honours of war, while statesmen of the type of Thiers upbraided Napoleon for permitting the union of North Germany. "Revenge for Sadowa!" became the general cry. The French government made demands for "compensation" to France in the shape of cessions of German frontier territory, but these were rejected by Prussia. Under these circumstances the latter country had to be prepared every moment for an attack.^e

FYFFE ON NAPOLEON'S NEW POLICY

The reputation of Napoleon III was perhaps at its height at the end of the first ten years of his reign. His victories over Russia and Austria had flattered the military pride of France; the flowing tide of commercial prosperity bore witness, as it seemed, to the blessings of a government at once firm and enlightened; the reconstruction of Paris dazzled a generation

[¹ For fuller accounts of this affair, see in later volumes the histories of the United States and Mexico.]

accustomed to the mean and dingy aspect of London and other capitals before 1850, and scarcely conscious of the presence or absence of real beauty and dignity where it saw spaciousness and brilliance. The political faults of Napoleon, the shiftiness and incoherence of his designs, his want of grasp on reality, his absolute personal nullity as an administrator, were known to some few, but they had not been displayed to the world at large. He had done some great things, he had conspicuously failed in nothing. Had his reign ended before 1863, he would probably have left behind him in popular memory the name of a great ruler.

But from this time his fortune paled. The repulse of his intervention on behalf of Poland in 1863 by the Russian court, his petulant or miscalculating inaction during the Danish war of the following year, showed those to be mistaken who had imagined that the emperor must always exercise a controlling power in Europe. During the events which formed the first stage in the consolidation of Germany, his policy was a succession of errors. Simultaneously with the miscarriage of his European schemes, the enterprise which he had undertaken beyond the Atlantic, and which seriously weakened his resources at a time when concentrated strength alone could tell on European affairs, ended in tragedy and disgrace.

From this time, though the outward splendour of the empire was undiminished, there remained scarcely anything of the personal prestige which Napoleon had once enjoyed in so rich a measure. He was no longer in the eyes of Europe or of his own country the profound, self-contained statesman in whose brain lay the secret of coming events; he was rather the gambler whom fortune was preparing to desert, the usurper trembling for the future of his dynasty and his crown. Premature old age and a harassing bodily ailment began to incapacitate him for personal exertion. He sought to loosen the reins in which his despotism held France, and to make a compromise with public opinion which was now declaring against him. And although his own cooler judgment set little store by any addition of frontier-strips of alien territory to France, and he would probably have been best pleased to pass the remainder of his reign in undisturbed inaction, he deemed it necessary, after failure in Mexico had become inevitable, to seek some satisfaction in Europe for the injured pride of his country. He entered into negotiations with the king of Holland for the cession of Luxemburg, and had gained his assent, when rumours of the transaction reached the North German press, and the project passed from out the control of diplomatists and became an affair of rival nations.^p

FRENCH AND PRUSSIAN DISPUTE OVER LUXEMBURG

Luxemburg was a small province the western portion of which had belonged to Belgium since the revolution of 1830, whilst the eastern portion formed a grand duchy belonging to the king of Holland. Napoleon III wished to buy the grand duchy, which had no natural tie with Holland and was of a certain importance to France on account of the town of Luxemburg, which had been strongly fortified by Vauban; this fortress would have protected a part of the French frontier. The grand duchy had been annexed to the German confederation by the treaties of 1815, and was garrisoned by Prussia in the name of the confederation. Prussia, having violated the treaties and split up the confederation in her war with Austria, had no longer any right to occupy Luxemburg. There had seemed no doubt

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before the war as to the handing over to France of this stronghold; the fortress had already been evacuated by the Prussians. Neither after the war had Bismarck changed his tone in the matter. After having evaded the signing of the treaty about Belgium, he had promised to oppose the inclusion of Luxemburg in the northern confederation; he had advised the French government to treat with the king of Holland without including Prussia, and to excite in the grand duchy manifestations which might be taken as indicating the people's desire to become French. He also recommended them to put the matter through before the parliament of the new confederation met. It is possible that on this occasion he may have been sincere.

The government did not even understand how to profit by this advice and act quickly. Bismarck's advice was given at the beginning of September; it was not until the early days of February, 1867, that Napoleon's government sounded the Dutch government as to a contingent cession of the grand duchy. They demanded from the king, William III, a total abandonment of his sovereign rights, in consideration of a sum of several millions; then a vote was taken among the populations. The propaganda of the French agents was very well received in Luxemburg; the inhabitants, albeit the majority were German-speaking, inclining to France rather than to Germany. The idea of a double treaty was advanced as a start. The one would guarantee to Holland Limburg, which, like Luxemburg, had been united to the German confederation, and which Holland dreaded to have claimed by Germany; a defensive alliance with France would thus be assured to Holland. The other treaty would cede Luxemburg to the French.

Had there not followed so much delay the French would have been taken at their word. But there was general hesitation. The royal family was divided as to the policy of an alliance. Doubts were entertained as to the emperor's health and the future of his dynasty. Then, too, great uneasiness was felt at the seemingly equivocal attitude of Prussia, who continually increased the strength of her armaments. Bismarck at Berlin, and Goltz, the ambassador at Paris, reiterated their advice for prompt and direct treating between France and Holland. It is true that Bismarck did not bind himself by any direct promise, and his king still less; however, the king of Prussia had the appearance of also allowing France to make her own arrangements with the king of Holland. But the attitude of the press, the army, and the Prussian diplomats, beyond the Rhine, became more and more spiteful and provoking towards France at this time.

It was while all this was going on that the stormy sittings of the legislative body took place, and the publication of the secret treaties between Prussia and South Germany. This alarmed the king of Holland. He proposed that the question of the ceding of Luxemburg should be submitted to the powers that had signed the treaty of 1839, and had definitely settled the dispute between France and Belgium. Therefore the French government tried to obtain the direct consent of the king of Prussia to the cession, but did not succeed. The Prussian government maintained its attitude of reserve; but the new parliament of northern Germany, that is to say the Prussian majority which dominated it, did not show the same reserve. This majority showed itself most violent and arrogant towards the representatives of Frankfurt and the other annexed countries, for the strongest reasons very hostile to France. Imperative questions had been framed as to whether Luxemburg and Limburg were to remain united to Germany.

The king of Holland, on his side, put the question to the king of Prussia. To him, as to France, an equivocal answer was given. However, the reply

was interpreted in the sense that haste must be made to bring the matter to a conclusion. Finally the king of Holland acceded to the proposals made by France and signified the same to the emperor by his son, the prince of Orange, on the 30th of March. The two acts of guarantee and of cession were on the point of being signed, when the Dutch minister, Van Zuylen, detected an irregularity and demanded that the signature should be postponed till the morrow.

In Paris the decisive despatch was awaited in all confidence. In place of the representative of the king of Holland, it was Herr von der Goltz, the Prussian ambassador, who presented himself at the house of the French foreign minister. He had hurried to Moustier to urge him to break off all negotiations, because the transaction, as he pretended to have foreseen, was, he said, presenting the worst possible aspect to Germany. As a fact Goltz had always represented the transaction to Paris as assured, and had not ceased and to the end did not cease to play a double game. In Paris, he was the friend of France and on an intimate footing at the Tuileries, attentively listened to, and, above all, an attentive listener, surprising the badly kept secrets of the court; in his correspondence with Berlin, he was the enemy of France and in connivance with the war party.

Indignant and astonished, Moustier replied that he came too late, that the French had been decoyed into a trap, but that they would not draw back. There is every evidence that the "irregularity" which had delayed the signing of the double treaty was not an accidental one, and that Prussia had checked the king of Holland by promising on behalf of Germany to renounce all claims over Limburg on condition of Luxemburg not being ceded to France.

During this time Bismarck was addressing recriminations to the French ambassador, Benedetti, in which, according to his usual practice, he inverted their respective rôles. It is easy to perceive that if the negotiations had been more rapidly opened and concluded he would have claimed his share of credit in them. But he was now pressed between the equally warlike Prussian military party on the one side and the parliament of the northern confederation on the other, and, knowing that Germany was ready and that France was not, he asked nothing better than to involve France in a quarrel.

On the 1st of April, Bennigsen, leader of the national liberal party, which had become the devoted instrument of Bismarck, revived the questions addressed to this minister on the subject of Luxemburg, and demanded war in preference to allowing "a prince of a German race (the king of Holland) to traffic in a country of German origin and sympathies." These pretended German sympathies were not at the moment manifesting themselves in Luxemburg, except by popular demonstrations in favour of union with France—demonstrations which the Prussian governor of the fortress lamented bitterly.

Bismarck's reply to Bennigsen was measured as to its form: he would not for the world have the air of provoking the French government; but, as a fact, he sheltered himself behind public opinion and the parliament, which was the mouthpiece of that opinion. The sense of his reply was, indeed, that Luxemburg ought not to be given either to the northern confederation or to France, but not, however, that it should be evacuated by Prussia. Without explicitly saying so, he was awaiting an opportunity to claim for Prussia a pretended right of garrison which he intended to extract from the convention of the Great Powers in 1839. He began again to protest his good intentions to Napoleon III; but at the same time that the minister at the Hague insisted on the signing of the treaty, and that the king of Holland seemed on

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the point of acquiescing, the Prussian minister at the Hague received orders to announce to the Dutch government that the Prussian government would be driven by public opinion to consider the ceding of Luxemburg as a declaration of war.

The Prussian troops were already massing themselves on the Dutch frontier, with the evident intention of ignoring the Belgian neutrality. Holland thereupon drew back, and did not sign the treaties. It was a humiliating check for Napoleon III, crowning the series of diplomatic defeats which began on the morrow of Sadowa.

The minister for foreign affairs did not sit still under the blow. Moustier was a judicious and skilful diplomatist who merited association with a different government. He made great efforts to palliate this reverse and to help France to make a dignified exit from the position into which she had been beguiled. Moustier knew that she was not in a position to have recourse to arms; though the war minister, Marshal Niel, in public uttered the contrary opinion, in the cabinet he was the first actively to discountenance the taking of the offensive.

Since Sadowa Prussia had completely re-organised her forces, and now, with her northern confederation, could command close upon nine hundred thousand men; and this irrespective of the engagements towards her undertaken by the southern states. The French had not half this number at their disposal. Their forts were in the worst possible state; their magazines empty. A circular of Bismarck's, derogatory to all the diplomatic proprieties, dragged the emperor personally into the matter. He pretended that the emperor had been forced into war in spite of himself, and represented Prussia as all for peace and France as only thirsting for war. Napoleon III, who had not moved when he might and should have moved, had been on the point of hurling himself into action when it was too late; but Moustier and Niel succeeded in preventing him from yielding to the calculated provocations of Berlin. Moustier employed a most ingenious ruse. He maintained the validity of the king of Holland's pledges, but left the question of the cession of Luxemburg in suspense, and referred to the powers which had signed the treaty of 1839 the question of Prussia's pretended right to garrison.

On April 26th Bismarck resigned himself to giving the consent demanded from him by the Russian ambassador to open negotiations in London, having the neutrality of Luxemburg as their object. Neutrality, guaranteed by the European powers, implied evacuation. This made the Prussian press shout more loudly for war. Not only Alsace and Lorraine, but Holland also, were now coveted. Bismarck, accused by the war party of moderation, sometimes flung away, sometimes clung to his daily papers. He delayed by several days the opening of the negotiations, through his claims and acquirements as to the formalities of the conference and the securities resulting from it. Russia intervened in this matter between Prussia and England, and the conference at last took place in London on May 7th. While the negotiations were in progress Bismarck made fresh efforts to goad France into some imprudent action by his aggravating conduct.

The French minister did not however fall into the trap, and the treaty for the neutralisation of Luxemburg was signed on the 16th of May. Bismarck executed a brusque about-face. The Prussian official organs had orders to alter their tone. Napoleon, whom the evening before they had insulted, they now covered with flowers, and they announced the impending visit of King William to the Universal Exhibition. On the 14th of May, 1867, Moustier communicated the treaty to the chambers. The neutralised grand

duchy of Luxemburg remained under the sovereignty of Holland. The Prussian government pledged itself to evacuate the fortress, and the king grand duke was to see that it was dismantled. The Prussians did effect a military but not a commercial evacuation of Luxemburg. The ties between the grand duchy and the German *Zollverein* were not severed.^b

NEW FRICTION WITH PRUSSIA

By the superiority of its army Prussia had attained the preponderance in Europe and was preparing the complete unity of Germany. The other great powers were not resigned to these two revolutions, which were a menace to the old European balance of power. But Austria was discouraged, England powerless, the czar pacific. France alone believed herself strong enough to stop Prussia and re-establish her own preponderance. Opinion had become bluntly hostile to German unity. In Prussia the national pride, exalted by success, manifested itself in threats against the "hereditary enemy." But on both sides these belligerent sentiments were counterbalanced by the fear of a war which all could foresee would be terrible.

Secret negotiations were carried on, the extent of which has been variously estimated, but which did not accomplish any practical result. The occasion was the affair of the Belgian railways which had been purchased by the French eastern company. The Belgian government interdicted the sale (February, 1869); the French government attributed this check to Bismarck. Napoleon, in irritation, proposed to Austria and Italy a triple alliance to stop the encroachments of Prussia and restore to Austria her position in Germany (March). The negotiation was conducted between the ambassadors. Austria accepted a defensive alliance, but reserved the right to remain neutral if France should be obliged to begin war (April). The Italians demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome; they were satisfied with Napoleon's promise to withdraw them as soon as possible, but when it came to the ratification of the project, the Italian ministry demanded evacuation and a declaration that France recognised the principle of non-intervention. Negotiations were suspended, the three sovereigns merely promising to conclude no alliance without previous notice. Then Napoleon accepted a parliamentary ministry whose head, Ollivier, had declared in favour of peace and conciliation with Germany. This ministry took up again (January, 1870) the project of giving security to Europe by bringing about the disarmament of both France and Prussia; England agreed to transmit the proposal. France offered to diminish her military contingent by ten thousand men. Bismarck refused on the ground that the reorganisation of Prussia made any disarmament impossible.ⁿ

THE MINISTRY OF OLLIVIER

When Émile Ollivier rose to power, he brought with him men who had long been considered members of the opposition; the best known of these was Buffet. The party which had formed the imperial government was set aside. Everything seemed changed. The so-called liberal royalists, the Orleanists, rose in a body. All the staff of 1830 reappeared in the official salons. An attempt was going to be made to carry on the government of the 2nd of December by the methods of Louis Philippe.

Suddenly a sinister piece of news was announced. Pierre Bonaparte, a cousin of the emperor, living at Auteuil, had challenged Henri Rochefort

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to fight a duel. The journalist-deputy had sent him his seconds, Ulrich de Fonvielle and Victor Noir; the latter, who was quite young, was a rising and very popular journalist. The two seconds went to the prince's house at Auteuil. Suddenly shots were heard, Ulrich de Fonvielle rushed out of the house, and the corpse of Victor Noir bathed in blood was seen lying before the door. Pierre Bonaparte had fired on the seconds sent by Rochefort. The public indignation was extreme. The funeral took place on the twelfth. Beneath a sullen grey sky a sombre crowd of two hundred thousand persons passed along the streets of Neuilly, following the corpse to the cemetery, and returned to Paris in a long procession through the Champs Élysées, singing the Marseillaise and led by Rochefort. The government had called out the troops, and a trifle would have sufficed to turn that day into one of revolution or of a terrible massacre. When the crowd reached the place de la Concorde, where the police were drawn up, it dispersed on the advice of those who had most influence over it.

Soon afterwards, Pierre Bonaparte, who was tried by a special court (the high court of Tours), was acquitted. The death of Victor Noir and the acquittal of Prince Pierre formed an inauspicious opening for the liberal empire. However, the decree was being prepared which was to make known what reforms had been made in the constitution in the interests of liberty. These reforms went no further than giving the senate and the legislative body the right of taking the initiative in matters of legislation; fixing the categories whence the emperor might draw the new senators; regulating the order of succession to the throne; and deciding that any change in the constitution should be made by a plebiscite. To begin with, the decree itself was to be submitted to the vote of a plebiscite on universal suffrage.

The nature of these reforms alienated from the liberal empire some of those who were inclined to support it, and led to the resignation of two ministers, of whom one was Buffet. Nothing seemed to them more opposed to liberty than the imperial plebiscites; that is, the popular vote on a question proposed by the emperor. The people could only say yes or no, and no meant a revolution. It was equivalent to putting the government into the hands of one man. So nothing was really changed and the government was still a personal government. After heated debates, in the course of which Gambetta delivered what was perhaps his most eloquent speech, the plebiscite was proceeded with. The empire, so to speak, put itself to the vote. There were 7,500,000 affirmative against 1,500,000 negative votes. The public considered that the empire was firmly established, and it was destined to fall in two months and four days! The government had perhaps a clearer insight. To ask of the peace-loving people who compose the mass of the country, "Yes or No, do you wish to overthrow me?" is a sure way of gaining the votes of many people, whose support in time of peril would be more than doubtful. Only determined and invincible enemies will vote against you. In fact, a



ÉMILE OLLIVIER

million and a half contrary votes out of a total of 9,000,000 was a large percentage. It is said that the emperor was very anxious about the votes of the army, which had included a great many noes.

CAUSE OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The plebiscite had the most unexpected results — the imperial government determined to seek in victory the power it had lost. The idea was to render the dynasty strong enough to ensure to the son the inheritance of his father's empire. "This is my war," said the empress. So the conflict between France and Prussia, which had been threatening Europe for four years, broke out. The immediate cause was as follows: There had been a revolution in Spain, and Queen Isabella had been expelled. General Prim, however, had no intention of establishing a republic, and soon it became known that the crown had been offered to a Hohenzollern, a prince of the Prussian royal family. This would be a most unacceptable addition to the power of Prussia. France protested.¹ Prussia gave way and the prince renounced the crown, or rather his father renounced it for him.

The whole affair seemed ended when suddenly a rumour was spread that the king of Prussia had grossly insulted the French ambassador, Benedetti. The king had refused to receive him. This was stated on the authority of a German paper.^e Benedetti had been sent to wring from the Prussian king, at Ems, not only a promise that the prince should not take the Spanish crown, but also a positive order forbidding him to do so. This was too humiliating to endure, and the king refused. Benedetti was then sent to demand a personal letter of good will to France. William, angered, refused to receive him at all. An oral tradition states that the king's language was such, according to Seignobos,ⁿ that no one would even dare to publish it.^a

The French ministers, Émile Ollivier and Gramont, declared in the chamber that war was necessary. Thiers and the republicans strongly protested. In the midst of the tumult they repeated that France should have satisfaction, and demanded the telegram² in which her ambassador stated that he had been insulted. The majority overwhelmed them with abuse, especially Thiers, who persisted energetically in his protests. They called him "émigré!" and "traitor!" amid scenes of incredible violence and disorder. Commissioners were appointed who alone were to ask and hear the necessary explanations. They returned, asserting that they had seen evidence that war was inevitable and declaring that the army was in a good state. It was proved later that they had seen nothing at all. Marshal Lebœuf, when asked, "Is the army ready?" replied: "There is not so much as the button of a gaiter wanting." The war was voted.

Bismarck had led France to the point he wished. Thoroughly acquainted with the wretched state of her army, and knowing what passions and what interests at the Tuileries would be sure to urge on a war, he had been sufficiently artful to persuade the king of Prussia to yield to her on one point after another, so as to incite her government to declare war, after having, in the eyes of Europe, deprived her of all reasonable pretexts for such a course.^e

¹ It was said that France could not tolerate the revival of the empire of Charles V. The Germans protested that the sovereignty was a private family affair of the Hohenzollerns.

² It is now definitely known that Bismarck himself had this telegram sent, and suppressed certain modifying words purely for the purpose of goading France to make the first declaration of war.]



CHAPTER VI

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

[1870-1871 A.D.]

The catastrophe of 1870 seemed to those who witnessed it to tell of more than the vileness of an administration ; in England, not less than in Germany, voices of influence spoke of the doom that had overtaken the depravity of a sunken nation ; of the triumph of simple manliness, of God-fearing virtue itself, in the victories of the German army. There may have been truth in this ; yet it would require a nice moral discernment to appraise the exact degeneracy of the French of 1870 from the French of 1854 who humbled Russia, or from the French of 1859 who triumphed at Solferino ; and it would need a very comprehensive acquaintance with the lower forms of human pleasure to judge in what degree the sinfulness of Paris exceeds the sinfulness of Berlin. Had the French been as strict a race as the Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ, as devout as the Tyrolese who perished at Sadowa, it is quite certain that, with the numbers which took the field against Germany in 1870, with Napoleon III at the head of affairs and the actual generals of 1870 in command, the armies of France could not have escaped destruction.

The main cause of the disparity of France and Germany in 1870 was in truth that Prussia had had from 1862 to 1866 a government so strong as to be able to force upon its subjects its own gigantic scheme of military organisation in defiance of the votes of parliament and of the national will. — FYFFE.^b

It might be asked if any nation has the right to say to another nation: "You shall not place such and such a person at your head because it is contrary to my interests." Doubtless not, if the principles of international right are strictly observed. But in practice this veto has been frequently exercised under the old régime and since the Revolution. It was used in 1815 against Napoleon and all the members of his family ; in 1830 against the duke de Nemours, elected king of the Belgians by the congress. The imperial government was in fact justified in opposing an election that it considered dangerous to itself. But was this danger worth avoiding at the risk of war with Ger-

many? A serious question this, that could only be answered by casting a glance at the respective positions of the different European states.

The time had gone by when France was cited as the most considerable of the European powers, when the vast German Confederation represented only inert strength and when neither Italy nor Germany existed. The past sixteen years had seen many changes. United Italy and United Germany now formed two states of the first rank to the east and southeast of France, and Austria was no longer a counterbalance to the aggrandisement of Prussia. These changes were enough to engage the serious attention of the imperial government. France—with England in the north, Prussia in the east, and Italy in the southeast, three not very reliable friends—had had till now nothing to fear on her southwestern frontier; for it was not probable that in case of war Spain would go against her. Would matters be the same after the realisation of Prim's plan? With a Hohenzollern on the Spanish throne would not France be obliged in case of war to keep a standing army of one hundred thousand men at the foot of the Pyrenees? This contingency threatened the interests of France too much for her government to neglect making great efforts to obtain the abandonment of the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. Doubtless Napoleon III could have attained his end had he simply submitted the question to the great powers in diplomatic form, but it was evident from the beginning of this question that the emperor had two ends in view: that of suppressing the candidature, and that of obtaining a moral advantage over his adversary—in fact, of humiliating him.

THE PREPAREDNESS OF FRANCE

Was France as ready as the minister of war had said? The *Situation de l'Empire*, distributed among the deputies the 1st of November, 1869, is the best answer to this question.

This document gives the effective of the army on the 1st of October as follows: Home troops, 350,000 men; Algiers, 64,000 men; Papal States, 5,000 men; total, 434,000 men, from which must be deducted men absent for leave for various causes, about one hundred thousand of whom would reduce the available number to 325,000. The effective of the reserve was 212,000 in all, for the standing army, and the reserve 617,000 men. The mobile national guard, whose duty it was to defend the fortresses and the interior, included five classes, of which the effective amounted to 560,000 men. These added to the regulars and the reserves gave, on paper, a grand total of 1,200,000 fighting men, but on the lists were a large number of non-capables. The mobile national guards did not know how to use a gun, and the organisation of the staffs was in a very primitive stage. At the beginning of the campaign, the emperor could only rely on the standing army and the reserve, forming an effective of 547,000 men, according to the *Situation de l'Empire*; but according to the war office, 642,000, from which must be deducted the 75,000 young soldiers of the 1869 contingent who were not incorporated until the 1st of August.

The number of men at the immediate disposition of the government was 567,000: 393,500 with the flags; 61,000 ex-soldiers in the reserve having on an average four months' drill in the barracks, but who, for the greater part, had not had sufficient time to familiarise themselves with the handling of the *chassepot*.¹ The total of 393,500 men with the flag furnished by the war

[¹ The *chassepot* was a breechloading rifle which had been recently introduced.]

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office had been formally contested by *Le Constitutionnel* on the morning of the plebiscite. It was in vain that the government organ, *Le Peuple Français*, invoked against the assertions of its fellow journal "our admirable rules of accounts which do not admit of fictitious expenses figuring on the budget." Very little trust was placed in these imaginary rules when it was seen that immense sums, such as those expended for experiments in the workshops of Meudon, and for the construction of official residences for marshals at the centres of the great military commands, had been spent without leaving any trace in the budget. The government cut short the polemic between *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le Peuple Français* on this delicate question. But it was none the less proved, even in admitting the exactitude of the ministerial statement as to the number of men with the flag, that the total number of forces that France could bring into the field in the first months of the war would not exceed 567,000, from which it was necessary to deduct 36,000 absent from the ranks, including those undergoing punishment, those in the remount department, with the ambulance corps, 13,000 of the armed police, 28,000 in military depots, 78,000 in garrison in the fortresses, 50,000 in Algiers—that is, 231,000 for the interior and Algiers. There remained 336,000 men to oppose the 500,000 whom Prussia could bring into the field at the beginning of hostilities. Nevertheless, Marshal Lebœuf continually repeated that the army was quite ready. This inexplicable and fatal assurance caused despair to those who knew the truth and who vainly did all they could to make it known.^c

The eminent field-marshal Von Moltke^d estimates the French army as not more than about three hundred thousand men, who intended to make surprise attacks on various portions of Prussia, but who were prevented by impossibilities of transportation, and compelled to fight on their own soil and in great disorganisation and unfitness for the field. He sets the German force at a total of 484,000, of which 100,000 were not for the first three weeks available owing to the lack of transportation facilities. Von Moltke describes his guiding principles as a determination to keep his forces compact and numerically superior wherever engaged, and to strike for the heart of France—Paris.

Fuller details of the Prussian side of the war will be found in a later volume on German history. The swift movement of the unprepared French troops was not permitted to upset Von Moltke's plans, nor the first minor French success to cause any discouragement in the great victory planned so long and with a scientific completeness that has since remained as the model for modern warfare.^a

OPENING OF THE WAR (JULY, 1870)

On the 20th of July, Ollivier read before the legislature the declaration of war. The enthusiasm had already begun to abate. The majority remained silent. In the evening a large crowd of men descended to the place de la Bastille, crying: "*Vive la paix!*" A struggle occurred on the boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle between this party and the crowd who were crying "*À Berlin!*" The police intervened and made several arrests.

The emperor conferred the regency on the empress as in 1859 at the commencement of the war with Italy. But under what different circumstances! In 1859 Napoleon III had left the Tuileries in an open carriage in the midst of an enthusiastic, ardent crowd who greeted him with acclamations for the first and last time since the re-establishment of the empire. In 1870, on July 28th, he left St. Cloud, going round Paris without entering it, and taking

the route to Metz. He dared not at this solemn moment face the people, who, he pretended, had forced him into the war. He was even then out of the fight, in spirit as well as in body, and seemed to have a presentiment that he would never return.^e

Engagements between outposts and scouting parties had already begun on July 19th. They were particularly severe at Saarbrücken on August 2nd, where 1,000 men (1 battalion of fusiliers and 3 squadrons of ulans) were stationed under Lieutenant-Colonel von Pestel. In order to reconnoitre the strength of the enemy and to be able to send a telegram of victory to the impatient Parisians, Napoleon commanded the advance of General Frossard's corps and began on the 2nd of August the so-called battle of Saarbrücken with 30,000 men against 1,000. The latter were commanded on that day by General Count Gneisenau. Napoleon himself and his son were present during this engagement, Napoleon desiring to judge for himself the superiority of the chassepots and the effectiveness of the mitrailleuses. The French, being massed on the heights of Spicheren which surround the left side of the valley of the Saar, opened fire with 23 guns on the unfortified town and the troops began to advance. General Gneisenau withdrew in order, after three hours' resistance, to the right bank of the Saar, and went into bivouac several miles northwest of Saarbrücken, having placed a small force at the town of Sankt Johann, and at the railway station. Towards evening General Frossard entered Saarbrücken,¹ but soon returned to the heights, not daring to venture pursuit. The Prussians lost in this battle, in which mainly the artillery took part, 4 officers and 79 men; the French, 6 officers and 80 men. A telegram announcing victory was immediately sent off to Paris, telling of the "baptism of fire" of the prince imperial and his wonderful calmness and presence of mind. Paris was insane with joy, the press adding to the general exultation by fantastic perorations, describing the army of the Rhine as already before Mainz, and greeting this "glorious military achievement as a sign of the beginning of a new period in history."

The dream was soon at an end; on the 4th of August the crown prince of Prussia crossed the French borders and attacked Weissenburg on the little river Lauter. Here stood the advance-guard of MacMahon, General Abel Douay's division defending the town and the well-fortified Gaisberg with 11 battalions and 4 batteries. The town was carried by combined Prussian and Bavarian batteries, and the Gaisberg by 16 batteries composed of Prussians alone. General Douay was killed. The loss on the French side was about 1,200 dead and wounded, and 1,000 not wounded taken prisoners, among whom were 30 officers. What was left of the French contingent retreated to Wörth. The Germans lost 91 officers and 1,460 men. The regiment of royal grenadiers alone lost 23 officers and 329 men. The greatest prize captured was one French cannon.²

THE BATTLES OF WÖRTH AND SPICHEREN

On the 5th of August MacMahon occupied Wörth and began to fortify the heights to the west of Saarbrücken as well as the villages of Fröschweiler

¹ The town was left in ruins; the Germans remembered this later on to justify their incendiarism.—DELORD.^c

² Aside from the moral effect of this real German victory, the Lauter line was thenceforward in their hands and the door of Alsace wide open. The death of the intrepid Abel Douay also produced a most profound impression over the whole country.—BONDOIS.^f

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and Elsasshausen. Here he intended to repulse the advance of the crown prince, which he expected about the 7th of August. In order to be able to do this he tried to add to his force that of General Felix Douay stationed at Belfort and Mulhausen, and that of General Faily stationed at Bitsch. But only one division of the former arrived in time; and of the other, the division sent to his aid arrived on the battle-field on the evening of August 6th, after MacMahon had been defeated, and it could only be used in partially covering his retreat. This left MacMahon with only 45,000 men to oppose to the entire army of the crown prince.¹

It had been the intention of the crown prince not to force the decisive battle before the 7th of August, because he could not make a concerted attack with his combined five corps before that time. But when on the forenoon of the 6th of August the advance-guard of the fifth corps became entangled in a most violent engagement with the enemy, while a Bavarian corps on the right and the 11th corps rushed to the rescue, there seemed no alternative but to continue the battle and throw as many troops as possible into the menaced positions. In this manner the decisive battle of Wörth resulted from a skirmish of scouts of the advance-guard, in which gradually every other corps or division except the Baden division took part. The battle raged most fiercely round the well-fortified village of Fröschweiler after Wörth and Elsasshausen had been taken. After this also had fallen and the attack of the French cuirassiers had been repulsed, MacMahon's army, panic-stricken, fled—part to the passes of the Vosges, part towards Strasburg and Bitsch. The fugitives were closely pursued on this and the following day. Many were the trophies of the day: 200 officers and 9,000 men taken prisoners, 1 eagle, 4 Turco banners, 28 cannon, 5 mitrailleuses, 23 wagons of guns and other arms, 125 other wagons, 1,193 horses, and the military chest containing 222,000 francs in gold. About 6,000 men were killed on the French side. The Germans lost 489 officers and 10,153 men. Among the severely wounded was Lieutenant-General von Bose, commander of the 11th corps; while Lieutenant-General von Kirchbach, commander of the 5th corps, had a less serious wound. On the battle-field where the victorious army bivouacked arose during the night the melody of the hymn, "*Nun danket Alle Gott*," sung by thousands of voices and played on hundreds of instruments.

The fugitive Marshal MacMahon arrived with part of his army in Zabern on the morning of August 7th and marched thence to Châlons, whither also the corps of Generals Douay and Faily were drawn. A new army was to be formed here. Northern Alsace lay defenceless before the victorious army of the crown prince. The Baden division was ordered to proceed to Strasburg. The cavalry of that division had already taken Hagenau on the 7th of August; on the 8th and 9th of August the whole division was massed before the citadel of Strasburg and the commander, General Urich of Pfalzburg, asked to surrender. Upon his refusal a special beleaguering corps were formed, comprising the Baden division, one Prussian reserve division, and the *Garde-Landwehr* division. They were placed under the command of General Werder and closely surrounded the city from the 14th of August. On the 8th of August the crown prince withdrew with the remainder of the third army, and marched through the undefended passes of the Vosges. He also had the small neighbouring fortifications of Lichtenberg and Lützelstein taken by the Würtemberg troops, and that of Marsal by the Bavarians; Bitsch and Pfalz-

¹ According to Canonge *o* he had less than 38,000 against the crown prince's 115,000.

burg were blockaded. He entered Nancy on August 16th, where he remained several days awaiting definite news of events on the Saar and Moselle.

A second victory was achieved on August 6th, at Spicheren. This battle was also not the result of strategic manœuvres, but of a misunderstanding. According to Moltke's plan, Frossard's corps, stationed on the heights of Spicheren, was to be forced to retreat by a simultaneous attack in the rear by the 1st and 2nd armies at Forbach and Saargemünd. Should it resist, it was to be crushed by the overwhelming forces. When, in the forenoon of August 6th, generals Kameke and Rheinbaben of the 1st and 2nd armies

arrived with their troops, relying on the reports of the scouting troops that Frossard's corps was retreating, they, wishing to harm the defeated army as much as possible, made an attack, drove the enemy back to the steep, wooded heights of Spicheren, and saw only then that they had the whole of the hostile corps before them. As they did not hold it compatible with honour to surrender the territory once taken and to retreat to the other bank of the Saar, Kameke's division had to contend for three hours against three divisions of the French, which had a strong artillery and were favoured by a remarkably good position. Not until three o'clock did reinforcements of the two armies gradually arrive on the battle-field, after which twenty-seven thousand Germans fought against forty thousand French. Finally several battalions were successful in climbing the heights and even bringing twelve cannon with them. The determination and endurance of the soldiers was wonderful. The Brandenburg regiment of grenadiers alone lost thirty-five officers and 771 men. The battle seemed to centre at the summit of the heights. Suddenly Glümer's division advanced on the left wing and completely routed it, menacing the line of retreat of the enemy which now took place, culminating in panic in some instances. The corps withdrew by way of Forbach and Sankt Avold or by Saargemünd towards Metz.

Bazaine's corps, which was stationed only seven or eight miles from the scene of action, did the same, without coming to Frossard's assistance. In consequence of their unfavourable position the victors had greater losses than the vanquished. The Germans lost 223 officers and 4,648 men, while the French according to their own account lost 249 officers and 3,829 men, of whom about two thousand were captured.

The victors advanced on the 7th of August, seizing great quantities of provisions in Forbach, besieged Sankt Avold, making incursions almost as far as Metz. The army of Prince Charles also marched, traversing the Rhine Palatinate partly by way of Saarbrücken, partly *via* Saargemünd, in the direction of Metz. Receiving the news of this victory, the king of Prussia left Mainz on August 7th, arriving in Saarbrücken on the 9th, and in Sankt Avold on the 11th, and issued a proclamation to the French nation in which he



OFFICER OF HUSSARS (FRENCH)

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declared that he was carrying on war with the army of France, not with her citizens, whose persons and belongings should be secure as long as they themselves refrained from practising hostilities against the German troops.^h

BAZAINE AT METZ

The general opinion in the circle of Marshal Bazaine and the emperor was that the idea of giving battle in Lorraine must be abandoned, the Moselle repassed as quickly as possible, MacMahon's army rallied, and Metz, reduced to its own forces, must stop a part of the German troops, while a mass of 250,000 men must oppose the invasion either at Verdun, Châlons, or even nearer to Paris. Would this plan, certainly a most prudent one, have saved France? Well-known German authorities are agreed in thinking it would have been very dangerous for Germany; that Moltke was much occupied in preventing it; that Marshal MacMahon and the general officers who commanded in Paris thought the plan good, and that in any case the danger of allowing the only French organised army to stay near Metz was obvious.

In the campaign we are entering on, the chief problem for the French was to recross the Moselle immediately and rapidly overtake the Prussians on the Verdun and Châlons route; for the Germans, to hinder the enemy's march, to cross the Moselle to the south of Metz, and to occupy the approach by which Marshal Bazaine must unite his troops with those of Marshal MacMahon.

Time was lost between the 11th and 13th discussing the possibilities of a battle or retreat. On the latter date Bazaine took definite command and decided to retreat. But, whether owing to physical fatigue, incapacity, or criminal indifference, he did not devote all his energies to hastening the passage of the Moselle and the occupation of the Verdun route. The curious incertitude of his projects, his mysterious attitude, give support to the belief that he had determined from the beginning to allow himself to be blockaded near Metz. But with what object? Had he even an object?¹

It is difficult to understand the extreme prudence of the armies of Steinmetz and Frederick Charles (nephew of the king of Prussia) after the battle of Spiecheren. It must be supposed that this easy victory surprised the Germans, and that at the beginning of the campaign the system of spies was



MARSHAL BAZAINE

[¹ The French view of his conduct is that he meant to keep this army intact in order that afterwards, in conjunction with the Germans as his accomplices, he might secure, with a fresh military *coup d'état*, the imperial rule over France. Whatever he may have meant, the Germans had no intention of intrusting the fortress of France to him.—KITCHIN.]

less well organised than at the end. It was only on the 13th of August that the grand army, with the king and Von Moltke, arrived at Herny, on the route from Falkenberg to Metz, and Prince Frederick Charles had scarcely left Saargemünd. The advance-guard of the first army bore, on the morning of the 14th, towards Pange, and saw that the French army, in part at least, was still on the right bank of the Moselle. Then Von Moltke stopped the manœuvres, which might have destroyed or at least annulled "the French army of the Rhine," as Bazaine's army was henceforth called.

On the 14th the passage of the French army began at last; generals Goltz and Manteuffel attacked Castagny's division of the 3rd corps, which was still at Colombey. But to all appearances the combat was favourable to the French, who attributed to themselves a victory which they called the battle of Borny or Pange. The Germans, however, equally considered the victory theirs, an assumption founded on the fact that the French army had been delayed crossing the river. The battle on the 14th had allowed Frederick Charles to hasten his march, and in the evening his advance-guard reached Pont-à-Mousson—that is, the point where the second German army crossed the Moselle, a crossing made practicable by the incredible carelessness of the commander-in-chief, who had left the bridges standing. The Prussians had lost nearly 5,000 men; the French 3,600.

However, the French could now continue their march without interruption; it was not concluded till the morning of the 15th on the trunk road of the two Verdun routes. The staff did not know that two other roads forked off between Conflans and Rezonville. So the highroad from Metz to Gravelotte, between two rows of houses, was the scene of inextricable confusion; innumerable wagons encumbered the route and the emperor's household constantly interrupted the march. The uncertainty in commands had a very clear influence in these disastrous delays.

BATTLE OF MARS-LA-TOUR

Marshal Bazaine did not seem very anxious to leave Metz. All his movements were directed, greatly to the astonishment of those around him, so as to keep open communications with that city, and he did not seem to consider it possible that the Prussians would intercept his route to Verdun. The retreat was not really begun again until the morning of the 16th of August.

Marshal Bazaine had been warned of hostile parties towards Gorze, but he did not verify this, finding himself confirmed in his suspicion that the Prussians wanted to slip in between the French army and Metz. He therefore kept the imperial guard at Gravelotte, with General Bourbaki, so as to fortify his left, which still lay at Metz at Fort St. Quentin. The halt having been called, the generals De Forton and Murat of the advance-guard at Mars-la-Tour had prepared for breakfast, when suddenly shells fell in the midst of their men. The disorder caused by this surprise had a deplorable result; it allowed the Prussians, in spite of inferior numbers, to occupy both sides of the Verdun route. Then the Prussian corps, directed by Frederick Charles, turned back on Vionville, where Canrobert, by his energetic resistance, supported by Frossard, stayed the onslaught which gave to the Prussians possession of Mars-la-Tour and Tronville. But Marshal Canrobert, left to his own resources, was obliged to give up Vionville to the enemy. Nevertheless he remained unshaken at Rezonville.

The centre of the French army now found itself in a very favourable position, and towards three o'clock General Ladmirault succeeded in sweeping

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the Verdun route between Rezonville and Vionville. But at this moment several of Steinmetz's fresh divisions bore down on Gravelotte—that is, on Bazaine's left. The attack was so sudden and unforeseen that Marshal Bazaine ran personal risks and was only saved by a charge of his staff. Fearing to have to support the assault of an entire army on this side, he entirely stopped the offensive movement on his right.

At half past four, two fresh corps, commanded by Frederick Charles in person, came out from Gorze in front of Rezonville, forming an assaulting line of eighty thousand men. The capture of Rezonville would have ended the battle and would have led to the dispersion of Bazaine's army—perhaps its capitulation; but, after three hours of repeated attacks, the Prussians renounced the idea of overthrowing Canrobert and Ladmirault, and at nine o'clock in the evening Prince Frederick Charles ordered the firing to cease.

The magnificent moonlight which succeeded this terrible twelve hours' battle shone on twenty thousand dead in a line of ten kilometres. The Prussians lost about ten thousand men; the French nearly as many. At Mars-la-Tour and at Tronville, the Germans held the road from Verdun to Fresnes-en-Woëvre; but, in spite of the mistakes of the head of the French army, they had not been able to concentrate a sufficient force to render their advantage decisive.

BATTLE OF ST. PRIVAT

But to carry out the necessary operations, which had become so difficult, General Bazaine required abnegation, audacity, and energy to inspire his soldiers, who were fatigued by a terrible battle but ready for any sacrifice when supported by the moral superiority of their chief.

The whole army was prepared to make a new move forward early on the 17th. The fatigues of the day sufficiently explain the inactivity of the night, although the Prussians were taking advantage of the respite to accumulate forces beyond Mars-la-Tour. It was, then, a cruel disappointment for the soldiers to be ordered to go back to Metz.

These positions, defended by 120,000 men of tried valour, by forts, and 500 cannon, were excellent with regard to Metz, but of little value if it was intended to take the first opportunity of leaving the town in order to escape the blockade—which was the enemy's evident intention. The 17th was occupied entirely in taking up their position, and the Prussians profited by it. The two German armies had thrown eight corps to the north of Mars-la-Tour, 180,000 infantry, 25,000 horses, and 700 cannon. Instead of rushing in pursuit of the French after the battle of the 16th, they had continued systematically and without disorder their flanking movement.

The inaction of Marshal Bazaine allowed them to continue their march until mid-day on the 18th, and when they attacked the French positions from Gravelotte to Roncourt, the army of the Rhine no longer had simply to keep open its last issuing point, but to reopen it in the midst of an innumerable mass of men. Marshal Bazaine did not believe in a serious attack. All that day he remained at headquarters without rejoining in the battle. He would not admit that the Prussians could so rapidly throw on his extreme right sufficient forces to obstruct the Montmédy road on the north.

But Marshal Moltke joined the king at Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes and concentrated all his energy on the position of St. Privat-la-Montagne, defended by Marshal Canrobert. There for two hours, from five to seven in the evening, the marshal repulsed most furious attacks from the Germans; thrusting them headlong from the heights and decimating, under William's very eyes, one of

the regiments of the Prussian guard—that of the queen—commanding on foot in the foremost ranks, and forcing Moltke himself to take command of the Pomeranian fusiliers to prevent a panic caused by the rout of a part of his cavalry. But, at seven o'clock, Marshal Moltke, anxious for the consequences which the prolonged resistance of Canrobert might bring about, united 90,000 men at St. Privat, and by a long and winding march led the 12th corps (Saxons) to Roncourt, northeast of the position occupied by the 6th corps of the French; 240 cannon immediately opened a terrible fire on these 25,000 heroic soldiers, who, since two o'clock, had supported the principal fire of the enemy. As so often happened in this unhappy war, ammunition was lacking to the 6th corps; Marshal Canrobert, however, remained at his post, and when the Saxons appeared on the northeast to combine their attack with that of the Prussians, they were obliged to support a terrible fight before seizing St. Privat.

Then the marshal was obliged to beat a retreat; Bazaine, informed of this, could not contain his astonishment. Instead of a battle of the advance-guard, he had sustained a complete defeat. He could hardly believe the reports, and gave orders to the Picard brigade of the imperial guard to go to the front. But it was too late. The necessary movement at last ordered could not prevent the Prussians from passing Amanvillers; they had, moreover, lost 20,000 men; the French 18,000, of whom 2,000 were made prisoners. Nothing now could hinder Marshal Moltke from interposing a circle of 250,000 men between the only organised army of France and the rest of the country.

This conclusion of the battles under the walls of Metz had another disastrous result—that of leaving MacMahon exposed to the crown prince's army, which was now free from all anxiety with regard to Bazaine.[/]

CONFUSION AT PARIS

The news of the battles before Metz produced great confusion in Paris. On the 17th of August, following the advice of General Schmitz, the emperor appointed as governor of Paris General Trochu, who alone could prevent a revolt which threatened. A new army had been forming at Châlons, of which MacMahon took command. Count Palikao¹ wished MacMahon to join Bazaine, but MacMahon telegraphed the minister that he did not know where to find Bazaine and that he wished to remain at Châlons. The following day, on account of a false rumour, he suddenly left Châlons and took the route to Rheims.

A council of war took place at Rheims in which Rouher took part and insisted on the relief of the army at Metz. The empress and Palikao wished this; and in accordance with their desires MacMahon marched towards the Maas, where he would join Bazaine at Stenay if the latter could break through the enemy's chain. MacMahon, through delays and the failure to receive despatches, did not reach Stenay in time. The Germans had occupied it, and on the 27th and 29th engagements took place at Buzanzy, Novart, and Vioncq. The surprise of Faily at Beaumont on the 30th, and the retirement of Douay before the Bavarians on August 6th (causing him to be replaced by General Wimpffen), forced MacMahon to retreat to Sedan. On the hills about

[¹ This was General Cousin-Montauban who was born in 1796 and won his title from his victory over the Chinese at Palikao in 1860; he had become prime minister as well as minister of war on the fall of Ollivier, August 9th, 1870, due to the failure of the army. He kept his portfolio only until September 4th, when the disaster of Sedan overthrew the Second Empire.]

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Sedan, MacMahon drew up his forces, with Lebrun commanding the right at Bazailles; Douay the left at Illy and Floing; Ducrot the centre at Moncelle and Daigny; and Wimpffen the reserve in the Garenne forest. Against these the Prussians and Bavarians advanced with full confidence.^a

THE BATTLE OF SEDAN (SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1870)

Facing all ways, that is, no way, the French army was apparently protected on the west by the opening on to the Maas which was soon to enclose its ruins. Towards Mézières and south of this road, the road to safety, there was nothing, not even a handful of cavalry, to watch the way so clearly indicated towards Donchery.

At half past six in the morning of September 1st, Marshal MacMahon, who had gone in the direction of La Moncelle, was severely wounded and had to relinquish the command. As he knew nothing of the orders given to General Wimpffen, he appointed Ducrot to replace him; the latter did not hear of his appointment until nearly half past seven.

The new commander-in-chief Ducrot declares that he "had received no instructions whatever from the marshal." He was in entire ignorance of his intentions—even of whether he intended to engage in a defensive or offensive battle. Having to decide at the soonest possible moment, he gave immediate orders for the army to concentrate on the plateau, whence it would march on Mézières. The retreat was to be carried out in echelon beginning from the right.

Between half past eight and nine in the morning, when in fact the movement was in course of execution, General Wimpffen claimed the chief command. Misled by the success of the 12th corps, which, nevertheless, was reduced to the defensive; not believing, from want of knowledge of the preceding days, in the serious danger that the flanking movements threatened, he stopped the retreat on Mézières. General Ducrot vainly emphasised the importance of retaining the plateau of Illy, when a question of life and death was at issue. He was unable to convince his interlocutor: "It is not a retreat we want, but a victory!"

The new commander-in-chief recalled the 12th and 1st corps back to their respective positions and ordered "a vigorous forward offensive movement on our right." He hoped, as he afterwards said, to crush the enemy's left, formed of the two Bavarian corps; and then, having beaten him and driven him back on the Maas, to return with the 12th and 1st corps, and, with the whole army combined, fight the German right wing. What about the enemy's left wing? As a general rule, such a scheme is as a last resource possible when on both sides the forces are equal; it ought not so much as to be dreamed of in face of an army flushed with victory, well led, and with a numerical superiority of over one hundred thousand men.

In addition, in this particular instance, the real danger threatened from the north (the enemy's left), and the 7th corps in spite of a vigorous resistance was powerless to overcome it, more especially as the ruins of the 5th corps scarcely counted as a support. The clearest result of the course of action taken by General Wimpffen, at a moment when minutes were as precious as hours, was a loss of time which assured the ruin of the army by robbing it of all chances of escape. Anything was better than Sedan.

The important village of Bazailles, situated at the crossing of the Douzy and Sedan roads, by Balan, was destined to play an important part in the defence of the valley of the Givonne. Repulsed at first, the Bavarians, reinforced,

returned to the attack; from seven o'clock in the morning the battle concentrated around the villa Beurmann and in the western end of the village. The defenders were compelled to give way little by little before superior numbers, and before the conflagrations started by the Bavarians. They withdrew to Balan; but not all retired. To the north of Bazeilles, in an isolated house scarcely fifty metres from the villa Beurmann, a handful of men, belonging mostly to the marine infantry, prolonged a hopeless resistance, and for a long while braved the furious assaults of the enemy, who ended by bringing up artillery. This glorious defence was organised by Commandant Lambert, supported by captains Ortus and Aubert. Ammunition being exhausted,¹ Lambert had the doors thrown open, and with a view of saving the survivors offered himself to the Bavarians. Incensed at their losses, they were about to fall upon him, and he owed his life only to a captain who made a rampart of his own body.

The defence of Bazeilles, in which the troops of the Grand-Champ division co-operated, cost the marine infantry alone thirty-two officers killed, of whom one was lieutenant-colonel and four were battalion leaders. Three officers were shot by the Bavarians after defending a house to the very last. "Towards mid-day," the German account says, "Bazeilles was almost entirely in flames." Not content with using the torch, the Bavarians dishonoured their tardy victory by cruelties which they have vainly attempted to excuse.²

From Bazeilles the struggle extended to Balan. The 4th Bavarian division (2nd corps) occupied that village only after repelling a particularly stubborn resistance from the Carteret-Trécourt brigade, the struggle taking place chiefly in the park.

From ten in the morning, Moncelle, which the French had neglected to defend seriously, was in the hands of the Saxons. Supported by a battery, which at nine o'clock included no less than ninety-six guns, they endeavoured to debouch from La Moncelle. The whole morning was taken up with these attempts, which were vigorously opposed by the Lacretelle division. The Saxons succeeded in taking it, and by eleven o'clock, at the moment when Bazeilles was falling, they had gained a permanent footing on the right bank of the Givonne, whose crest was quickly occupied by their artillery. An hour earlier Daigny had also fallen into their power. While the German artillery was crushing the French batteries and the defenders of the heights, their infantry waited under cover; when the moment came for action it scaled the heights and took possession of them with insignificant loss.

All these subordinate engagements are dominated in importance by the general movement of that part of the 3rd army entrusted with the envelopment of the French army. Towards seven o'clock in the morning, the fog having lifted, the crown prince had ascertained with certainty, from the point of observation he had occupied for the past hour, that the French appeared to project the retention of Sedan, on the east of the curve formed by the Maas. He issued his orders.

The German artillery, in keeping with its principle, boldly outstripped the infantry. It established itself on the knoll south of St. Menges between it

[¹ This is the scene of De Neuville's famous picture, "The Last Cartridge."]

[² It is impossible to describe or even to sketch with any precision the series of confused engagements in the woods of Garenue. Cannon without wheels, caissons abandoned, a flag whose bearer perished gloriously, hundreds of men and horses fell into the power of the enemy; the forest was attacked at the same time on the north, the east, and the west. Only one French cannon still fired. It was taken when all its men were lost. A cloud of enemies, surging in from all sides, enwrapped this little wood, and all it contained were slain or taken. It was no more a battle; it was a man-hunt. — ROUSSET.^m]

[1870 A.D.]

and Floing, opened fire, and nearer and nearer, by additional arrivals, the battery advanced in echelon in the direction of Fleigneux. The French were subsequently driven from Floing.

Towards eleven o'clock General Galliffet received orders from General Margueritte to charge, with the squadrons of chasseurs d'Afrique, the companies which, coming down from Fleigneux, had just crossed the stream Illy. These were momentarily checked in their advance. Towards mid-day the envelopment was in full progress. Towards eleven o'clock in the evening the 11th corps took Cazal; seventy-one German batteries (426 guns), massed in four different places, swept in every direction the plateau of Illy and subjected the defenders to a cruel experience.

Not a moment was to be lost. General Ducrot had to act as commander-in-chief. He collected all the available artillery on the plateau, and turned it in the direction of Fleigneux; he replaced the Pellé and the Héroller divisions on the heights; and lastly ordered the commandant of the division of cavalry reserve to charge.

It was a question of charging in echelon towards the left, and then, after having overturned all that were met, to turn to the right in such a way as to take all the enemy's line in flank. This was at about two o'clock. At the moment when General Margueritte moved forward to reconnoitre the ground and the enemy's position, he was severely wounded. His tongue was injured, and when he arrived at the head of his division, he could only point with his arm to indicate the direction of the movement. Led by the gesture, the cavalry hurled themselves on Floing.

Thereupon, under the shelter of the artillery, heroic charges succeeded one another. These movements were carried out under the most deplorable disadvantages of ground but "with remarkable vigour and entire devotion," according to the Prussian account. The first charge came to grief—another was immediately made: "The honour of the army demands it," said General Ducrot, and new squadrons dashed forward. But in vain. Sabred, for the moment dispersed, the enemy's skirmishers fell back on the second line. Against this, complete and supported on its wings by squares, the reiterated desperate efforts of the squadrons were utterly broken, and their ruins dispersed in all directions.

We may easily understand and repeat the exclamation, "What brave men!" which King William made at this splendid sight. The Prussian account itself has said: "Although success did not result from the efforts of these brave squadrons, although their heroic attempts were powerless to thwart the catastrophe in which the French army was already irretrievably involved, that army is none the less entitled to look back with legitimate pride on the fields of Floing and Cazal, on which, during that memorable day of Sedan, its cavalry succumbed gloriously beneath the blows of a victorious adversary."

These glorious charges have as an epilogue the heroic attempt with which the name of Commandant d'Alincourt is associated. Towards three o'clock in the afternoon he attempted to cut a way through the enemy's lines, with a squadron of the 1st regiment of cuirassiers. The valiant troop set out from the Mézières gate and charged into the suburb of Cazal, overturning the German soldiers stationed there. But, the alarm once given, the Germans barred the road with the help of carriages and shot down the cuirassiers, whose noble attempt proved abortive; nearly three-quarters of them fell here. This is, with the exception of the vigorous attempt on Balan, the only real attempt which was made to pierce the circle of iron from the moment when it first became complete.

All that still remained flowed back under the concentric movement towards Sedan, which had already engulfed part of the army. The fire of the Prussian batteries was concentrated on the town, torn in all directions by the shells.

At three o'clock, the emperor Napoleon III, who had remained on the battle-field until half past eleven, hoisted the white flag. Two hours before, General Wimpffen had written to him requesting him to put himself at the head of his troops, who would make it a point of honour to cut the way out for him. Still following his idea of opening a road in the direction of Carignan, the general, who with great trouble had gathered together five or six thousand men, led them forward and with splendid dash threw himself for the first time upon the Bavarians, driving them out of the village of Balan. Towards four o'clock he received a suggestion from the emperor to treat with the enemy. He declined, and at the head of two or three thousand men, this time accompanied by General Lebrun, he made a fresh attempt. He could not deploy beyond Balan and finally fell back on Sedan. The unfortunate army was done for.^g

In deciding to hoist a flag of truce, Napoleon III understood all the gravity of the responsibility he was incurring, and foresaw the accusations of which he would be the object. The situation appeared before his eyes in all its gravity, and the recollection of a glorious past arose, to augment the bitterness by its contrast with the present. How would it be believed that the army of Sebastopol and of Solferino had been obliged to lower its arms? How could it be understood that, enclosed within a narrow space, the more numerous the troops the greater the confusion, and the less possible was it to re-establish that order which is indispensable in battle? The prestige to which the French army was rightly entitled was about to vanish all at once, in the presence of a calamity that has no equal; the emperor remained alone responsible in the eyes of the world for the misfortunes that war brought in its train!^l

THE SURRENDER OF NAPOLEON III AND THE ARMY

At five o'clock all was ended. The emperor sent the following letter to the king of Prussia by one of his aides-de-camp:

MONSIEUR MON FRÈRE :

Not having succeeded in dying in the midst of my troops, nothing remains for me but to deliver my sword into your majesty's hands.

The king replied:

While I regret the circumstances in which we meet, I accept your majesty's sword and beg you to be so good as to name one of your officers furnished with full powers to make terms for the capitulation of the army which has fought so bravely under your command. On my side, I have named General von Moltke for this purpose.

Napoleon III could surrender his person—he was no longer a general; it was not his work to surrender the army. Another was to be entrusted with this mission. Wimpffen, with despair at his heart, was obliged to submit to it. He went over to the enemy's headquarters, to the castle of Bellevue, near Donchery. For three long hours Wimpffen struggled in vain to obtain some modification of the conditions which Moltke had fixed. This cold and inflexible calculator, who had reduced war to mathematical formulas, was as incapable of generosity as of anger. He had decided that the entire army, with arms and baggage, should be prisoners.

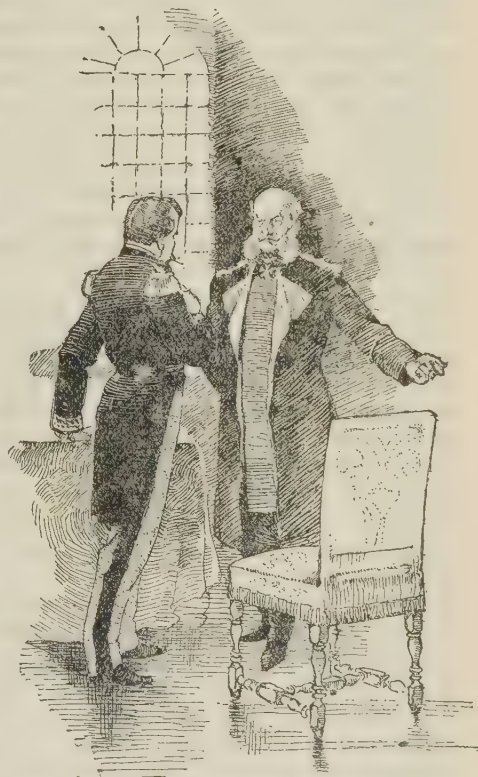
[1870 A.D.]

Bismarck took part in the conference. He made one remark which has an historical importance—General Wimpffen^k has noted it in his book on Sedan: "Prussia will exact as terms of peace, not only an indemnity of four billion francs, but Alsace and German Lorraine. We must have a good, advanced strategical line." "Demand only money," replied Wimpffen, "you will be sure of peace with us for an indefinite period. If you take from us Alsace and Lorraine, you will only have truce for a time; in France, from old men down to children, all will learn the use of arms, and millions of soldiers will one day demand of you what you take from us." The speech which Wimpffen relates shows the mistake of those who have believed that Bismarck did not agree with the military party on the question of Metz and Strasburg. If his political genius had once hesitated, it hesitated no longer. One of General Ducrot's aides-de-camp, who was present, has quoted Bismarck's remark somewhat differently; but, if the words differ, the sense is the same.

On September 2nd, at seven o'clock in the morning, Wimpffen called together in a council of war the commanders of the army corps and the generals of division. The council recognised that, "face to face with the physical impossibility of continuing the struggle, we were forced to accept the conditions which were imposed on us." Not only were they totally enveloped by forces which were now treble their own (220,000 men against 80,000), but they had food only for one day. Wimpffen carried his signature to the Prussian headquarters.

Napoleon III had left Sedan before the sitting of the council of war; he hoped to see the king of Prussia before the capitulation was signed and persuade William to grant some concessions; but the king avoided this interview; the emperor only encountered Bismarck, with whom he had a conversation in a workman's small house, near Donchery. This was the conclusion of the Biarritz interviews! Napoleon was then sent, with an escort of cuirassiers of the Prussian guard, to await his conqueror in a château on the banks of the Maas. There he repeated to William what he had just said to Bismarck: that he had not desired war; that public opinion in France had forced it upon him.

The shame which the defeated emperor brought on himself by excusing himself at the expense of France in the presence of her victorious enemy was the true expiation of December 2nd. No head of a state had ever shown such absence of dignity. The solemn contradiction which Thiers made to this shameful speech some months later at Bordeaux is well known. The imperial captive was sent into Germany to the castle of Wilhelmshöhe, near



NAPOLEON III AND WILLIAM I

Cassel; it was the former residence of his uncle Jerome, during the existence of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia.¹ Napoleon III at Wilhelmshöhe inevitably recalls Napoleon I at Malmaison after Waterloo. There was one common feature between these two men, otherwise so dissimilar: they seemed far less two human souls mortally wounded in the reality of their moral life than two actors who had played their parts and resigned themselves to quit the stage.^e

The army with all its material was made prisoner of war. Nearly five hundred officers consented to give their parole. The others, marshals and generals at their head, were left to share in captivity the fate of their soldiers. The army awaited, in unspeakable privation, on the peninsula of Iges, so well named the Camp of Misery, the moment of departure.

In round figures the French losses total thus: killed, 3,000; wounded, 14,000; prisoners taken in battle, 21,000; prisoners by capitulation, 83,000; disarmed in Belgium, 3,000; total, 124,000 men. The Germans captured besides, one flag, two ensigns, 419 guns and mitrailleuses, 139 garrison guns, 1,072 wagons of all descriptions, 66,000 rifles, and 6,000 horses fit for service. The German army lost 465 officers, of whom 189 were killed, including General von Gersdorff, and 8,459 men, of whom 2,832 were killed.⁹

THE THIRD REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED (SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1870)

Sedan gave the final blow to the empire. Not even a push was required to complete its overthrow. How did the news reach Paris? Nobody knows. A vague rumour was spread on the afternoon of September 3rd. In the evening one hundred thousand Parisians paraded the streets and went to the house of the governor of the city, General Trochu. The chamber held a sitting during the night. There could be nothing more tragic than this sitting. A deathly silence prevailed among those official representatives of the empire. Jules Favre in his voice of brass read out in the midst of this silence a proposition of forfeiture. Not a sound, not a murmur was heard. A few hours still remained to the empire in which some extreme measure might be tried, but nobody thought of such a thing.

A compact mass of people thronged the place de la Concorde. The bridge was guarded and the police of the empire were using their weapons for the last time. The crowd, partly by its own force, partly owing to the complicity of the soldiers, managed to clear a passage. A few moments after, the chamber was invaded; for the fourth time the people entered the Tuileries.

The republic was proclaimed at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and also a provisional government under the name of "government of national defence." The government consisted of deputies elected in Paris: Jules Simon, Picard, Gambetta, Pelletan, Garnier-Pagès, Crémieux, Arago, Glais-Bizoin, and Rochefort, with General Trochu as president, Thiers having refused this office. The senate had been forgotten, just as in 1848 the chamber of peers had been. It was not remembered till the next day. In the evening, in spite of the threatened invasion, a profound relief was felt. The boulevards were crowded. Improvised chariots bearing inscriptions, and groups of soldiers mingling with the citizens were cheered as they passed. The police had disappeared. One of the most festive occasions during the days that

[¹ September 4th the empress Eugénie fled from Paris and in five days landed on the coast of England, where she was joined by her son. They took up their residence at Chislehurst near London, where Napoleon III joined them March 20th, 1871, and where he died January 9th, 1873.]

[1870 A.D.]

followed was the return of the exiles. All the great men who were welcomed back by their country, Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Edgar Quinet, and Ledru-Rollin, came to Paris. The return of Victor Hugo was a regular triumph.

When the empire fell, France was left unprotected. Of the two armies one had been captured at Sedan, and the other was shut up in Metz, whence it was to be delivered by treachery. The Germans thought they had nothing to do but to make a military excursion into France.

They were arriving at Paris from two directions—from Soissons and from Châlons. They looked upon Paris as their last remaining obstacle, and did not believe any resistance would be offered. In 1814 and 1815 Paris had been given up after a few days' struggle. They could not believe that the capital would endure the horrors of a siege. It was said to be provisioned for one month only, and in 1814 and 1815 the possession of Paris had meant the possession of France. Thus the war seemed finished; but it was really only begun.

THE SIEGE OF PARIS

The government took up its quarters in the capital, resolved to sustain the siege. It had sent away only its two oldest members, Crémieux and Glais-Bizoin, who had gone to Tours. In Paris they were hastily preparing the defence of the ramparts and the forts, which had been left by the empire in a very inefficient state. The national guard was consolidated and provided with guns. An attempt was made to reorganise the troops which were returning; General Vinoy's corps, which had reached Sedan too late and had made a rapid retreat, some sailors, some of the *mobiles*, and soldiers from here, there, and everywhere were to form the Parisian army. Trochu was commander-in-chief and had under him General Ducrot, who had escaped after Sedan, Vinoy, and at the head of the artillery General Frébault, who had presented to the navy some fine cannon which were now to be of great service in the defence of Paris.

Preparations were hardly completed when the enemy arrived. On the heights of Châtillon, which was a valuable position for Paris, the Germans found no opposition except from some troops who were already demoralised, being, so to speak, composed of the tail-end of defeated regiments. A panic ensued and the Germans gained possession of the heights, which enabled them to bombard Paris.

But a change was near. Paris was determined to make a defence. First Jules Favre went to Ferrières to find out what conditions Germany meant to propose. Bismarck wanted some of the French provinces, and Jules Favre replied: "Not an inch of our territory, nor a single stone of our fortresses!" Paris during the siege was a noble spectacle. The city of light laughter and sparkling merriment, the centre of elegance and fashion, had been transformed into a military stronghold. One thought occupied all minds, one passion possessed all hearts, the whole town had but one soul—and that was filled with the noble enthusiasm of patriotism.ⁿ

Indefatigable zeal was displayed by the various authorities—the ministry of commerce, the prefecture of the Seine, which was in the hands of a member of the government, Jules Ferry, the mayoralty of Paris, the mayoralties of the arrondissements; but these complicated wheels within wheels hindered each other, their functions not being clearly determined.

From September 26th a central victualling committee regulated and combined these various operations, and rendered valuable services. The gov-

ernment of national defence succeeded in adding to the resources already obtained more than four hundred thousand hundredweights of flour, which represented provisions for two months.

It was not sufficient to have corn; it must be ground. After surmounting enormous difficulties, the trade of miller was successfully organised in Paris. All trades connected with food were established in the great city as well as all those concerned with warfare.

Was this the case with the military organisation? It must first be admitted that there, more than in any other department, the difficulties were appalling. There were crowds of men, there were no real soldiers, or scarcely any; too few arms, and few good arms; the new chassepot rifles, already insufficient in number by half, had been stored in quantities at Metz and Strasburg, and there were not enough in Paris. As for the fortifications, since Palikao had become minister and the defence committee had been formed, to which Thiers had been elected, they had worked feverishly to repair, as far as possible, the negligence of the imperial government. Munitions had been stored; the *enceinte* of Paris and the forts had been put into good condition; from the various ports more than two hundred immense naval guns had been brought to supply the bastions of Paris, together with a picked set of seamen set at liberty by the disarmament of the fleet, which had been unable to make an effort in the Baltic for want of troops to land; there were nearly fourteen thousand brave sailors, commanded by half a dozen vice-admirals and rear-admirals. This was the strongest element of defence, and the general officers of the naval army were charged with the defence of the greater number of the divisions of the fortifications—the *secteurs*, as they were called.

On the 9th, the 13th corps entered Paris, led back from Mézières by General Vinoy. The 14th corps, which was being formed, was placed by Trochu under command of General Ducrot, who had escaped from the hands of the Prussians. On September 13th there were 60,000 soldiers of the line, the greater number of them raw recruits, 110,000 mobiles, 360,000 national guards. This last number was purely nominal, the greater number of these guards being neither in uniform nor armed, and many not even capable of bearing arms. They finally succeeded in arming 250,000. A large number of the mobiles also were neither equipped nor armed.^e

The appearance of the town was curious. Guns glittered under the trees on the boulevards, and the sound of trumpets was everywhere. Theatres were changed into hospitals and the railway factories were busy casting cannon. There were no carriages and no gas; at night all was in darkness. Instead of the boulevards, the ramparts became the centre of Parisian life; here everyone, workmen and citizens alike, assembled gun in hand to guard the town. The inhabitants were blockaded. A few hundred yards from the fortifications an invisible circle of trenches enclosed the town. Communication with the outer world was impossible, except by balloons which were sent out of Paris or by the carrier pigeons which returned there pursued by Prussian bullets.

Provisions might fail, so the Parisians were placed on rations.¹ Cab horses furnished them with meat during the siege. As for bread, towards the end they wore out their teeth against a strange compound of corn, maize, oats, and pulverized bones. They ate anything that could be found, even the animals from the Zoölogical Gardens. Everybody endured hunger cheer-

[¹ Meat was apportioned from the 1st of October at one hundred grammes to each person; after the 25th at sixty; and this on the 26th was to be reduced to fifty grammes.^o]

[1870 A.D.]

fully. Later on cold weather set in. Winter was early that year and unusually severe. People were terribly cold in the frozen trenches.

At last bombardment brought the siege to an end. The Prussians launched enormous shells, larger than any that had yet been known, into the town, on to the monuments which are the pride of civilisation, on to the hospitals, on to the schools where sometimes the dead bodies of five or six children would be found. They fell, not on the ramparts, but in Paris. All through the night these huge masses of metal, whose fall meant death and destruction, were heard whizzing through the air. But the whole town only became the more enthusiastic, everyone was eager to fight, and not an angry word was heard, unless anyone spoke of surrender.

The generals were not so eager as the people. Trochu did not think it was possible to break through the Prussian circle of trenches. The generals of the empire, discouraged by repeated disasters, had but little confidence that this improvised army composed of the remnants of different regiments would be able to conquer the Germans, who had beaten their organised army.

There were a few skirmishes during the early days in order to recover the neighbouring villages, then an attack was made with a few soldiers near Garches; these were the only military incidents of the first few months. The moment when Trochu would resolve to act was awaited with feverish impatience. He had said that he had a definite plan.² Among the many isolated instances of defence we cannot quote many. Let the following account be taken as a type of that unavailing resistance France made in many directions:^a

GIRARD'S ACCOUNT OF CHÂTEAUDUN (OCTOBER, 1870)

Paris, isolated, blockaded, suffering already, waited, listened, and asked, "Where is France?" When the name of Châteaudun resounded, when that brave resistance became known, when the echo of that gallant struggle struck the great, attentive, and already anxious city, then Paris in this time of public mourning gave vent to an almost joyful cry, and said to herself, "France is arising! France is hastening! France lives, for she knows how to die!" The little town of Châteaudun, which for weeks had attracted attention by its energy and its defensive dispositions, showed France and the world how a few thousand brave men could hold in check a whole army, provided they were willing to sacrifice their lives. The defence of Châteaudun is all the more admirable because it represents the heroism of the humble and unknown, heroism without ostentation where, from the highest to the lowest in the city, all did their duty. The defence of Châteaudun was entirely civilian, and the defenders, the national guards of Beauce, grain-sellers of peaceful mode of life, *frances-tireurs* of Paris, Nantes, and Cannes, all were simple valiant citizens.

The news of the occupation of Orleans by the Prussians had just arrived. Defence, it was thought, would be madness. But the news of this peaceful resolution was ill received by the people who were already determined on resistance; and ulans having appeared not far from the railway, some workmen had attacked them, armed only with their tools. The enemy was approaching. He had already reached Varize and Civey, which he had burned to punish the inhabitants for their resistance; while Châteaudun was erecting barricades made of sharp stones, supported by hewn logs and furnished with fascines and sacks of earth. On October 18th, a Tuesday, the sentries at St. Valérien noticed towards mid-day the enemy's approach!

Châteaudun had for its defence but 765 *frances-tireurs*, and 300 of the

Dunois national guards; not a gun nor a horse-soldier. At the most twelve hundred men all told; and against them the entire 22nd Prussian division was advancing. The German documents pretend, and the official despatch of Blumenthal dated from Versailles affirms, that the defenders of Châteaudun numbered 4,000.¹ Once again it may be declared, there were not 1,200 of them. The Prussian division was 12,000 strong, and had the use of 24 pieces of artillery.

Without taking into consideration the artillery, whose fire was so continued and so deadly, each Frenchman fought against ten. At nightfall, driven back on every side, the defenders of Châteaudun collected in the market-place, and, black with powder, excited by the battle, drunk with patriotism and passion, under a sky already red with conflagrations, they chanted the powerful verses of the Marseillaise.

The Germans attacked again and again. The fighting was hand to hand and in the dark. There was stabbing and throat-cutting, and the black stream of Prussians rushed through the streets. Torch in hand, they already invaded the captured houses—pillaged, stole, and burned. The last defenders of Châteaudun, while retiring, fired murderous volleys from all sides on the square where the Prussians swarmed; then they withdrew still fighting, whilst the Prussians, seeing enemies on all sides, shot each other by mistake in the darkness in the streets strewn with the dead.

Then the pillage began;² and horrified eyes beheld the atrocious and disgraceful spectacle of troopers breaking, shattering, daubing with petroleum doors and walls, burning, insulting, and yelling. History here records terrible things. A paralysed man was burned alive in his bed by drunken soldiers. An old soldier was killed for having said to some Bavarians, "That is barbarous." Generals had the hotel burned down in which they had dined gaily and toasted their bloody victory. They treated themselves to a spectacle of conflagration and devastation. These disciples of Hegel witnessed the sight of two hundred and twenty-five burning houses, and houses still inhabited! In one cellar alone ten human beings perished, suffocated. Châteaudun paid dearly for its devotion to its country, but German corpses strewed the streets, and the ruin of France was bought with German blood. Thirty officers and nearly two thousand men were killed. With the Germans everything must be paid for. Fire was not enough, the town was requisitioned. These executioners must be clothed, fed, and sheltered—and that after so unparalleled a pillage. The Dunois were decimated. They were ruined. Not one made the smallest complaint. All lived on in their ruined city, proud of their disasters, holding up their heads after having dearly bought the right to call themselves citizens of the little town, knowing well that one must pay for the right of making a living town into an eternal example.

The government of Tours decreed that Châteaudun had well deserved the country's thanks. The name of Châteaudun was soon famous even in besieged Paris. Poets have been inspired by its sacrifice. The mayor of Paris, Arago, gave the name rue de Châteaudun to the rue Cardinal Fesch. Victor Hugo had his *Châtiments* read for the benefit of the subscription for guns and asked in a superb letter that the first gun should be called Châteaudun. Lastly the enemy himself bowed before the heroism of the defenders of the little town, and a historian and one who took part in this drama relates

[¹ Von Moltke ^a sets the number of defenders at 1,800.]

[² Von Moltke ^a simply says that the French soldiers retired "leaving the inhabitants to their fate, and these, though having taken part in the struggle, were let off with a fine."]

[1870-1871 A.D.]

the words of Prince Charles at Varize: "General, have those *francs-tireurs* well treated; they are soldiers from Châteaudun."^o

CONTINUED GERMAN SUCCESSES

Gambetta, who considered more the quantity of the troops than their quality, was very hopeful, particularly as a simultaneous sortie out of Paris was planned for November 30th and December 1st. He continually urged General Aurelle to begin offensive operations. But neither the attacks on the right wing of the German army at Ladon on the 24th, at Beaune-la-Rolande on the 28th of November, nor those on the right wing near Lagny and Poupriy on December 2nd were of any avail. On December 3rd Prince Frederick Charles assumed the offensive, and repulsed the enemy in a sweeping assault; continuing the fight on the 4th, he stormed the railroad station as well as the suburbs of Orleans, and at ten o'clock in the evening the grand duke [of Mecklenburg] entered the city, which had been evacuated by the French. The Germans gained more than twelve thousand prisoners of war, sixty cannon, and four gun-boats. The enemy's line of retreat was along the Loire, partly up and partly down the stream. Gambetta, who was dissatisfied with the way General Aurelle had managed affairs, removed him from command and divided the army of the Loire into two parts, which were to operate separately or in conjunction, according to circumstances. The first army of the Loire, consisting of three corps, was stationed at Nevers, and was commanded by General Bourbaki; the second, of three and one-half corps, at Blois, commanded by General Chanzy.

Prince Frederick Charles sent a part of his army down the Loire to meet General Chanzy. Meung, Beaugency, Blois, and the château of Chambord were garrisoned, over seven thousand prisoners taken, and several guns captured. The government of delegates at Tours, not feeling secure any longer in that city, removed to Bordeaux on December 10th. General Chanzy retreated to Vendôme and from there further westward to Le Mans. Prince Frederick Charles placed one corps in Vendôme to watch any further movements on the part of General Chanzy. In the latter part of December he sent the remainder of his troops into quarters, for rest and re-equipment. On January 6th, 1871, upon orders from headquarters, he broke camp with 57,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 318 cannon, and marched out to meet Chanzy, who had meanwhile been quiet at Le Mans with 100,000 men.

Nobody knew where Bourbaki's army was, nor what were its plans—whether it proposed to join Chanzy at Le Mans, or to advance toward Paris by way of Montargis and Fontainebleau; or whether it had already gone eastward to the relief of Belfort. In order to be prepared for any emergency, the Hessian division remained in Orleans after the departure of the prince; Gien and Blois remained garrisoned; the 2nd corps under Fransecky was



FRENCH CUIRASSIER

stationed at Montargis, and the 7th under Zastrow at Auxerre to the eastward of this place. The march of the prince through the so-called "Perche" in frost, snow-storms, and thaw was most difficult. The troops advanced by three roads towards Le Mans, skirmishing daily, and were on the point of cutting off the enemy's retreat. Suddenly, on the morning of the 12th of January, Chanzy left Le Mans, retreated in haste towards Laval and Mayenne, and in the evening the Hanoverians marched into Le Mans. The prince took up his headquarters in the town, and sent troops in pursuit of Chanzy, some to Laval, some to Mayenne. The deserted camp of Conlie was occupied, and great quantities of supplies were seized. The grand duke of Mecklenburg marched with thirteen corps *via* Alençon to Rouen, to give the troops of the German army of the north an opportunity to strike a decisive blow. Nothing was to be apprehended from Chanzy in the near future; he had been forced back into Brittany, and was not in condition to undertake important operations. In the interval from the 6th to the 12th of January, 18,000 of his men had been taken prisoners and he had lost 20 guns and 2 standards. The number of killed and wounded could only be conjectured. Prince Frederick Charles lost 180 officers and 3,470 men, killed and wounded.

In the same manner in which the armies of relief were annihilated in the south and west of Paris, they were wiped out in the north. These latter were commanded successively by Generals Farre, Bourbaki, and Faidherbe; the last-named took command on December 3rd. The fortresses in the north, Arras, Cambrai, Douai, and Valenciennes, were favourable as bases of operation as well as places of refuge. For the moment, only one army corps was equipped, and with this General Farre was stationed to the south of Amiens. General Manteuffel with the first army was to operate against him. But he was obliged to leave one corps behind to maintain Metz and besiege Thionville and Montmédy; the two remaining corps, numbering 38,244 infantry and 4,433 cavalry, with 180 guns, had to be reduced by several detachments for the siege of the northern fortresses. Manteuffel left Metz on November 7th, arrived near Compiègne on the 20th, and met the enemy at Moreuil on the 27th. He defeated him, took Amiens, and forced the citadel of the place and the smaller fortress of La Fère to capitulate. Hereupon Manteuffel turned toward Normandy, taking Rouen on December 5th, Dieppe on the 9th, and destroyed several army detachments at different points of the Seine.

Faidherbe, however, had meanwhile equipped a second army corps and marched southward, seizing the little fortress of Ham. Manteuffel therefore turned back, attacked the enemy on December 23rd at the little river Hallue (or near Quernieux), and forced him to retreat to Douai. The fortress of Péronne was obliged to capitulate on January 9th. General Benteim, who remained in Normandy, had in the meantime had several skirmishes with detachments of the French army, numbering from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand men, and had forced them to retreat towards Le Havre; he had also stormed the château "Robert le Diable," and blocked the way of the men-of-war going up the Seine from Havre, by sinking eleven large vessels near Duclair. Among the sunken vessels were six English coal barges, the owners of which received indemnity. On January 3rd, Faidherbe, who was beginning operations again, attacked a division of the 18th corps at Bapaume, but was repulsed. The commander of the 8th corps, General Göben, was given command of the first army, when Manteuffel was appointed to the command of the army of the south. For the third time Faidherbe advanced, being ordered by Gambetta to assist at the great attempt to break out of

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Paris, planned for the 19th of January, and stationed himself with between fifty and sixty thousand men near St. Quentin. General Göben attacked him on January 19th with about thirty thousand men, threw the French army out of all their positions after a battle of seven hours, and seized ten thousand prisoners and six guns. The enemy fled in wild confusion towards Cambray, and was for several weeks as incapable of action as the army of Chanzy.

A third army of relief appeared in the east. After the surrender of Strasburg, General Schmeling, with a division of reserve, had forced the fortresses of Schlettstadt and Neu Breisach to capitulate on October 24th and November 10th, while General Tresckow with another reserve division had surrounded Belfort, the southern key to Vosges, from November 3rd. These two divisions and a third reserve division formed later belonged to the 14th corps, commanded by General Werder. This latter general broke up from Strasburg in October with the Baden division and the division of troops of General von der Goltz, crossed the Vosges, reached Épinal and Vesoul, after daily skirmishes, defeated the troops of General Cambriels on October 22nd and forced them to retreat to Besançon, and sent General Beyer of Baden off to attack Dijon. After a fierce combat and a short bombardment this town was forced to capitulate. The whole of General Werder's corps took position at that place in November.

Garibaldi, affected by the republican chimera, arrived in Tours on October 9th, having been appointed commander-in-chief of the Volunteers of the Vosges by Gambetta. He advanced with an army of twenty thousand men from Autun and was beaten back on November 26th and 27th at Pasques. In the same manner a division under General Cremer, advancing toward Dijon, was obliged to take flight near Muits, by a part of the Baden division under General Glümer, on December 18th; while other divisions of the hostile army were thrown back into the fortress of Langres by General von der Goltz. Just then, General Werder heard that large masses of troops were assembling between Lyons and Besançon and that a tremendous coup against Belfort was contemplated. Upon this news he evacuated Dijon, and stationed himself at Vesoul from December 30th until January 9th. He had 33,278 infantry, 4,020 cavalry, and 120 field guns; this little army awaited the advance of General Bourbaki with about 150,000 men. Bourbaki had been commissioned by Gambetta to make a magnificent diversion in the rear of the German headquarters at Versailles, and had brought the 3rd army corps to Besançon in the middle of December, drawn a fourth to himself from Lyons, and also joined Cremer's division to his army. His plan was, having such an overwhelming force, to annihilate Werder's corps, relieve Belfort, penetrate into Alsace, interrupt the communication of the German armies with their bases of supply, and perhaps even undertake a campaign of revenge in South Germany. Belfort and the rear of the German beleaguering army were in no little danger. As soon as Moltke was apprised of the situation he at once, on the 6th of January, ordered the formation of the army of the south, composed of the 3rd, 7th, and 14th corps (of General Werder), made General Manteuffel commander-in-chief, and gave him personal instructions at Versailles on January 10th. The 2nd and 7th corps left Montargis and Auxerre, and met on January 12th at Châtillon-sur-Seine.

As soon as General Werder realised that Bourbaki's next aim was not Vesoul but Belfort, he left Vesoul, interrupted Bourbaki's advance on January 9th by an attack at Villersexel, and arrived in good time at the famous defensive position southwest of Belfort. To strengthen this position, ten thousand men and thirty-seven siege-guns were taken from the besieging

army at Belfort. The line of defence was drawn from Frahier, past Héricourt and Montbéliard, to Delle on the Swiss frontier, and was bounded in front by the river Lisaine and the swampy valley of the Allaine. Whoever should storm this position and seize the road to Belfort would first have to cut down the whole of Werder's corps; for the German troops, well recognising the danger menacing the fatherland, had raised the historical rallying-cry, "We dare not let them through, not for the world!"

Outside conditions, not considering the fourfold greater numbers of the enemy's troops, were most unfavourable. The supply of provisions was small, the cold was intense (17°), and the river Lisaine was frozen. But the sense of duty of the German soldiers overcame all difficulties. Bourbaki did not understand how to make the best use of his superior forces, and either to break through the centre or surround the feeble right wing of his opponent. All his attacks in the three days' battle of Belfort, or Héricourt, on January 15th, 16th, and 17th were repulsed. He was only able to take for a few hours the feebly garrisoned village of Chenebier; and he had to evacuate and begin his retreat on January 18th. He was influenced to this step by the news of the approach of General Manteuffel. The loss of the French in this battle and in the skirmishes on their retreat were 6,000—8,000 killed and wounded and 2,000 taken prisoners. General Werder lost 81 officers and 1,847 men. On the 19th he followed the enemy, who was retreating toward Belfort and intended to march from there to Lyons. But unless he were very expeditious he would reach neither Lyons nor Belfort.

General Manteuffel, who had taken command of the army of the south on January 12th, was approaching by forced marches. He marched through the mountain chains of the Côte d'Or, thence between the fortresses of Langres and Dijon, without molestation from Garibaldi, who had occupied Dijon with 25,000 men after Werder's evacuation. On the news of Bourbaki's retreat he turned towards the southeast with his two corps, 44,950 infantry, 2,866 cavalry and 168 guns in all, in order to block the way of the enemy towards Lyons. He wished to force the enemy to choose between a battle by his demoralised troops, a surrender without battle, or a crossing of the Swiss frontier. On January 23rd the road to Lyons was occupied, the first skirmishes began; the 2nd and 7th corps crowded in from the south and west, that of General Werder from the north. No way remained open but to the east. Bourbaki tried to commit suicide on the 26th of January.

At the same time a telegram from Gambetta arrived, superseding Bourbaki and putting General Clinchant in his place as commander-in-chief of the army of the east. But he was no less unable to realise Gambetta's project of marching the army southward, and was obliged to retreat to Pontarlier. He hoped to make use of the news of the truce of Versailles as a sheet anchor; but it was soon evident that it did not apply to the seat of war in the east. Thus the catastrophe could not be averted. On February 1st the last mountain pass toward the south was blocked, Pontarlier stormed, and the retreating foe was pursued as far as the two border fortresses of La Cluse; 90,000 men and 11,787 horses crossed the Swiss frontier at La Verrières, were disarmed there and scattered through the different cantons. During these days the Germans took more than 15,000 prisoners and seized 2 standards, 28 cannon and mitrailleuses, and great numbers of wagons and weapons.

Garibaldi meanwhile had been held in check by 6,000 men under General Kettler, during which battle the enemy found a German flag under a heap of corpses. He evacuated Dijon on the night of February 1st on the report that stronger forces were approaching, withdrew southwards, and soon after-

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wards returned to the island of Caprera. The fortress of Belfort, defended by Colonel Denfert-Rochereau, had so far held out, as the conditions of the surrounding territory were so favourable. The assault on the two forts of Upper and Lower Perche was a failure; it was renewed on February 8th and then with success. After this Belfort could not hold out much longer. In order, however, to obtain control of the fortress before the conclusion of the truce, King William consented to an extension, only on condition of the surrender of Belfort. On February 18th the garrison, still 12,000 men strong, marched out with military honours, and Belfort was taken possession of by Treseckow's division. Other fortresses, such as Soissons, Verdun, Thionville, Pfalzburg, and Montmédy, had already in 1870 been forced to surrender; only Bitsch remained in possession of the French until March 26th.

After the annihilation of all the armies of relief, Paris had nothing more to hope for, unless the grounds for hope were in the city itself. A grand sortie had been planned with Gambetta for the 30th of November. General Ducrot, with about fifty thousand men, was to break through the eastern line of the beleaguering army, march to Fontainebleau, join the army of the Loire, and with it return to the relief of Paris. While demonstrations were being made at other points, Ducrot advanced towards Champigny and Brie on the Marne, drove back the Würtemberg division, of which a part repulsed an attack near Bonneuil and Mesly, and also an incomplete Saxon division out of the villages of Champigny and Brie; but he could advance no further on account of the stubborn resistance of the German troops.

On December 2nd the two divisions, assisted by the 2nd army corps and a brigade of the 6th corps under General Fransecky, advanced and after a hot fight retook half of Champigny; whereupon the French evacuated the other half of the place and Brie, and returned with all their troops to the right bank of the Marne. The Würtembergers lost, in these two days of battle, 63 officers and 1,557 men; the Saxons, 82 officers and 1,864 men; the Pomeranians, 87 officers and 1,447 men; the loss of the French was about 10,000 men, among which were about 1,600 prisoners. The sorties against Stains and Le Bourget on December 21st and 22nd were also repulsed. Mont Avron, which had very heavy guns, was abandoned by the French after a bombardment of two days, and the bombardment of the eastern forts was begun. On January 5th after the arrival of the siege-park the bombardment of the southern forts was begun; their fire was soon silenced; and on January 9th began the bombardment of Paris, in which the left bank of the Seine principally suffered, although not to any great extent.

Two facts soon became apparent: sorties of the Parisians, seeking to repulse the besiegers, broke through their lines and operated in their rear; and the formation of armies in the provinces, which were intended to go to the relief of the capital, and in conjunction with the Parisian troops, forced the German headquarters to raise the siege. This latter measure was particularly urged by Gambetta, who had left Paris in a balloon on October 6th for Tours, where an external government had been established. Here he took charge of the ministry of war as well as that of the interior, and finally usurped the dictatorship of France. He aimed to stir up the national hatred of the French for the Germans, and to call to the defence of their flag all the able-bodied men of the harassed country; he gathered large forces on the Loire, others to the north and west of Paris, and finally succeeded in causing alarm to the besiegers for the safety of their line of retreat. Thus he had indeed the credit of prolonging the war, but he incurred also the responsibility of its taking on a more sanguinary character and of the country's

receiving still deeper wounds. The generals of Gambetta were not equal in strategy to those of Moltke, and the discipline of their soldiers was not much better than that of the garde mobile in Paris.

After the capitulation of Sedan the headquarters of King William was fixed in Rheims on the 5th of September; in Meaux on the 15th; in the Villa Ferrières of Rothschild near Lagny on the 18th. From here he went to Versailles on October 15th. Many important diplomatic documents and oral transactions date from this period. In a circular letter of September 6th, Favre declared that since the fall of the empire the king of Prussia could have no pretext for continuing the war; that the present government never desired the war with Germany, but if the king insisted, would indeed accept it, but would make him responsible for it; and in any case, no matter how the war might result, not a foot of land, not a stone of a fortress would be ceded.

Bismarck's answer to this, in a circular letter of September 13th, was that since the representatives, the senate, and the press in France had in July, 1870, almost unanimously demanded the war of conquest in Germany, it could not be said that France had not desired it, and that the imperial government alone was responsible for it. Germany would have to expect a war of revenge on the part of France, even though she should demand no surrender of territory and no indemnity, and should be content with glory alone. For this reason Germany was forced to take measures for her own safety, by setting back somewhat her boundaries, thus making the next attack by the French on the heretofore defenceless south-German border more difficult. The neutral powers, with the exception of Russia, were in favour of France, and seemed to be inclined to interfere in any possible negotiations for peace, and to hinder any oppressive measures against France. As Thiers was at that time making his tour through Europe for this very purpose, Bismarck issued a second circular letter on September 16th, in which he advised the powers not to prolong the war by fostering in the heart of the French nation the hope of their intervention; for since the German nation had fought this war alone, it would also conclude it without assistance, and would submit to no interference from any side whatever. The German governments and the German nation were determined that Germany should be protected against France by strengthened frontiers. The fortresses of Strasburg and Metz, until now always open to sorties against Germany, must be surrendered to Germany, and be for her defence henceforth.

The Parisian government, which since the annihilation of the French armies had been so much in favour of peace, now wished to know under what conditions King William would consent to a truce. Favre demanded a meeting with Bismarck, and had several interviews with him on this subject in the Villa Ferrières, on September 19th and 20th. He declared that the most France could consent to was to agree to pay an indemnity, but any cession of territory was out of the question. In order to decide this, a national assembly must be convened, which would then appoint a regular government, and to facilitate these measures a truce of from fourteen to twenty-one days was necessary; and he now asked for this favour. Bismarck replied that such a truce would be not at all to the military interest of Germany, and could only be conceded on condition of the surrender of Metz, Toul, and Bitsch. As the Parisian government would not consent to these conditions, negotiations were stopped, and Favre and other French diplomats issued new circular letters in which they deplored the intention of Prussia to reduce France to a power of the second degree. The absurdity of such an assertion—that a state of thirty-eight million inhabitants, or including Algeria forty-two million, could

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by the loss of a territory containing about one and one-half millions be reduced to the condition of a second-rate power—was exposed in its entire falsity by Bismarck in his despatch of October 1st.

Nevertheless, a few weeks later, negotiations were once more resumed; Thiers, who had returned from his tour, appeared at Versailles on November 1st as the new negotiator. Here also the first question to be discussed was the cessation of hostilities; and when Bismarck asked in surprise what France had to offer as a return for all these concessions, Thiers absurdly enough imagined he was very ingenious when he answered that she had nothing: and upon this, these negotiations also fell through. The republican government was, as was plainly to be seen, animated by a childish stubbornness—consumed by the idea of its own importance. In every war in which France was victorious, the hardest possible conditions were imposed upon the vanquished enemy, who was never permitted to escape territorial concessions. Even quite recently, in the Italian war of 1859, after the two victories of Magenta and Solferino, the surrender of Lombardy was demanded. That in case of French victory the whole left bank of the Rhine would be lost to Germany was disputed by no intelligent person in Europe. And yet France had the effrontery to demand from the same opponent from whom she had taken so many territories in former decades, and from whom she as victor had just taken her fairest provinces, that the entirety of the French frontiers should be respected as sacred, and that no attempt should be made to recover the lost provinces. Such arrogant pretensions could be answered only by new defeats. Humiliations must be much deeper, distress especially in Paris much more bitter, before France could realise that every nation, consequently even the French, must suffer for its sins.

So the cannon had to speak again, and times were very lively before Paris, as well as at other points. Immediately, on the first day of investment, the 19th of September, the Parisians made a sortie with forty thousand men against Châtillon. But they were defeated by the Prussian and Bavarian troops, and fled in shameful disorder. The Parisians fared no better in their sorties of September 30th and October 13th and 21st. Although they succeeded in taking the thinly garrisoned village of Le Bourget north of Paris on October 28th, they were driven out of it again by a division of the guards on the 30th. Much dissatisfaction was felt in Paris on account of these constant defeats. The social democrats took advantage of this to overthrow the government and substitute the commune. They created an uprising on October 31st and on November 1st took possession of the Hôtel-de-Ville for a few hours, but were soon ejected. Rochefort, who was greatly compromised, was obliged to retire from the government.

The Parisians now placed all their hopes on the arrival of the armies of relief, and allowed themselves a few weeks of quiet. The earliest relief was to come from the Loire. General de la Motterouge was stationed there with an army corps and was advancing from Orleans towards Paris. The first Bavarian corps under General von der Tann, the Wittich division of infantry, and two divisions of cavalry, were sent to meet him. The French were defeated at Artenay and other points, on October 10th and 11th, and on the evening of October 11th General von der Tann entered Orleans. The Bavarians held the city, the other divisions of the army took Châteaudun, Chartres, and Dreux, northwest of Orleans, and dispersed the gardes mobiles and franc-tireurs who were stationed there. Gambetta, in council on military subjects with an ex-mining engineer, Freycinet, called to arms all men between the ages of twenty and forty, ordered the formation of five new army corps and

had them drilled in special instruction camps. He deposed General de la Motterouge, and made General Aurelle de Paladines commander-in-chief of the army of the Loire. The latter crossed the Loire with two corps and advanced toward the road of Paris, in order to cut off the line of retreat of the Bavarian general. Von der Tann, however, left Orleans at once, on the report of the advance of large masses of troops, and on the 9th of November had a stubborn fight while retreating and established himself at Tours, in order to block the way of the enemy. A division of infantry was sent to his assistance from Versailles under command of the grand duke of Mecklenburg. Against these forces, strengthened by three corps under Prince Frederick Charles, General Aurelle with his poorly equipped troops, now reduced to four corps, did not dare to venture an attack, much as Gambetta urged him to do so. He intrenched himself before Orleans, and awaited the attack. Thus he was lost, and the headquarters at Versailles and the besieging army at Paris were freed from all danger.

In the eastern part of France, meanwhile, great successes had been attained [by the Prussians], important partly in themselves, partly on account of the possibilities of new and magnificent operations. The fortress of Toul surrendered on September 23rd, by which means the railroad between Strasburg and Paris was opened again. Strasburg, the ancient imperial German city, capitulated on September 28th. Since the bombardment of August 24th to 27th did not bring the commander General Uhrich to terms, a regular siege was begun. Everything was ready for assault and success was certain. The commander did not wait for this, but surrendered, and he and 451 officers and 17,111 men became prisoners of war. Joy in Germany was very great on the news that Strasburg, lost through treachery on September 30th, 1681, was once again German.

The capitulation of Metz on October 29th left the beleaguering army free for most urgent purposes. The 2nd corps under General Fransecky marched off toward Paris, to strengthen the army of the crown prince of Prussia. From the remaining 6 corps, a first army under General Manteuffel and a second under Prince Frederick Charles were formed, each consisting of three corps and one cavalry division. Prince Frederick Charles, with 49,607 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 276 guns, set out on November 2nd from Metz and on the 14th was able to join in operations on the Loire. The troops of the grand duke of Mecklenburg, some divisions of which had repulsed the army of the west under General Keratry and occupied Dreux and Châteauneuf, joined the troops of the prince, and formed their right wing. There were about 105,275 men and 556 guns in all, to whom the task had been appointed to force General Aurelle de Paladines's well-equipped army of 200,000 men out of its strong position, drive it over the Loire, and retake Orleans.^b

MARTIN ON THE SURRENDER OF METZ (OCTOBER 27TH, 1870)

Before descending the sorrowful road that leads to the supreme catastrophes, it is necessary to recount the fall of Metz. Metz presents a most extraordinary and revolting spectacle, a picture never before seen in history—that of a military chief voluntarily sterilising the powerful means of action which he held in his hands, embarrassing himself by tortuous combinations, falling into traps of his own making, and in the end delivering to the enemy without a struggle a large army and a large unconquered place; accomplishing his own ruin and the ruin of his country. It is not easy to understand this man and his actions, to discover any plan, any intention in this series of contra-

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dictions, lies, and inexplicable mistakes, viewed not only from the standpoint of his duty but of his own interest. It would seem as though Bazaine, like Napoleon III, was born to ruin that which it should have been his duty to save.

Wishing to stay at Metz, why did not Bazaine provision the place for a long sojourn? If Bazaine had strategic motives for not leaving Metz, he should, with the large force at his disposal, have harassed the enemy. During the fifteen days which followed the battle of Noisseville, August 31st and September 1st,¹ he took no action, either against the enemy or to provision the place. The criminal negligence of Bazaine produced its results. After neglecting all chances of breaking through the enemy's ranks, allowing Metz to be reduced to famine and the army to become demoralised, Bazaine surrendered. The capitulation was signed on the 27th of October.^e

The capitulation of Metz is one of the greatest blots on French history. It has led many almost to forget how completely uncharacteristic it was of French warrior type of that or any other time. It is in reality only a proof of how largely warfare is a matter of good or bad commanders. At Metz 197,326 Prussians received the surrender of 6,000 French officers, 187,000 men (including 20,000 sick), 56 imperial eagles, 622 field and 2,876 fixed guns, 72 mitrailleuses, and 260,000 small arms. It is small wonder that even Moltke^d credits Bazaine with some ulterior design in trying to keep from battle so large a force, and hints the same motive previously alluded to—the hope of being chosen by the Germans as king of the French. The fact that Bazaine was not overthrown by his own men was perhaps due to the utter disgust with which Napoleon III was now regarded. His was a poor cause to die for, and there was no other immediate object in view.^a

THE UPRISING OF PARIS

Paris had been thrilled with excitement at the news that her troops had by a sortie taken Bourget from the Germans, October 21st. But a few days afterwards three pieces of news arrived simultaneously: Metz had surrendered; Bourget was retaken, October 30th; and Thiers was going to negotiate.

Paris, already very uneasy at the slow progress of operations and resolved to hold out to the bitter end, was enraged. On the 31st of October crowds of people from all parts and whole battalions of soldiers assembled in front of the Hôtel-de-Ville, filling the square with a seething, swaying mass of humanity. Soon they invaded the Hôtel-de-Ville; the members of the government were collected in one room; they were guarded and even threatened.

The leaders of the extreme party, Blanqui, Flourens, and Delescluze, formed a new government. At six o'clock in the evening the government of the 4th of September seemed overthrown; some of its members who were prisoners refused to resign. The news spread. A reaction took place. In the morning the calmer among the people did not act. In the evening, however, they assembled before the Hôtel-de-Ville; but this time it was to protest against the new government. Trochu had called out the army.

[¹ The French had had about 100,000 men engaged out of the 120,000 who took part in the attempt at a sortie. The Germans opposed them, on the 31st of August, with 36,000 men, 4,800 cavalry, and 138 guns; on the 1st of September, with 69,000 men, 4,800 horses, and 290 guns. They had contrived with far inferior numbers to get the best in a defensive action, waged, it must be said, under the most advantageous conditions. If we put aside the conditions which the nature of the ground imposed, we see that in spite of the vigour of the attack everything failed, owing to the weakness and irresolution of the commander-in-chief: these were carried to such an extreme that one is justified in assuming that he had no intention of breaking through the investing lines, and that he did not care to engage in a big battle. — CANONGE.^g]

The palace, shut up and barricaded, was completely surrounded by soldiers, and bayonets were bristling as far as the eye could see. The new occupants began to be disheartened, but at last Ferry entered by a subterranean passage at the head of a company of gardes mobiles. No fighting took place; one side promised an amnesty, the other abandoned its resistance, and they all left the building together. The government of the 4th of September made an appeal to the people to confirm their power, and this was done by an enormous majority.ⁿ

PARIS SUFFERS FROM COLD, HUNGER, AND BOMBARDMENT (DECEMBER-JANUARY)

The torture caused by cold and hunger was terrible. The daily ration had to suffice; this consisted of indescribable bread, made of residues and bad bran, and thirty grammes of horseflesh; for the government, having in its guilty improvidence allowed provisions of all kinds to be wasted at the beginning of the siege, was compelled, in spite of solemn promises, to resort to rationing. Those who possessed neither wealth, nor a gun of the national guard, nor a recognised state of poverty, could no longer warm nor feed themselves. The mortality every week reached the enormous total of three thousand six hundred; epidemics which had broken out in the city, almost from the beginning of the siege, raged more furiously every day; and small-pox especially, from September 18th, 1870, to February 24th, 1871, the date of the armistice, claimed 64,200 victims—42,000 more than during the corresponding period of 1869-1870. As for the mortality of infants, it was appalling, and attained in one single week, the last of the siege, the frightful total of two thousand five hundred!

The Parisian women, no matter to what class of society they belonged, proved themselves admirable. The wealthy, whose emblazoned carriages remained in the coach-houses for want of horses, went on foot each day to the sheds in the Champs-Élysées, or to the ambulance in the Grand Hotel, to take part in the clinics of Nélaton, Ricord, and Péan, of all the famous men of the school of medicine, and to make the most nauseating and occasionally the most dangerous dressings. Others went to the scene of action in company with the ambulances of the society for the succour of the wounded. Actresses lavished their care on the wounded soldiers, nursed them in their theatres now transformed into hospitals; and all, young, old, and celebrated alike, played the part of sister of mercy with the same ardour which they had lately displayed in winning their triumphs.

And if the devotion of fortune's favourites was praiseworthy, how much more admirable was the stoical courage of the women of the people, the bourgeoisie, the workwoman, forced to wait during the icy hours of early dawn, in the cold, adhesive mire, lashed by the wind and rain, for a meagre ration of siege bread and a piece of horseflesh! How they must have suffered, those poor creatures, drawn up in file, benumbed with cold, crushed by the burden of their poor housekeeping, and torn between the cares of material life and the mortal anxiety which consumed them at every cannon-shot.

Great astonishment was felt when, in the afternoon of January 5th, several shells were flung into the southern quarter of the city. As they seemed to be thrown here and there without any definite aim, it was thought that they were the result of ill-regulated firing, or the fault of some gunner, for the Parisians refused to believe that the German armies could, by an act worthy of Vandals, seriously intend to destroy with their shells the capital of the civilised world. But soon the persistence and progressive regularity

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of the discharges left no room for illusion, and one was forced to yield to evidence. It most certainly was upon Paris that the soldiers of King William were levelling their cannon.

The attempt at intimidation essayed by the foe as their last resource was merely useless cruelty. They even received that light ridicule which is always attached to great measures producing but slight results. As for the fall of Paris, it was not hastened by a single day. Nevertheless, from January 6th, all the monuments on the left bank were bound to suffer more or less. The districts of St. Victor, the Jardin des Plantes, the Staff College, the Panthéon, the Invalides, the Library of Ste. Geneviève, the Luxembourg Gardens, wherein were the ambulance quarters, the École Polytechnique, and the convent of the Sacred Heart were ploughed with shells, occasionally causing conflagrations which were hastily extinguished.

By an aggravation of barbarity, the hospitals seemed to be the centre of the circle attacked. The lunatic asylum of Montrouge received 127 projectiles between January 5th and 27th, the Val de Grâce hospital 75, the Salpêtrière 31. It will be seen that the bombardment was methodical; it cost the civil population 396 victims (of whom 107 were women, children, or old men), who were instantly killed. But, notwithstanding these most regrettable effects, the only immediate result was a certain emigration of the inhabitants of the left bank to the right bank. Others "flocked in crowds to the bombarded districts to contemplate with curiosity the curve described by the shells, fragments of which were picked up and sold by urchins for five centimes up to five francs, according to the size." As the Germans threw altogether ten thousand projectiles, it may be assumed that the receipts must certainly have been profitable.^m

THE LAST SORTIE

Still the bombardment had not attained its object. Its odious and useless barbarity had not brought the fall of Paris one day nearer. Steel and fire could effect nothing; famine was the only adversary capable of conquering the great city. Before succumbing to it the supreme effort had to be tried, the battle of despair to be fought which might still save everything. Did not Gambetta's despatches give grounds to hope for the march of Chanzy on Paris and a victory by Bourbaki in the east?

At all costs it was necessary to preserve the honour of four months of constancy and concord, and not to plunge into civil war in the presence of the enemy. The storm was rising in Paris and the blame of her misfortunes was laid on the military authorities. On the 5th of January one of the chiefs of the revolutionary party, Delescluze, mayor of the 20th arrondissement, had endeavoured to bring the mayors to vote a violent address demanding the dismissal of Trochu.

He had not been listened to, and had resigned; but two days later a great sortie which had been prepared, being countermanded because the enemy had learned or divined the plan of attack, the agitation was extreme. The violent cried treason, the masses cried out at the incapacity of the commanders. They began vehemently to demand the supersession of the governor of Paris. On the 15th of January the council of government decided on a last effort against the Prussian lines. The next day the council of war accepted this decision; the military chiefs yielded to the necessity, but without confidence. Ducrot had no longer any of the dash exhibited at Champigny. Clément Thomas, the commander of the national guard, declared that the regiments

of foot of the mobilised Parisians would furnish fifty thousand men. In this there was an ardour which the troops no longer possessed.

Troops of the line, gardes mobiles, and mobilised national guards were set in motion during the 18th. It had been decided to put into action sixty thousand men who would be supported by a reserve of forty thousand. The attack was made in the direction of Versailles. The enemy, who had been so greatly alarmed by a former sortie on the same side, three months before, had strongly fortified himself there.

The French army had been divided into three corps under generals Vinoy, Bellemare, and Ducrot. The routes were few in number and were moreover confined at various points by barricades which left only narrow passages. The three generals not having concerted together on the matter of time, the various corps jostled one another and became mutually entangled in this painful night-march. But the day began well.

The cannon of the French, which they had at last managed to mount to the right of Montretout, swept the ranks of the assailants. They gave way; the summit was at last in the hands of the French. The fire of the enemy relaxed, then ceased.

The line of the German outposts remained in the hands of the French; might they hope that the next day they would be able to force that second and formidable line against which they had flung themselves? The leaders thought not. Trochu had hurried from Mont Valérien to that ridge of Montretout which had been victoriously retained. He judged it useless to renew the effort and ordered the retreat. The Germans made no attempt to harass the retiring forces.



JULES FAVRE

It was as at Champigny, a half victory terminated by a retreat; but this time it was impossible to begin again. Little confident in the morning, Trochu was wholly discouraged by the evening. On hearing of the retreat Jules Favre felt with Trochu that all was lost. At most the means of warding off starvation were only sufficient for twelve or thirteen days. It was calculated that it would take ten to collect new supplies. That same night the government received two despatches, one of which announced the unfortunate issue of the battle of Le Mans; in the other, written before Chanz'y's reverse was known at Bordeaux, Gambetta called on his colleagues in Paris to give battle, threatening to inform France of his sentiments on their inaction if they still delayed. The painful irritation of this letter testified that the writer felt the supreme hour was approaching. The fight he demanded had just been ended; the cautious general at Paris had fought like the bold general of Le Mans: both had failed.

A minority of the members of the government at Paris once more stiffened themselves against the terrible necessity. They demanded another general if Trochu refused to make a new effort. The line and the garde mobile demanded peace; the national guard alone wished to fight again. Jules Favre

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despatched to Gambetta a melancholy message which was to be the last of the siege. "Though Paris surrender, France is not lost; thanks to you, she is animated by a patriotic spirit which will save her; in any case we will sign no preliminaries of peace."

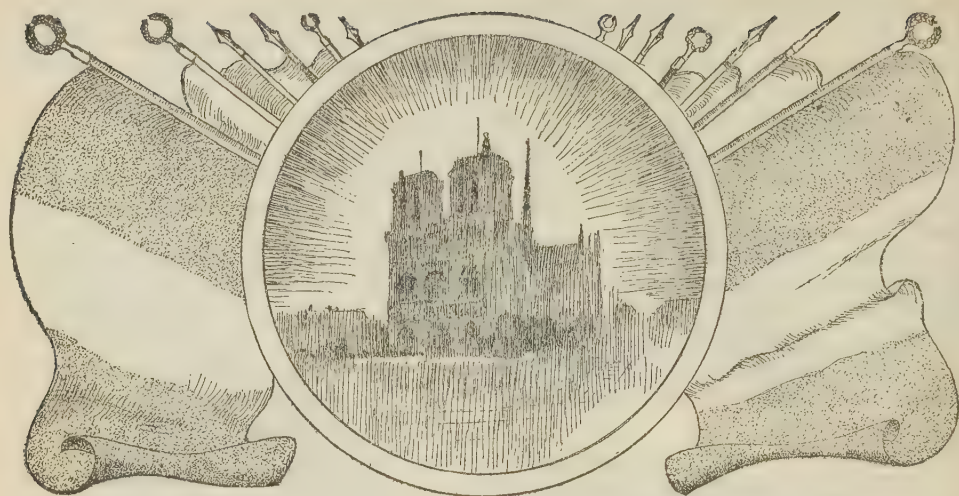
Eventually the members of the government contrived that Trochu should resign the military command while binding him to remain president of the council. This was the greatest token of self-abnegation and devotion that he could give. In so doing he resigned himself to going back on his word by signing the capitulation.

Vinoy succeeded in the command. His succession was inaugurated by an insurrection. Several persons were killed in the crowd. This was the first act of civil war after four months of siege. After two conferences with Bismarck, Jules Favre agreed to the capitulation of Paris, concluded with the condition that the German army should not enter Paris during the duration of the armistice. The convention of Paris was concluded on January 28th.^e

THE END OF THE WAR

An armistice of three weeks was agreed to, although this did not include the three eastern departments in which the destruction of Bourbaki's army was just taking place. During this time a national assembly was to be chosen to decide on the question of war or peace; all the forts of Paris and the war supplies were handed over to the German troops; the garrisons of Paris and of the forts were taken prisoners and had to give up their arms, although they still remained in Paris and had to be supported by the town authorities. One division of twelve thousand men was to be kept to maintain order and the same exception was made in the case of the whole national guard, against Moltke's will and at the desire of Favre, who repented of it later. The city of Paris had to pay a war tax of two hundred million francs within fourteen days, and was allowed to provision itself. On the 29th of January the surrender of the twenty-five larger and smaller forts to the German troops took place and the black-white-and-red flag was raised on them.

This convention was very unwelcome to Gambetta. However, he thought he might use the respite of three weeks to equip new troops and hoped by controlling the impending elections to bring together a radical national assembly, resolved to continue the war *à l'outrance*. For this purpose he published a proscription list on the 31st of January, according to which everyone who had received a higher office or an official candidacy from the imperial government was declared ineligible. Bismarck and the Parisian government protested energetically against such an arbitrary act and insisted upon free elections. In the German headquarters it was decided to take the most extreme measures, and new plans of operations were already drawn up. Gambetta, being abandoned by the other members of the representative government, resigned on February 6th. On the 8th of February elections were held throughout France, and on the 12th the national assembly was opened at Bordeaux. Thiers was chosen chief of the executive on the 17th, formed his ministry on the 19th, and on the 21st, accompanied by the ministers Favre and Picard, he went to Versailles, commissioned by the national assembly, to begin the peace negotiations.^h



CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

[1871–1906 A.D.]

Perhaps the most general feeling throughout the civilised world with regard to French history in the nineteenth century is that it is a chaos of revolutions, one government after another being set up and pulled down in obedience to the fluctuating impulse of the mob. It may well be maintained, as against this view, that nowhere in history is visible a more logical and consistent operation of cause and effect, the whole forming a struggle to solve the problem, which indeed underlies all the history of popular government—how to establish an executive strong enough to govern, and yet not strong enough to abuse its power.—GAMALIEL BRADFORD.^b

FRANCE and Paris had so long been separated that, when they again met face to face, they did not recognise each other. Paris could not forgive the provinces for not coming to her rescue, the provinces could not forgive Paris her perpetual revolutions and the state of nervous excitability in which she seemed to delight. While the provinces, crushed, requisitioned, worn out by the enemy, were hoping for rest which would enable their wounds to heal, Paris, like an Olympic circus, was re-echoing more noisily than ever to the sound of arms and warlike cries. It was the intermediate time between a government which had ceased to exist and a government which was not yet formed; executive bodies were hesitating, not knowing exactly whom to obey, not daring to come to any decision under any circumstances: dissolution was general and indecision permanent.^c

That it was a costly mistake for the Germans to insist on the spectacular parade through so inflammable a city as Paris, is emphasised in the recent work of Zévort^d; and Jules Favre^e describes the earnestness with which Thiers pleaded with Bismarck and Von Moltke against the project. The Prussians insisted, however, either on keeping the city of Belfort, or on the

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glory of the triumph in Paris. Thiers protested against the seizure of Belfort in the following words:^a

"Well, then, let it be as you will, Monsieur le comte—these negotiations are nothing but a pretence. We may seem to deliberate, but we must pass under your yoke. We demand of you a city which is absolutely French: you refuse it: that amounts to confessing that you are resolved on a war of extermination against us. Carry it into effect: ravage our provinces, burn our houses, slaughter the inoffensive inhabitants—in a word, finish your work. We will fight you to the last gasp. We may succumb; at least we shall not be dishonoured!"

Herr von Bismarck seemed disturbed, says Favre. The emotion of Thiers had won him over. He answered that he understood what he must be suffering, and that he should be happy to be able to make a concession, if the king consented.

It is an unlooked-for spectacle—a Bismarck almost melted and a Moltke almost sentimental, preferring a barren honour, the entry of their troops into Paris, to the possession of a French town, and succeeding in making their master share their point of view. We also see for ourselves that Thiers, though he was well known to be a determined advocate of peace, only obtained the very slender concessions that were made to him by threatening to struggle to the last gasp, and we repeat that a less pacific chamber and negotiators, animated by the same spirit as Gambetta, might, to all appearance, have obtained less hard conditions.^e

After the end of the siege there may be said to have been hardly any government in Paris. General Vinoy, who was in command, had, like all the military leaders, lost his whole prestige during the siege. The army by mixing with the people had imbibed the same spirit, and the government did not interfere in anything. The news of the entry of the Prussians exasperated the people, who were burning with the fever of despair. Tumultuous demonstrations took place at the Bastille; at the same time the crowd seized the guns which had been left in the part of Paris which the Prussians were to occupy. At first they wished to keep the conquerors from getting possession of them; then they kept them, and the most distrustful of the people took them up to Montmartre. The entry of the Prussians nearly brought about a terrible conflict with these crowds, which were burning with fury. This misfortune was, however, avoided. But the march of the conquerors through Paris was not of a triumphal character. Restricted within the space which leads from Neuilly through the Champs-Élysées to the Louvre, they were defied by the street boys of Paris, and were met at every turning by threatening crowds who pursued them with yells. The second day they were obliged to beat a dejected retreat.

Meanwhile the advanced republicans were organising their party; they expected to have to fight the monarchical assembly by force. The law against Paris, the law of *échéance*, caused great indignation. The name of Thiers recalled his struggle against the republic after 1848 and his services as minister under Louis Philippe. All this was too far distant to enable people to judge of the new rôle he intended to play. The republicans of the ministry, Jules Favre, Picard, and Jules Simon, had, after the siege, lost all influence in Paris. A great many men who inspired confidence, left the assembly. Victor Hugo, whose speech had been shouted down by the populace, and Gambetta had resigned. A severe conflict seemed imminent.

Though Thiers wished on the one hand to control the royalists of the assembly, he was determined on the other to deprive of weapons the republicans

of the large towns. He made a pretext for doing this by demanding the restitution of the cannon which had been seized. Some of the radical deputies intervened to prevent civil war. They had twice almost succeeded in obtaining the restitution of the cannon, and were making further efforts to do so. Paris, too, seemed gradually calming down, when Thiers decided to employ force. On the 18th of March, at daybreak, the troops, under the orders of General Vinoy, ascended the slopes of Montmartre and took possession of the cannon. But things had been so badly managed that the people were aware of what was happening. The sight of those who had been wounded in the morning enraged the crowd; the troops were surrounded and dispersed: there was not even a struggle. The soldiers no longer obeyed their officers, but mingled with the populace.

All Paris was in arms: instantly barricades were raised in every direction. Thiers had for a long time held that when a rebellion is serious it is best to abandon the revolting town and only re-enter it as a conqueror. He commanded a retreat to Versailles. During the night the Hôtel-de-Ville was evacuated by the government. The insurrection had been inaugurated with terrible bloodshed. General Leconte, who in the morning commanded part of the troops at Montmartre, had been detained by the crowd with some other prisoners, and the republican Clément Thomas, who had commanded the national guard in 1848 and during the siege, had been recognised and arrested on the boulevard. These prisoners had been dragged from place to place. At last they were brought to the rue des Rosiers where a committee from Montmartre was sitting. A crowd of infuriated people assailed the house, and in the midst of a scene of wild confusion the two generals, Leconte and Clément Thomas, were pushed against the walls of the garden and riddled with bullets. This slaughter made a bloody stain on the proceedings of the day.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Among the numerous organisations formed in Paris during the two preceding months, the most active and enterprising was that which was known as "The central committee of the national guard," although it was composed of very obscure men. The central committee had taken as large a part as it possibly could in the doings of the 18th of March. It now installed itself in the deserted Hôtel-de-Ville, posted up a proclamation, and thus became the government of the rebel party.

The following day the party of the population of Paris, who had done nothing on the 18th of March, but had remained passive, now began to resist the movement. The deputies of Paris and the mayors elected during the siege joined this party of the people, and summoned to their aid the portion of the national guard led by Admiral Saisset.

Paris was cut in two. A spark would ignite the flame of civil war, negotiations were opened. The central committee offered to retire in favour of men chosen by the city; they were willing to stand for election, but only in order to continue the Revolution and not for the purpose of restoring legal order. Meantime they were governing the part of Paris which belonged to them. Arrests were made at the railway stations, and they threw General Chanzy and Floquet into prison. A series of abortive measures led up to the elections of the 23rd of March. In general members of the central committee, well-known socialists and partisans of the Revolution, gained enormous majorities.

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THE COMMUNE OF 1871 ORGANISED

The commune—this was the name assumed by the insurgents in whose hands Paris had just placed the government—took possession of the whole town, except a corner of the 16th arrondissement, and Mont Valérien, which remained in the power of the army of Versailles, increasing day by day by reinforcements from all directions, and which Thiers placed under the command of Marshal MacMahon, the man who had been defeated at Wörth and Sedan.

At Versailles, Paris was looked upon as the refuge of scoundrels and madmen. Thus, in both of these centres, a spirit of civil war seemed part of the air men breathed. On the 2nd the army took possession of the barricade on the bridge at Neuilly. On the 3rd a united attack on Versailles was led by Gustave Flourens.

The first volleys from Mont Valérien threw the crowd into disorder. Flourens, deserted and in hiding at Rueil, was killed by a sabre wound inflicted by an officer of police. Next day near Châtillon the federals were repulsed in the same way, and, amongst others, their leader Duval was taken prisoner.

After this it was impossible for the commune to think of threatening Versailles. Driven back into Paris, it was about to be besieged there. From the first the prisoners were put to death. General de Galliffet had had two of the national guards placed against a wall and shot. Duval was executed without any formal trial.

The commune responded by a decree that all prisoners and partisans of the assembly who were arrested and condemned were to be kept as the "hostages of Paris," and that three of them should be shot each time that one of the federal prisoners was shot by the army. The effect produced by such a terrible threat may be imagined. After this no prisoners were executed on either side till the troops re-entered Paris. The struggle continued during the months of April and May without any fresh battle in the open. The army could only succeed in taking Neuilly street by street, slowly, after a month's fighting. The fort of Issy was defended with desperate determination. Meanwhile Thiers was having Paris bombarded from St. Cloud. The shells poured down upon the Champs-Élysées, reaching as far as the place de la Concorde.

And what was being done by the commune, the mistress of Paris? These were the plans the communists desired to carry out, and which represented the doctrines and political significance of the movement known as "the revolution of the 18th of March"—inside the fortifications the following measures had been proclaimed: the separation of Church and State; the suppression of the ministerial officials, who were all absent; the suppression of night-work for bakers, and a manifesto tending to bring about home rule in every commune in France, for each was to be a distinct state having its own army, its own laws, and its own system of taxation.

The violent measures taken by the commune had soon alienated most of the people from it. It confiscated and destroyed the house of Thiers, seized his collections, and then demolished the Vendôme column. The papers which opposed it most firmly were suppressed one after the other. Arrests and the searching of houses often took place simply on the authority of any officer of the national guard who chose to command them. In this way a large number of priests, monks, police officers, and former magistrates had

been arrested, and with them republicans like Chaudey. The commune was divided into two parties. The most celebrated man in the commune, Delescluze, did not belong to either party. The commune was without money and had recourse to the bank in order to raise funds.

THE RECAPTURE OF PARIS

Paris had an unusual appearance: the national tricolour had disappeared and was replaced by the red flag. Strange uniforms were seen in the streets. Certain churches where the services had been put a stop to were used for holding public meetings, and orators of both sexes discussed socialistic questions from the pulpit. The wealthy parts of the town were deserted. The distant thunder of the cannon never ceased night or day. The commune had not succeeded in inciting other towns in France to rise in rebellion, except St. Étienne, Lyons, and Toulouse; there was also a rising in Aude: but these had either failed or been speedily suppressed. The municipal elections took place throughout the country in April and resulted in a victory for the democratic party. From all directions delegates from the new municipalities were sent to Versailles to try if possible to avert a civil war. It was in dealing with these delegates that Thiers first clearly and definitely pledged himself to a republican policy. On the 21st of May the army entered Paris unexpectedly, making an entry by the left bank of the river. Then began that terrible battle which lasted nearly a week, when Paris was retaken street by street amid scenes of indescribable horror.^f

The powers of resistance of which the insurrection could dispose after its victory of March 18th must have been considerable, to enable it to sustain two months of constant fighting and the great seven days' battle in Paris. Its artillery consisted of 1,047 pieces. Deducting the guns employed on the outposts, the forts, and the walls, 726 were used in the streets when the regular troops at last penetrated into Paris. The cavalry was ineffective and never counted more than 449 horses; but, on the contrary, the infantry was very numerous. Twenty regiments, consisting of 254 battalions, were divided into active and stationary parts: the first set in movement 3,649 officers and 76,081 soldiers; the effective of the second was 106,909 men led by 4,284 officers, which produced a total of more than 191,000 men, from which must be deducted 30,000 individuals who always found means to escape service. Briefly, the commune had an army of from 140,000 to 150,000 soldiers, which it commanded both outside and inside Paris.

To this already imposing mass must be added twenty-eight free companies, very independent in conduct, which acted according to the fancy of the moment and obeyed no one. Their very fluctuating contingent rose, towards the middle of the month of May, to the number of 10,820 followers, led by 310 officers. There were among them men of every origin and of every description, who chose the wildest names—Turcos of the commune, Bergeret's scouts, children of Paris, Father Duchêne's children, Lost Children, Lascars, Marseillais sharpshooters, volunteers of *la colonne de Juillet*, and avengers of Flourens.^c

From the beginning it was evident that the conquerors would be implacable. Hardly had the army entered the city, when the executions began. Some of the vanquished, feeling they need hope for no mercy, soon began the criminal work which was to electrify the world. In the evening of the 23rd, volumes of flame and smoke enveloped the city. Massacres on the one side were avenged by arson and murder on the other. No poet, not even

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Dante, when he was piling horror upon horror in his *Inferno*, ever imagined such a ghastly spectacle as was presented by Paris during the whole of that week. At the barracks people were shot down by the dozen. Whole districts were depopulated by flight, arrests, and executions. In the part of Paris which was still held by the federals, the fury of the populace became more violent as defeat became more certain.

On the 24th, at La Roquette, Raoul Rigault and Ferré had six "hostages" massacred. These included the archbishop of Paris and the curé of the Madeleine. On the 25th the Dominicans of Arcueil, in a terrible and almost incredible scene, were driven forth, torn almost limb from limb, and killed near the Gobelins. Some of the Paris guards and some priests were massacred in the rue Haxo. Other victims also suffered at La Roquette. When the troops reached the château d'Eau, Delescluze, wearing a frock-coat and carrying a walking-stick, walked all alone, with his head held high, straight into the thick of the firing; his corpse was found there riddled with bullets. It was at the taking of the last federal strongholds, Belleville, that the slaughter was most terrible, while in the parts of Paris already taken the summary shooting of prisoners was going on steadily.

Meanwhile long processions of prisoners (forty thousand had been taken) were journeying with parched throats, blistered feet, and fettered hands along the road from Paris to Versailles, and as they passed through the boulevards of Louis XIV's town, they were greeted with yells and sometimes with blows. They were crowded hastily into improvised prisons, one of which was merely a large courtyard where thousands of poor wretches lived for weeks with no lodging but the muddy ground, where they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, and whence they were despatched by a bullet in the head when desperation incited them to rebel. The Germans, from the terraces of St. Germain, were watching the spectacle of the taking of Paris, and at night saw the great city which was the glory of France decked with its hideous crown of fires.

Certain it is that if such sights as these have not made the country hate the very idea of civil war, if they have not taught France what a crime it is to set armed Frenchmen against each other, it seems as if the lessons taught by history were indeed useless. On the 29th of May the conquest of Paris was complete. A terrible day of reckoning succeeded the misfortunes which the city had endured while the fighting was going on. Nearly ten thousand convictions were pronounced by the courts martial. New Caledonia was peopled with convicts. Besides these a large portion of the population had taken flight; and thus many industries, which had hitherto been exclusively Parisian, were introduced into foreign countries.

Anger was so bitter against the refugees that the right of other nations to afford an asylum to them was disputed and Belgium even promised to give them up to France. The famous poet Victor Hugo was at that time in Brussels, and published a letter in which he stated that all refugee rebels would find a shelter in his house. The following night an attack was made on his house, which was pelted with stones. Immediately afterwards, the Belgian government expelled "the individual named Victor Hugo." But neither Belgium nor any other country could give the exiles of the commune back to France.^f

History has rarely known a more unpatriotic crime than that of the insurrection of the commune; but the punishment inflicted on the insurgents by the Versailles troops was so ruthless that it seemed to be a counter-manifestation of French hatred for Frenchmen in civil disturbance rather than a

judicial penalty applied to a heinous offence. The number of Parisians killed by French soldiers in the last week of May, 1871, was probably twenty thousand, though the partisans of the commune declared that thirty-six thousand men and women were shot in the streets or after summary court-martial.

It is from this point that the history of the Third Republic commences. In spite of the doubly tragic ending of the war the vitality of the country seemed unimpaired. With ease and without murmur it supported the new burden of taxation called for by the war indemnity and by the reorganisation of the shattered forces of France. M. Thiers was thus aided in his task of liberating the territory from the presence of the enemy. His proposal at Bordeaux to make the *essai loyal* of the republic, as the form of government which caused the least division among Frenchmen, was discouraged by the excesses of the commune, which associated republicanism with revolutionary disorder. Nevertheless, the monarchists of the national assembly received a note of warning that the country might dispense with their services unless they displayed governmental capacity, when in July, 1871, the republican minority was largely increased at the by-elections. The next month, within a year of Sedan, a provisional constitution was voted, the title of president of the French Republic being then conferred on Thiers. The monarchists consented to this against their will; but they had their own way when they conferred constituent powers on the assembly in opposition to the republicans, who argued that it was a usurpation of the sovereignty of the people for a body elected for another purpose to assume the power of giving a constitution to the land without a special mandate from the nation. The debate gave Gambetta his first opportunity of appearing as a serious politician. The *fou furieux* of Tours, whom Thiers had denounced for his efforts to prolong the hopeless war, was about to become the chief support of the aged Orleanist statesman whose supreme achievement was to be the foundation of the republic.⁹

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THIERS (1871-1873)

The French government had two immediate ends in view — to rid the country of foreign occupation as speedily as possible, and to improve the military organisation on a Prussian model. Since the liquidation of great sums of money was necessary for attaining both these ends, a great demand was put on the taxable strength of the country. The object to be gained by the second aim was not to increase the defensive power of the land, since an unaggressive France had to fear no attack, but to prepare for a war of revenge against Germany. The shattered military glory was to be restored, the lost provinces were to be given back, or some compensation, perhaps in Belgium, was to be obtained for them. All parties in France, the monarchists as well as the extreme republicans, were filled with this idea, voted funds after funds for military purposes in the national assembly, and even offered the government more money than it asked for.

Thiers, who had been made president of the French Republic on August 31st, 1871, by the national assembly, negotiated a loan of two thousand five hundred million francs for the payment of the first two milliards of the war indemnity in June, 1871, and a loan of more than three milliards for the payment of the rest in July, 1872. The "financial miracle" was then enacted — namely, forty-four milliards was registered in the public subscription list, in which German banking houses also participated disgracefully. Even if this sum were not intended in earnest, it was nevertheless an extremely favourable testimony to the French credit.

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By the military law of July 28th, 1872, universal compulsory service was introduced, providing that one part of the community was to serve for five years, the other in periods of six months' drill. This law was completed by the organisation law of July 24th, 1873 — which fixed the number of the regiments and divided them into eighteen army corps — and by the *cadre* law of March 13th, 1875. This latter increased the battalion cadres by creating a new fourth battalion for every three which already existed, so that now instead of the regiments of three battalions with a maximum strength of three thousand men, there were regiments of four battalions, which brought the maximum strength of the regiment up to four thousand men. After this law had been carried out, the French infantry, consisting of 641 battalions, numbered 269 field battalions more than in the year 1870, and 171 field battalions more than the German army in time of peace.

This cadre law caused such a sensation that in the spring of 1875 it was generally reported that there was another war "in sight"; that the German Empire wished to declare war on France before these colossal preparations were carried into effect. Nevertheless, the war did not go beyond diplomatic inquiries. The "great" nation tried to put all the responsibility for the military disgrace in the late war upon Marshal Bazaine, who, it must be said, had signed the capitulation of Metz at a very convenient moment for the Germans. He was brought before a military tribunal and condemned to death on December 10th, 1873, but this sentence was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment. He began his period of captivity on December 26th in a fort on the island of Ste. Marguerite, but he escaped on August 10th, 1874, with the help of his wife, and fled to Spain.

The national assembly, divided into parties which were bitterly opposed to each other, developed a very meagre legislative activity. On one side stood the three monarchistic parties of the legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Bourbons, each of which had its pretender to the throne; on the other the republicans, who were divided into a moderate and an extreme Left. Between them stood a group of parliamentarians, who could be satisfied with either form of government, if only the constitutional system were preserved. It is true that the monarchists held the majority, but in the course of the next



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few years they lost considerable ground through the supplementary elections, and they were so disunited among themselves that in the most important questions frequently a fraction of the Right voted with the Left, and the majority thus became a minority. The "fusion," *i.e.* the union of the legitimists and Orleanists into one single party, did not succeed.

Thiers preferred the actual republic to any one of the three possible monarchies, and for that very reason the monarchists were very much dissatisfied with him. When, at the re-formation of the ministry on May 18th, 1873, he wholly disregarded the monarchistic majority and recruited his cabinet entirely from the moderate Left, the monarchists moved a vote of censure upon Thiers. This was carried on May 24th, 1873, by a vote of 360 against 344.

MACMAHON BECOMES PRESIDENT

Thiers and his ministry resigned; whereupon, in the same sitting, MacMahon was elected president of the republic. The duke de Broglie held the place of vice-president under him. In order to strengthen the position of the president the national assembly voted on November 19th, 1873, to fix the term of his service at seven years. The Broglie ministry could not long succeed in this difficult art of steering safely between the parties. It was compelled to retire on May 16th, 1874, through the result of the ballot on the electoral law, and on May 22nd the war minister, Cissey, took over the presidency of the cabinet.

But when the government seemed to favour the Bonapartists and a choice between the republic or a third empire was imminent, the moderate Orleanists separated themselves from the government; from the left and right Centre a new majority was formed, which, on the motion of the delegate Wallon, by its final vote on February 25th, 1875, established a republic with regular presidential elections, and with a senate and second chamber. Thereupon the formation of the Buffet ministry followed on March 10th, the most prominent member of which belonged to the right Centre.^h

MARTIN ON THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875

The constitution was formed as follows: at the head of the executive a president, named in advance by the 1871 assembly, to hold office for seven years, with power to dissolve the chamber of deputies subject to agreement by the senate. He had also a more formidable right—that of suspending both chambers for one month, though not more than twice in a session; that is, he was to be sole and uncontrolled governor in case of disagreement between himself and the direct or indirect representatives of the nation. The senate was composed of two hundred and twenty-five members appointed by the departments and the colonies for nine years, and seventy-five appointed by the national assembly; these last for life. The others were elected by a departmental circle composed of deputies, councillors-general, suburban councillors, and delegates, one from each municipal council.

So it came about that the smallest French commune, having hardly enough electors to compose a municipal council, played as considerable a part in the government as Lyons or Marseilles. This meant the subordination of republican towns to country districts, over which the government hoped to exercise a powerful influence. An elector in a tiny commune weighed in the electoral balance as much as two or three thousand electors in large cities. At bottom it was an election of senators in the hands of village

[1876 A.D.]

mayors, under governmental influence. This was a very different thing from the declaration of rights—"All men are equal in the eyes of the Law."

There remained the chamber of deputies elected by universal suffrage. It was elected by borough balloting, but it was not included in the articles of the constitution. This chamber shared the introduction of laws with the senate and the president of the republic. It was named by a mode of ballot that diminished its importance and threatened it with dissolution on the slightest disagreement with the assembly, which was chosen by restricted suffrage. The constitution, however, gave it a supreme prerogative—a supreme means of making the national will triumphant: the introduction of financial laws, the key of the money chest! The chamber of deputies had the most weight in matters of taxing, a prerogative which is not only a republican right but one which is also exercised in all constitutional monarchies. This right the chamber of deputies did not even know how to uphold and defend.

The Versailles assembly, which was unenthusiastic, monarchical, and far more clerical, was principally concerned in promoting in the new constitution the interests of the higher classes above those of democracy, of crushing universal suffrage which it was unable to suppress under the feet of limited suffrage, and fettering as far as possible every liberal or democratic reform. At the end of ten years its entire work still existed and in this sense one may say that the assembly of 1871 was successful.

From the 22nd to the 24th of February the Wallon proposition was disputed foot by foot, word by word, by the Right, who rained a shower of amendments on it. They wanted universal suffrage; an appeal to the people; the declaration of the sovereignty of the people; the interdiction of princes as presidents of the republic. Everything was commenced, but to little purpose. The republicans turned a deaf ear, maintained a staunch resistance and, from the highest to the lowest, kept the promise made in their name. On the 24th of February the senate law and the transmission of the president's powers had a majority. On the 25th of February the bill relative to the organisation of public powers was carried in a third and final debate by 425 against 254. The republic was complete!ⁱ

SIMON'S MINISTRY

This constitution, the fourteenth since 1789, was the result of dissensions among the monarchists, who preferred republican candidates to their rivals in the legitimist or Orleanist ranks. After this unexpected aid, the republicans gained a large majority in the elections to the chamber, thanks largely to the efforts of Gambetta, who was not, however, rewarded with representation in the cabinet. The first minister under the new constitution was Dufaure, formerly in Louis Philippe's cabinet; late in 1876 he retired, and the new premier was Jules Simon. Simon was of deeply Catholic sympathies and aided in a movement to interfere in Italian affairs for the restoration of the pope to temporal power and the control of Rome.^a

During Simon's ministry the struggle, from being political, suddenly became a religious one between the republicans and the conservatives. Some incidents of external politics in Italy and Germany, whose reverberations extended to France, a demand for the authorisation of conferences, presented to the minister of the interior by the ex-père Hyacinthe, the aggressive ardour of archbishops and bishops and the anti-religious violence of a part of the radical press, all united to set lay society and the clerical world in

opposition to one another and to provoke in parliament a formidable crisis—in the country an agitation which might have produced first a revolution and afterwards war.

Gambetta set himself against the clerical party and demanded that the Concordat should be interpreted as a two-sided contract, obligatory and equally binding on both parties; and he ended by repeating the words of Peyrat: "Clericalism, that is the enemy!" (*Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*) It has been said that this war-cry was too sweeping, because it included all the members of the clergy amongst the enemies of society. But from that time the epithet "clerical" designated rather the laity than the ecclesiastics, including all those who mingle religion and politics, who wish to use spiritual matters for temporal ends and take their electoral cue elsewhere than in France.^d

There was strong feeling against the agitation meant to ferment a religious war and embroil France in ultramontane politics. Simon declared that he had done all in his power to repress the spirit of war for Catholicism. But votes on two bills only indirectly related to clericalism went against the policy of the minister and were made a pretext for an unusual step.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF MAY 16TH

On the 16th of May President MacMahon published in the official organ an open letter of rebuke to his minister. This strange act has been called the coup d'état of May 16th.

The president's letter closed as follows:^a

The attitude of the chief of the cabinet raises the question as to whether he has preserved that influence over the chamber which is necessary to make his views prevail. An explanation on this head is indispensable; for, if I am not, like you, responsible to the parliament, I have a responsibility towards France which I ought now more than ever to consider.

Accept, Monsieur le président du conseil, the assurance of my high esteem.

Le Président de la République,
MARÉCHAL DE MACMAHON.

On this strange document Zevort comments severely:

Before studying the real meaning of this letter it will be well to estimate what the very sending of it implied, the unheard-of proceeding to which the marshal had recourse to rid himself of a president of the council who had represented him to the parliament as the model of parliamentary and constitutional chiefs. The letter specified nothing. If Jules Simon had wished to play a close game with his unskilful antagonist, he might indeed have either presented himself before the chamber, procured a vote of confidence, and thus demonstrated that he had preserved that influence which was necessary to make his views prevail; or he might have waited till the approaching council of ministers, and had that explanation with the marshal which the latter declared indispensable. In either case the president of the republic would have found himself in a position of cruel embarrassment, and the conflict he had raised would perhaps have received, on the 17th or 18th of May, 1877, the solution which it was to receive only in the month of January, 1879. Like all timid persons the marshal dreaded nothing so much as an explanation with those he had offended; and his letter, in its prodigious clumsiness, was very skilfully drawn up, if he wished to avoid an interview in the council with the ministers so cavalierly dismissed.

As to the pretexts devised to separate him from the cabinet of the 12th of December, they were really altogether too frivolous. However inexperienced

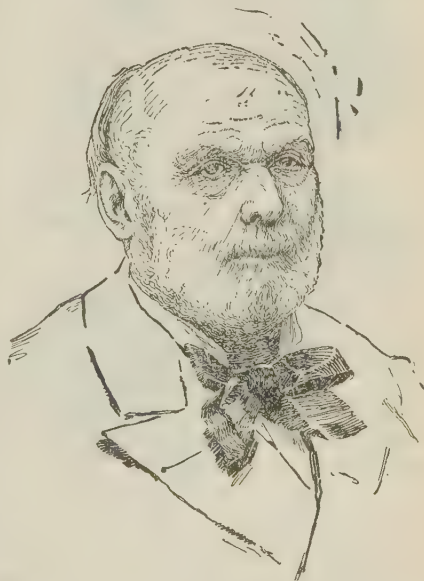
[1876-1879 A.D.]

the marshal might be, he was not ignorant of the fact that a law under discussion is not a law passed.

The question as to whether Jules Simon had sufficient authority over the chamber was either a premeditated insult or the proof of a singular defect of memory; and had not Jules Simon—in the most weighty divisions, on the 4th of May, 1877, and the 28th of December, 1876, when the prerogatives of the chamber were themselves at stake—had more than two-thirds of the voters with him, and was the law of majorities no longer, as on the 26th of May, 1873, the supreme rule of parliamentary governments?

"I am responsible to France," said the marshal, who had been elected by 390 deputies, thus borrowing the phraseology of Napoleon III, who had been chosen by five million electors; and was not France directly and regularly represented by the senate and the chamber of deputies, and had not the constitution (Article 6) already indicated the single case in which the president of the republic is responsible—namely, the case of high treason?

Such was that document of the 16th of May, which left everything to be feared because it went beyond all measure, which did not exceed the bounds of legality but which exhausted it at the first blow. The marshal was about to declare in his speech, in his Orders of the Day, that he would go to the farthest bounds of this legality, whose utmost limit he had attained with one leap. The constitution of 1875 had assured him a quasi-royalty: yet he was now going to put himself outside or above the laws, under pretence of the higher interests of the public safety, that facile pretext for all dictatorship; he was about to engage, haphazard, in a formidable venture, ignorant of what might result from his victory or his defeat.^d



JULES GRÉVY

The coup d'état of the 16th of May was from its inception condemned throughout Europe. MacMahon was neither sufficiently ambitious nor unscrupulous to institute a military dictatorship. The most important events in the political calendar were the electoral campaign and Gambetta's noted speech at Lille, on the 15th of August, when he wound up with, "Believe me, gentlemen, when France has once spoken with her sovereign voice there will be nothing left but submission or resignation" (*se soumettre ou se démettre*). The jingle caught the popular ear and Marshal MacMahon on the 13th of December submitted unconditionally.

GRÉVY BECOMES PRESIDENT (1879)

Gambetta, it is generally conceded, was at this period the foremost politician in France. A thoroughly republican ministry was formed under Dufaure, president of the council and minister of justice, with Freycinet as minister of public works. President MacMahon in his message "accepted

the will of the country." Gambetta now sagaciously expressed his wish that MacMahon should be permitted to complete his term; and thus the advantages of republican rule might be the better demonstrated by his duly and peacefully elected successor. The great exposition of 1878 brought MacMahon some prominence, but the old soldier found himself isolated, and utterly sick of the part he had to play.

On the 28th of January, 1879, MacMahon, finding himself unable to agree with his ministers and hopeless of forming a new ministry conformable to his views, resigned and in his last acts conducted himself with such dignity as to wring even from Zevort ^d this commendation:

"From the beginning of the governmental crisis the marshal had conducted himself as a man of honour, and preserved an attitude the most correct and most deserving of respect, and employed the simplest and most becoming language. From the moment that the politician had vanished, the honest man, the good citizen, the successful soldier had reappeared, and the lofty dignity of his retreat made men forget the errors for which he was only half responsible."

What part Gambetta acted in the crisis of January, 1879, when MacMahon's ministry fell, it is difficult to decide. At the critical juncture he appears to have absented himself from Paris. He abstained from speaking in the debate on the policy of the ministry, neither did he vote in the final division. There is every reason to believe that, had he willed, he might have contested the presidency of the republic successfully.

But he waived his claims in favour of Jules Grévy, who was elected president on the 30th of January, 1879, by 536 votes against 99 for General Chanzy, Gambetta becoming president of the chamber and Waddington the prime minister.



LÉON GAMBETTA

THE LAST DAYS OF GAMBETTA; ASCENDENCY OF FERRY

The deputies were united now as "the national assembly," and the legislature returned from Versailles to Paris. Both executive and legislature were now thoroughly republican.

Prominent in Grévy's cabinet was the minister of education, Jules Ferry, who was strongly anti-clerical in his views and advocated an educational bill excluding the Jesuits and all "unauthorised orders" from acting as teachers in France. Jules Simon secured the rejection of the bill by the senate, but the unauthorised orders were disbanded and many priests and nuns expelled amidst public feeling embittered by the wrath of the clerical party and the zeal of the anti-clericals. The Bonapartist cause suffered when the young

[1879-1885 A.D.]

prince imperial was killed by the Zulus. Waddington resigned the ministry to Freycinet and he to Ferry, who still kept Gambetta from office.

Gambetta now began to fight for power and to gather republican sentiment about him until it was necessary to call him to the prime-ministry. The jealousy of his magnetism or "occult power," as it was called, and his distribution of the portfolios succeeded in shortening his lease of power to ten weeks. Gambetta, in the days of his power, advocated all measures that would tend to place France in the position she occupied before the war. He approved of the expedition to Tunis, for he desired to extend her influence in the Mediterranean. And he upheld the dual action of France and England in Egypt. To quote his own words in almost the last speech he ever made: "For the last ten years there has been a western policy in Europe represented by England and France, and allow me to say here that I know of no other European policy likely to avail us in the most terrible of the contingencies we may have to face hereafter. What induced me to seek for the English alliance, for the co-operation of England in the basin of the Mediterranean and in Egypt—and I pray you mark me well—what I most apprehend, in addition to an ill-omened estrangement, is that you should deliver over to England and forever territories, and rivers, and waterways where your right to live and traffic is equal to her own."

On the 31st of December, 1882, Gambetta died at the age of forty-four from an accidental wound. Thus ended prematurely the strange career of *le grand ministre*, as he was called ironically, less memorable for what he did than for what everyone felt he might have done.

In the first month of the same year (January, 1882) another new ministry had been formed with Freycinet president of the council and minister for foreign affairs. This ministry lasted only half a year, being succeeded by that of Duclerc, during which all the members of royal families were exiled from France in consequence of a campaign of placards waged by the son of Jerome Bonaparte of Westphalia. The brief premiership of Fallières gave way to that of Jules Ferry who, though a former rival of Gambetta's, united with his disciples to form the so-called "opportunist" party.

During Ferry's comparatively lengthy tenure of office of over two years, some revision of the constitution was accomplished in uncharacteristic peacefulness. The typical volatility of the people, however, was revealed by the explosion of rage over the news of a check received by the French army at Tongking. The bitter speeches of the cynical Clémenceau brought about Ferry's resignation and Brisson became prime minister. A reaction now grew against the republican administration, and the elections of 1885 were forty-five per cent. monarchial. The alarm over this dangerous weakness put a momentary end to republican internal factions, and Grévy was re-elected president December 28th, for a second septennate.

Freycinet formed a new ministry, his third, giving the portfolio of war to General Boulanger—a curious figure neither whose past nor whose future justified the remarkable prominence he acquired. His first acts were sensational in that he erased from the army list all the princes of royal families and exiled his first patron, the duke d'Aumale; he also repressed all the army officers of reactionist sympathies. The populace showered on Boulanger the favour it withdrew from the president, and he became powerful enough to unseat Freycinet, who was succeeded by Goblet. Boulanger took a spectacular position on the arrest by the Germans of a French officer named Schnebele, and showed great energy in preparing for a war with Prussia. Goblet resigned. Rouvier followed, and sent Boulanger to an army post. In 1887

scandals arose concerning the sale of Legion of Honour decorations, in which a deputy named Daniel Wilson was implicated and in which it was shown that he used the president's residence as a sort of office. This provoked an outcry before which Grévy resigned.

In his nine years of administration, President Grévy had had eleven ministers—in itself a proof of lack of policy or at least of power to carry out a policy. In the first period, from 1879 to March 20th, 1885, however, much had been accomplished for the establishment of public liberties—the freedom of the press being assured in 1881, the municipal councils given the right to elect their mayors in 1882, and the laws of divorce replaced in the civil code whence the Restoration had removed them. The schools had also been rendered secular, as we have seen.

The application of these reforms, reductions in the taxes, coinciding with bad years and the ruin of the vintage, produced the most serious difficulties with regard to the budget—difficulties which were still further augmented by the participation of France in the colonising movement then attracting all Europe. The Tunis expedition (1880-1881), that of Tongking (1883-1885), the first Madagascar expedition (1883-1885), the foundation of the French Congo (1884), and the advance towards the Sudan belong to this period. In the second period parliament and public opinion are in a state of profound disturbance after the 30th of March, 1885, and anarchy reigned in the ministries, the parliament, and public opinion.^d



SADI CARNOT

In this critical situation, when Freycinet and Floquet, aiming for the radical vote, are said to have had a secret agreement to restore Boulanger to power; when the monarchists were planning to vote for Ferry in the hope that his unpopularity would provoke one of those mob disturbances which had so often brought back the monarchy, Clémenceau skilfully secured the nomination and election of an unexpected figure—Sadi Carnot, a man of unassailed reputation, whose grandfather was the great Carnot to whom France had owed her magnificent military organisation during the revolution.

THE PRESIDENCY OF CARNOT (1887-1894)

Sadi Carnot, though perhaps not a great man, displayed as president of the republic the same qualities of conscientiousness, diligence, and modesty for which he had been noted in those more humble days when he built bridges at Annecy. These years were unexampled in France for the virulence of political passion and the acrimonious license of the press. The decoration scandal, the Boulangist movement, and the Panama affair filled this period with opprobrious accusations and counter-charges.

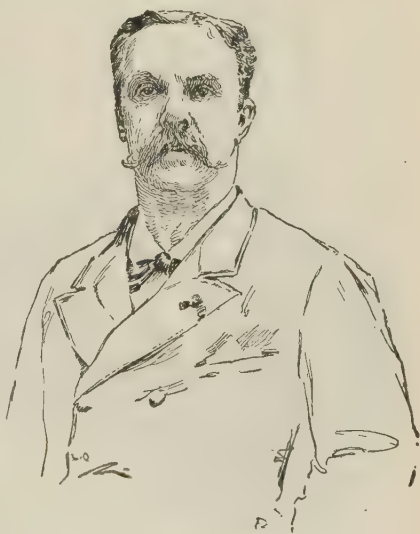
Carnot chose Tirard for his premier; under him Wilson was sentenced to two years for fraud, and Boulanger was deprived of command for absenting himself from his post without leave. Wilson appealed, and the higher courts

[1887-1894 A.D.]

reversed the decision against him. As he was a relative of Grévy, this provoked public suspicion, which was aggravated when Boulanger was elected a deputy by an overwhelming majority and was immediately expelled from the army.

Tirard's ministry fell and Floquet succeeded, with Freycinet as minister of war. A duel ensued between Floquet and Boulanger, in which, singularly, the civilian, who was also of advanced age, wounded the doughty general in the throat. None the less, Boulangism increased rapidly and was enlarged by the royalist vote. The time was ripe for a coup d'état, but the general did not move; indeed, he denied in his speeches any ambition for dictatorship and actually withdrew to Brussels, April, 1889, when he heard that Tirard, who had been recalled as premier, was about to arrest him. He was now found guilty of high treason and the senate sentenced him to life imprisonment.

He went to Jersey and lived there quietly, while Boulangism died of inanition. In July, 1890, his mistress, Mme. de Bonnemain, died, and September 30th, 1891, he blew out his own brains on her grave. This last act was consistent with his whole career, both in its strong emotionalism and in its weakness. He was a man idolised by his soldiers, whom he treated with great democracy and even tenderness; he was thrilled with a passion to revenge France on Prussia, a passion bound to be popular then in France; he was a smart soldier and on his black horse made a picturesque figure; a popular tune added to his vogue—"C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut"; and it might have proved a "*Ça ira*" of insurrection, but he lacked the courage—or shall we not more mercifully and justly say, he lacked the villainy?—to lead a revolution. While he missed the glory of a Napoleon, he also escaped the bloody crimes of that despot.



CASIMIR-PÉRIER

Boulangism having committed suicide, it suffered disgrace from the monarchic coalition, and reform went on peacefully. In 1890 Freycinet added the premiership to the war ministry, and 1891 saw no change of cabinet. Conciliation with Rome was the policy of both France and the Church; and in February, 1892, Leo XIII recognised the republic in an encyclical. Freycinet resigned the premiership and Émile Loubet became premier.

Now the Panama scandal came to shock all the world with the revelations of official corruption, of wholesale blackmail, and of the abuse of funds largely subscribed by the poorer masses. The trials were peacefully conducted, and while only one former minister was convicted and a sentence was passed on De Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal and also of the Panama venture, the deep disgust of the public did not take the usual recourse to riotous expression. Loubet was followed in December, 1892, by Ribot and he later by Dupuy. Casimir-Périer, grandson of the famous statesman, succeeded for a time, to be followed again by Dupuy. June 24th, 1894, President Carnot was stabbed to death by an Italian anarchist named Caserio.

THE PRESIDENCIES OF CASIMIR-PÉRIER AND FAURE

Casimir-Périer, who like Carnot bore a name unsullied by scandal, was elected by the congress June 27th, 1894, but he could not endure the attacks of opposition newspapers; and January 15th, 1895, he resigned on the ground of overburdensome responsibilities without adequate powers.

Félix Faure was chosen to succeed him; he was of humble origin and a successful merchant. Ribot was his first premier, Léon Bourgeois his second, and Méline the third; Méline's ministry lasted from April, 1896, to June 28th, 1898, the visit of the czar, and the sealing of the Franco-Russian alliance giving it distinction. Dupuy came back as premier, but February 16th, 1899,

President Faure died of apoplexy and the then president of the senate, Loubet, was elected in his place. The Dupuy ministry held over till June, when Waldeck-Rousseau became premier and managed by a combination of firmness with an effort at conciliating the various parties to carry France through the violence of anti-Semitism and its culmination in the two trials of the Jewish captain Alfred Dreyfus.



FÉLIX FAURE

THE DREYFUS TRIAL

In January, 1895, Dreyfus had been sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island off French Guiana, the charge being that he had sold military secrets to Germany. The dramatic ceremonies of his degradation and his earnest denials of guilt attracted the atten-

tion of the world, and it was claimed that he was the innocent scape-goat of anti-Jewish rancour and of true guilt among Gentile officers. The efforts of certain French officers, writers, and editors, notably Colonel Picquart and Émile Zola, to reopen the case were vain for some time, Colonel Picquart being imprisoned and Zola driven into exile. In 1898 new proofs against Dreyfus were produced, but Colonel Henry confessed to forging these and committed suicide.

After a ferocious newspaper war in which the foreign press joined with unusual vigour, Captain Dreyfus was brought back for retrial in August, 1899. It is difficult for a foreigner to decide on the merits of the case, as the sincerity of both factions was only too evident, and the charges of militarism and anti-Semitism against the anti-Dreyfusards were met by charges of venality and of purchase by Jewish gold. Even the new president, Loubet, was accused of this. The new court, by a majority of five to two, again found Dreyfus "guilty of treason with extenuating circumstances," and sentenced him to ten years' detention. The curious wording of the sentence, as well as certain methods of court procedure, amazed the foreign world, in which

[1882-1899 A.D.]

the opinion is practically unanimous that the evidence published has no value at all in proving Dreyfus guilty.

The French government, however, put a stop to the agitation by pardoning the prisoner and recommending a general amnesty. This was perhaps the wisest course, though hardly satisfactory as an example of fearless justice. Every nation has its judicial scandals, but no other has had so universal an airing, and a prejudice has been excited against the whole French people as a result of this affair. A British writer, J. E. C. Bodley,^g has thus summed up its manifold phases:

"The Dreyfus affair was severely judged by foreign critics as a miscarriage of justice resulting from race-prejudice. If that simple appreciation rightly describes its origin, it became in its development one of those scandals symptomatic of the unhealthy political condition of France, which on a smaller scale had often recurred under the Third Republic, and which were made the pretext by the malcontents of all parties for gratifying their animosities. That in its later stages it was not a question of race-persecution was seen in the curious phenomenon of journals owned or edited by Jews leading the outcry against the Jewish officer and his defenders. That it was not a mere episode of the rivalry between republicans and monarchists, or between the advocates of parliamentarism and of military autoeracy, was evident from the fact that the most formidable opponents of Dreyfus, without whose hostility that of the clericals and reactionaries would have been ineffective, were republican politicians. That it was not a phase of the anti-capitalist movement was shown by the zealous adherence of the socialist leaders and journalists to the cause of Dreyfus; indeed, one remarkable result of the affair was its diversion of the socialist party and press for years from their normal campaign against property.

"The Dreyfus affair was utilised by the reactionaries against the republic, by the clericals against the non-Catholics, by the anti-clericals against the Church, by the military party against the parliamentarians, and by the revolutionary socialists against the army. It was also conspicuously utilised by rival republican politicians against one another, and the chaos of political groups was further confused by it. The controversy was conducted with the unseemly weapons which in France have made parliamentary institutions a by-word and an unlicensed press a national calamity; while the judicial proceedings arising out of it showed that at the end of the nineteenth century the French conception of liberty was as peculiar as it had been during the Revolution a hundred years before."

COLONIAL WARS (1882-1895)

Foreign affairs in France have been marked by various small wars, notably the war in Tongking, where in 1882 the successful commandant Rivière was killed. Admiral Courbet, however, retrieved these disasters by vigorous action and won a treaty, August 25th, 1882, by which the French protectorate over Annam and Tongking was acknowledged. General Millot now took control of the land forces and Courbet by means of his fleet secured from Li Hung Chang a recognition of the Tongking protectorate, after bombarding certain ports and destroying two Chinese cruisers.^a

The joy caused by the signing of peace with China was disturbed by the news of the death of the man to whom peace was due. Admiral Courbet died on June 11th, 1885, from the effects of an illness against which he had long struggled. Although he felt he was dangerously ill, he would not leave his

post. He understood perhaps that no one could have replaced him. All France felt the blow; a magnificent funeral was given the sailor who had raised the glory of his flag in the extreme East.

In 1892 there was a short and successful war with Dahomey. It has been summed up by Lanier^k as follows: "This glorious campaign, where two thousand soldiers had had to struggle against twenty thousand natives, admirably supplied with implements of warfare, taught and trained to the offensive, not to speak of jungles, swamps, dysentery, and fevers, had lasted just three months, and cost France ten million francs. It reflected the greatest honour on the general who commanded it."

Disputes had been of frequent occurrence between France and Madagascar since 1642, when the French destroyed a Portuguese settlement. In 1861 a treaty between France, Great Britain, and Madagascar was signed.

But in 1864 again there were disputes between the French and Hovas; to be followed in 1877 by a serious quarrel respecting certain lands given to one Laborde, a missionary, which the Hovas now reclaimed. In 1882 the French claimed the protectorate of part of northwest Madagascar by virtue of a treaty made in 1840-41. This resulted in an appeal to the British government; a native embassy was also sent to France to protest. Peaceful measures failed; and Admiral Pierre with a French fleet, in the year 1883, bombarded and captured Tamatave. From that time forward there was constant warfare; sometimes one side and sometimes the other gaining indecisive victories. On the 12th of December, 1895, Madagascar was attached to the French colonies.



ÉMILE LOUBET

In 1899 the poet Paul Déroulède vainly tried to prevail on General Roget to leave President Faure's funeral and march to evict President Loubet from the Elysée palace. A like failure attended the effort to provoke a war with England over the Fashoda affair, in which Major Marchand with a handful of men claimed a right over territories he had explored for France. The British government treated him and his claims with small respect and French pride was injured, but fortunately no further steps were taken.

In 1900 the world's exposition failed to have a political effect, and was not a financial success. A great sensation was caused by the revelation that the French birth-rate was on the decrease, but similar statements concerning England were later made. When the nineteenth century began, France had one-fifth of the total population of Europe; at the beginning of the twentieth century she has hardly a tenth. In that time her population has increased only forty-six per cent., while that of Great Britain and Ireland has increased one hundred and fifty-six per cent.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The years 1901-1905 were remarkable for the contest between state and church in France, culminating in the final disestablishment of the latter. Under the terms of the famous Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon I and Pius VII the French government paid the salaries of the clergy and had the

[1901-1907 A.D.]

right of nominating bishops, an arrangement which worked smoothly for the greater part of the ensuing century. After the establishment of the Third Republic, however, the influence of the church, and especially of certain orders in it, had been frequently exerted against the government. When this friction became threatening, Pope Pius IX gave counsels of moderation, recommending the French Catholics to recognise the government *de facto*, that is, the Republican *régime*.

Possessed of a vast amount of wealth which escaped taxation, these orders, whose leaders were in many cases foreigners, independent of French authority, and often living abroad, inclined to a monarchical form of government, and not infrequently assisted the royalists in promoting their propaganda. As the education of a large part of the youth of the country was in their hands, they constituted a distinct menace to the Republic. Actuated by a desire to lessen this danger, and perhaps also by a more general hostility to the ecclesiastical system, the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry in 1901 secured the passage of an act requiring religious associations to secure legal authorisation from the government. This act appears to have been intended rather in the nature of a weapon in reserve, but the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry resigned in June, 1902, and the new ministry of M. Combes at once entered on an extreme anti-clerical policy. Despite violent resistance in some parts of the country, particularly in Brittany, the law was rigidly enforced, and a vast number of associations were broken up. In 1904 events occurred which increased the tension still further. In the early part of the year President Loubet, when visiting the King of Italy, failed to pay a visit to the Pope. The Papal authorities protested against this omission in a secret note, which was communicated by a German diplomatist to M. Jaurès, the socialist leader. The publication of this note caused great indignation among Republicans and did much to embitter relations between the Quai d'Orsay and the Vatican. Later in the year the Pope ordered two bishops of Republican tendencies to resign their sees. Angered by this attempted interference on the part of the Pope, the government recalled its embassy from the Vatican and informed the Papal nuncio at Paris that his presence was superfluous.

In January, 1905, the Combes ministry resigned, but that which followed under M. Rouvier pursued the same policy with regard to the church, and on December 6th the bill for the disestablishment of the church finally passed the senate. Under this law, the churches were separated from the state, members of all creeds were authorised to form associations for public worship, and the state was relieved from the payment of salaries. In January, 1906, the legal formality of taking inventories of church property began, and in many places the military had to be summoned to overcome the organised resistance to inspection. The general election of May resulted in the return of a large Republican majority. The Nationalists were badly defeated, and no doubt remained as to the country's approval of the Separation Law. In January, 1907, a supplementary law was passed, dealing with the situation created by the main act.

THE "ENTENTE CORDIALE" AND THE MOROCCAN QUESTION

The *entente cordiale*, or agreement with England, was one of the chief characteristics of this decade. The diplomatic seal was set to it by a visit of MM. Loubet and Delcassé to London in 1903, and a convention with England in 1904, by which either power recognised respectively the other's

predominance in Egypt and Morocco. This agreement was apparently accepted by Germany, and Prince Buelow explained to his critics in the Reichstag that German commercial interests were not menaced in Morocco. In 1905, however, Germany decided to intervene. Whatever was her aim in so doing, the motive generally credited to her was a desire to disturb the Anglo-French *entente* which M. Delcassé had done so much to bring about. On March 31st the Emperor of Germany landed at Tangier and met the representatives of the Sultan of Morocco, whom he is believed to have encouraged in resistance to France. In response to this move, King Edward saw M. Loubet in Paris and subsequently visited Algiers. Exchange visits between the English and French fleets were also arranged. But a furious attack on M. Delcassé began in the German press and was carried on by German agents in France. War was hinted at if he were not removed, and it was even said that Germany's peace terms were already arranged. England was of course bound to support France in a quarrel arising out of the Anglo-French understanding, and, according to articles subsequently published in *Le Matin*, she expressed herself not only as ready to co-operate with her whole fleet, but also as prepared to land 100,000 men in Kiel harbour. The French government, however, resolved to remove M. Delcassé on the ground that he had not notified the Anglo-French convention to Germany, and his place was taken by M. Rouvier, who entered on a series of concessions to Germany and agreed to a conference on the Morocco question.

This conference met at Algierias in January, 1906, its object being to discuss the question of reforms in Morocco. Although France and Germany were the nations most directly affected, yet the importance of the questions at issue naturally caused lively interest on the part of other European nations, especially England and Spain. The principal delegates were: For France, M. Revoil; for Germany, Herr von Radowitz and Count Tattenbach; for England, Sir Arthur Nicolson; for Spain, the Duke of Almodovar, who was chosen to preside; for Italy, the Marchese Visconti Venosta; for Austria, Count Welsersheimb; and for the United States, Mr. Henry White.

The two subjects of dispute on which France and Germany were most opposed to each other were those of the organisation of the police, and, in a minor degree, of the State Bank. It was not until April 7th that an agreement on these questions was finally reached. The object of Germany in contending for the internationalisation of the police was to place France on the same level as other powers, and so to deprive her of her predominant position in Morocco. France, on the other hand, claimed a mandate to herself and Spain. Germany's final proposal, to which she held to the last moment, was the appointment of the suggested inspector of police in command at Casablanca. This proposal, however, was resisted, not only by France and Spain, but by England and Russia, and on Austria's suggesting its withdrawal, Germany gave way; the concession of an internationally controlled State Bank being made to her in return.

Thus the differences that had at one time threatened to develop into an open quarrel were settled. The understanding with England had been tested and found true, and though Germany had shown that she could effectually oppose such arrangements if made without her consent, she had nevertheless discovered that an aggressive policy on her part was not likely to be supported by any European power.

Many evidences were shown during 1906 that the crisis had strengthened, instead of weakening, the *entente*. In February the London County Council paid a visit to the Municipal Council in Paris. In June King Edward visited

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the President on his journey to and return from Biarritz, and in October the Lord Mayor of London was enthusiastically received in Paris. Other signs of the movement were the reception of representatives of the French universities in England, and the special invitation to Sir John French, the eminent British cavalry officer, to attend the French army manœuvres.

RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND GERMANY

France also realised, since the Russo-Japanese War, the advantage of an *entente* with Japan for the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Far East. After the war, France had felt some solicitude with regard to her colony of Indo-China, but through the efforts of French and Japanese diplomats all danger had passed. In 1907 M. Pichon, the French foreign minister, thought that the moment was opportune for a definite agreement with Japan. It had been known for some time that such an agreement was in progress, but it was not until June 10th that it was finally signed. This was the complement, and, in a measure, the result of the Anglo-Japanese agreement of 1905, and, though not implying a formal alliance, was directed toward the same purpose, the maintenance of peace in the Far East; its main principle being respect for the independence and integrity of China. The agreement was well received in Russia, where a similar convention with Japan was subsequently entered upon. At the same time some desire was shown for a *détente*—to use Prince Buelow's expression during an interview in July, 1907—a slackening of the old strained relations with Germany. The Kaiser's words of welcome to M. Jules Cambon, the new French ambassador in Berlin, and the latter's visit to Prince Buelow at Norderney, were especially noticeable as tending in this direction.

SEQUEL TO THE DREYFUS CASE

The sequel to the Dreyfus case culminated on July 12th, 1906, when the Cour de Cassation, after a long investigation, finally and completely exonerated Major Dreyfus of all the charges brought against him. The contrast between the attitude shown towards Dreyfus in 1899 and 1906 was characteristic of the French people. He was now reinstated in the army, received by President Fallières, and appointed a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Nor were his two champions of 1899 forgotten. Colonel Picquart was restored to the active list. It was too late to do anything for Emile Zola, but as a posthumous honour his remains were transferred to the Pantheon.

M. FALLIÈRES CHOSEN PRESIDENT

On January 17th, 1906, M. Clement Armand Fallières was chosen president to succeed M. Loubet. The retiring president had won the respect of the world by his sterling qualities, and his term of office was marked by national progress. In it there had been a decided reaction from militarism, as is evidenced by the fact that in 1904 the length of the term of military service was shortened to two years, and that the idea of a *rêvanche* on Germany occupied much less attention than formerly. In fact, France was seldom in a more contented, sane, and wholesome condition than when, under her worthy peasant-president, she devoted her best efforts to extending and solidifying her prosperity.

WINE GROWERS AND THE ADULTERATION LAW

During 1907 grave disturbances took place in the wine-growing districts of the south of France, owing to the distress caused by economic conditions. The over-production, arising from the increase of vineyards after the disappearance of the phylloxera, had combined with the free import of the Algerian product to make the wine of the Hérault district almost unsaleable. But the peasantry considered that the cause of their miseries was to be found in the adulteration of wine and the manufacture of artificial wine by means of sugar—malpractices which they suspected were carried on in the district. In May disturbances broke out at Narbonne, at Béziers, and at Perpignan. Agitation was set on foot against the government, under the lead of a wine-grower, M. Marcellin Albert; threats were held out of resisting the payment of all taxes until the government had applied some remedy, and there was even some wild talk of setting up a rival republic in the south.

On May 23rd the government adopted a bill against adulteration, but the disturbances continued. In June many southern mayors resigned, all administrative employees were compelled to cease work, and the non-payment of taxes was threatened. This direct challenge to the central government led to a conflict between M. Clemenceau, who in the preceding October had formed a new ministry, and the committee of Argeliers. Legal proceedings were instituted against many of the latter, and troops were sent against the revolted districts, but the danger was increased by the disaffection which existed among many regiments. On June 28th, however, the bill for the suppression of adulteration was finally passed. The revolt had been weakened meantime by the fall of M. Marcellin Albert from popular favour, and by July the measures taken for enforcing the law had almost restored peace.

FURTHER TROUBLES IN MOROCCO

In spite of the Franco-Spanish demonstration in December, considerable hostility was manifested by the natives towards French subjects in Morocco during the early part of 1907, culminating in the murder of Dr. Mauchamp, a French physician, in Marakhesh, on March 24th. This murder caused much indignation in France, where it was broadly hinted that the fanatics had been encouraged to rely on German support. The French government immediately issued a list of demands, including the punishment of Dr. Mauchamp's murderers and the payment of an indemnity, and announced its intention of occupying Ujda until those demands should be complied with. The sultan issued ambiguous proclamations with the intention of gaining time, but the firm attitude of France ensured the granting of practically all her demands.

But France's troubles in Morocco were not yet by any means over; in July the anti-European, or rather anti-French, feeling was again exemplified in an attack on Europeans in Casablanca, ostensibly arising from opposition to the construction of a harbour, but really due to religious fanaticism, in which eight members of various nationalities were killed. A naval expedition was immediately sent out under Admiral Philibert, which proceeded to bombard Casablanca. Later, the French government presented a note to the powers, stating what had been done, and explaining what further measures had been decided upon, showing the necessity of organising the police force in Morocco, and affirming the determination of France to maintain the authority of the sultan and the integrity of his empire.

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But there was a peculiar difficulty about France's task. While the interests of other nations were in her keeping, notably of the British, whose loss of property in Casablanca had been severe, yet there was a danger that the advance from the coast of a body of troops strong enough to prove an adequate defence might be construed by unfriendly critics as exceeding the terms of the Act of Algeciras. The gravity of the situation was made manifest by General Drude's urgent demand for additional troops on August 21st; it having been repeatedly stated throughout the month that no reinforcements would be necessary. The British colony in Tangier petitioned the British government for the protection of a warship; stating that the French and Spanish arrangements were inadequate. It was also evident from reports that there had not been hearty co-operation between the French and Spanish troops, although an official contradiction was given to the statement that they had differed on the question of an expedition into the interior. The difficulty was increased by the lawless state of the country. Mulei Hafid, the sultan's brother, was set up as a rival sultan in Marakhesh, while the pretender ruled in the north-eastern part of the kingdom. In addition to these opponents of the legitimate authority, the brigand chief Raisuli exercised practically sovereign power in the neighbourhood of Tangier, and several fanatics wandered about the country proclaiming a holy war. Although Mulei Hafid and his brother were both reported to be favourable to Europeans, yet it was plain that each depended for his success on siding with the great mass of the people on the question of a religious war, which meant a general war on Christians and Jews.

During August there was occasional skirmishing around Casablanca, and on September 3d several thousand Moors fanatically charged the French troops and their native allies, but were repulsed with great slaughter. A few days later General Drude drove the enemy out of a camp six miles from the city. Discouraged by their defeats, several tribes sued for peace. Others continued the struggle, and on October 19th another conflict occurred. Negotiations were entered into with the sultan, but, owing to the rival authorities, peace and quiet are not yet restored.^a

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF FRANCE SINCE 1815

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

By ALFRED RAMBAUD

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THE LABOUR QUESTION

DURING the period that was ushered in by the fall of Napoleon I, if a social question existed it was no longer an agrarian-social question as had been the case in the past—it was above all a question of labour. The tillers of the soil had at last come into realisation of the hopes and dreams of so many centuries; the land belonged to them freely, fully, without any burden of rents or taxes beyond that which was necessary for the public support. Thus rural democracy became what it will long remain; the most truly conservative of the nation's elements.

The great importance of the labour question may be accurately estimated by a glance over the field of industry from which we will cull a few figures to obtain a correct idea of the progress made.

In 1815 the united French industries did not consume more than a million tons of coal; in 1831 the quantity had increased to two millions and in 1847 to seven and a half millions.

In 1829 France produced 205,243 tons of brass, 145,519 of iron, and 4,914 of steel; in 1847 these figures had increased respectively to 472,412, 276,253, and 7,130. Thus in twenty-two years the production had not quite doubled.

In 1815 the use of machines in the different branches of industry had not become general, textile industries being practised among families in the home rather than in factories. In the manufacture of cotton fabrics but ten million kilogrammes of raw cotton were consumed; metallurgic industries were still in a primitive state, scarcely any fuel but wood being used in the manufacture of brass and of articles of iron ware.

The most marked development is to be observed during the thirty-three years from 1815 to 1847. In the latter year the cotton industries consumed 55,000,000 kilogrammes of raw cotton, and employed 116,000 looms and 3,500,000 spindles; they produced to the value of 416,000,000 francs. The consumption of wool increased from 46,500,000 kilogrammes in 1812 to 89,000,000. Philippe de Girard left France in 1815, having lost all hope of ever being able to introduce the machine for spinning flax that he had invented; twenty years later the manufacture of linen employed 200,000 spindles, 40,000 of which were in the department of the north. Similarly the Jacquard machine was not taken into use until 1827 by the silk-mills of Lyons which twenty years later had arrived at full prosperity. The city alone employed both for spinning and weaving 60,000 out of the 90,000 looms contained in all France.

In 1846 (the first year concerning which any reliable statistics exist) the urban population of France comprised only 8,646,743 inhabitants, or 24.4 per cent. of the entire population. The remainder, more than three-quarters of the nation, composed agricultural France.

Let us again take up for the present epoch certain of the figures already given. In 1897 the consumption of coal has increased to 37,000,000 tons or thirty-seven times what it was in 1815. In metals the production is 2,484,000 tons of brass, 784,000 of iron, and 995,000 of steel; thus since 1848 the production of brass and iron has doubled, that of steel has increased a hundredfold. In all other industries a corresponding advance is to be observed, our entire industrial production representing to-day a value of over 15,000,000,000 francs.

What has been the increase in urban population up to the present time? In 1896 there were 15,000,000 inhabitants of cities as against 23,487,000 rural inhabitants, a proportion which had altered from 24.4 per cent. at the close of the parliamentary monarchy to 39.5 per cent.¹ Great cities which are the direct creations of industry have come into existence, such as Creusot, Saint Étienne, Roubaix, Tourcoing, towns which were formerly stagnant have revived to bustling activity, and lastly a large number of industrial plants have become established in the country, mostly by the side of waterfalls whose power has enriched the national industries with another variety of fuel, "white coal."

It becomes apparent from an inspection of the foregoing figures that the social question pertaining to labour was of no more importance under the Restoration than at the time of the first constituent assembly; that it had risen to a certain prominence during the monarchy of July; that from 1848 on it was destined to grow with great rapidity; that universal suffrage together with free and obligatory education, by assuring workingmen a certain share of influence in public affairs, hastened the arrival of the time when the utopian ideas in vogue among them, when their prejudices and their passions would all tend to dominate in the interior, eventually even in the exterior policy of France.

Under the Restoration the working-classes as a body caused the government very little trouble, but individually the workingmen were in a large part hostile to it. It cannot quite be said that they were republicans: rather the republicanism they professed was confounded with their worship for the "Little Corporal." During the reign of Napoleon the working-classes had had very little cause for satisfaction, but many of them had served in his armies, thus gaining the name of "veteran," and the glory of the conqueror had swallowed up all memory of the legislator's harshness towards them.

They detested the Bourbons, principally because the reigning dynasty was of that house, and because it seemed to lean with special confidence on the clergy. The law of 1814 which made obligatory Sunday rest (although they might have been idle Monday as well as Sunday), the law of 1816 abolishing divorce (they had not the slightest use for the institution of divorce), the law of 1826 upon sacrilege (notwithstanding that it was never put into effect), the interior "missions" organised by over-zealous priests and religious workers, but above all the executions of the "four sergeants of La Rochelle,"

¹ Let us bear in mind that in England this proportion has for some time been reversed; it is still reversed in Germany after the expiration of a quarter of a century. These two nations have become chiefly industrial; France still remains a rural nation, and has cause to congratulate herself on the fact.

who have remained popular heroes to this day—these were the principal grievances of workingmen, particularly Parisian workingmen, against the governments of Louis XVIII and Charles X. It was possibly during this period that the popular mind received that decided bent towards blind and irrational anti-clericalism that has characterised it ever since, and that still leads it to the commission of the most dangerous follies.

Sad State of the Working Classes

French workingmen—particularly those of Paris—were to play a leading part in the battle of the *trois Glorieuses* which placed the younger branch of the house of Bourbon on the throne. For this branch itself the workman cared but little; he had believed the conflict to be in the cause of a Napoleon or of the republic: Louis Philippe was to him simply the king of the bourgeois, that is to say of the employers. He had hoped much of this revolution, but was soon to see that it had profited him but little; for the landed aristocracy had been substituted an industrial bourgeoisie, or rather the latter had been called to have a share in the power, and no notice at all was taken of the “heroes of July,” or the “people with the bare arms.”

Yet there was so much that could have been done for the workingman! Upon him fell the full weight of all the shocks, the disappointment, the suspense that mark the beginning of a great industrial transformation. He suffered from the introduction of machines which had for effect, before the great reparatory impulse set in, diminution in wages, the dismissal of many workmen, and utter ruin for the artisan who had set up in business for himself. The troubles resulting from this cause in France cannot, however, be compared to the riots of the Luddites, or “machine breakers” in England, notably during the year 1816.¹

French manufacturers, less experienced—consequently more timorous than those of to-day—showed a tendency to depress wages at the least appearance on the horizon of a menace of failure for their markets or of the establishment of a formidable rival. It was the workman who bore the brunt of this cruelly prudent policy, nor were any adequate measures taken to protect him against the accidents incident to labour. In the factories defectively installed machinery and in mines the almost total absence of ventilation, the rarity and ignorant use of the Davy lamp, the insufficient precautions taken against fire-damp resulted in a multitude of victims.

The employer found it to his advantage to raise up competitors by the side of the workman in the latter's own wife and children, and no more limit was set to the work of women and children than to that of adult men. Sometimes an entire family would exhaust its forces and destroy its health for a total gain that was only equivalent to the salary that the husband and father ought rightfully to have earned.² In cotton-goods factories there were frequently to be seen children of six, even of five years working fourteen and fifteen hours together tying threads.

In the great industrial centres the employer took no notice at all of the

¹ Spencer Walpole, *History of England from 1815*, vol. I, pp. 401–424.

² Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie*, 2 vols., 1840. Jules Simon, *L'Ouvrière*, 1861; *Le Travail*, 1866; *L'Ouvrier de huit ans*, 1867. E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières en France depuis 1789*, 2 vols., 1867. See also publications of *L'office du travail*, founded in 1871, instituted by the ministry of commerce; particularly *Statistique des grèves*; *Les associations professionnelles ouvrières*; *Statistique générale de la France*; *Poisons industriels*; *Législation ouvrière et sociale en Australie et Nouvelle Zélande, etc.*]

manner in which his workmen were lodged. The families herded together in damp cellars, in garrets that were stiflingly hot or bitterly cold according to the season, in insalubrious dens that received neither air nor light and were provided with no conveniences whatever.¹ A single room, sometimes a single bed was the home of an entire family, and half of the new-born children died before the age of fifteen months. There thus grew up a generation of working people feeble in mind and body, without morality or education—schools were in any case rare at that epoch; which represented just so much lost energy and power to France.

Much of this suffering was caused by the indifference, one may say the inhumanity of the employers; but a large part also resulted from the necessity of utilising old, tumble-down buildings, from the inevitable hazards and difficulties surrounding industries at their birth, from the over-rapid growth of these industries in France precluding amelioration in the conditions of either factory or home. That this is so is proved by the superior accommodations provided for workmen in the new centres of industry in Alsace and in the north. There factory workers were lodged in clean, airy houses, as was likewise the case at Roubaix and Tourcoing. At Morvillars (Alsace) the employer rented to the employé for thirty-six francs a year a commodious apartment with a small garden attached.

Under the old régime it had been common to compare the life of the French peasant with that of the negro in the colonies, and to esteem that the latter was the happier of the two; now it was the workers in cities who were given the name of "white negroes," and who in many respects would have been justified in envying their dark-skinned brothers to whom at least food, fresh air, sunlight, and the sight of sky and trees were free.

In the main, however, the lot of the French workmen was the same as that of the workers in every great industrial country, particularly in England, where the investigation started by Thomas Sadler in 1831, having in view the limitation of hours of work for children, had revealed a horrible condition of things.

Between the bourgeoisie monarchy which seemed insensible to so much suffering and the sufferers themselves (the workers in the cities), strife could not fail to arise.

Early Strikes and Revolts

In October, 1831, the silk weavers of La Croix-Rousse at Lyons demanded an increase in wages. The prefect offered to mediate, an action for which he was afterwards bitterly censured by the oligarchy of employers. The mayor convoked an assembly of twenty-two delegates each from the workmen and from the employers, that a minimum tariff of wages might be fixed upon. The employers' delegates refused to make any concession, and after a meeting that followed, the weavers descended in a body from La Croix-Rousse and poured silently into the place de Bellecour and the square before the prefecture. The prefect succeeded in inducing them to disperse, that the tariff might not seem to have been imposed by force. The weavers nevertheless signed the agreement; but the prefect having been disavowed by his government, the tariff was not put into effect. Immediately La Croix-Rousse rose in insurrection, erected barriers, and raised a black flag bearing the inscription, "We will live working or die fighting." The insurgents in a struggle of

¹ The lodgings of this sort to be most severely condemned were: at Lille the Saint Sauveur quarter and the cellars of the rue des Étaques, at Mülhausen the cellars of the "white negroes," at Rouen the Martainville quarter, etc.

two days (21st-22nd of November) repulsed the national guard, which did not make any great display of courage, forced General Roguet and the three thousand soldiers of the garrison to retreat, and for ten days remained absolute masters of Lyons. They committed no excesses—nay, even detailed some of their number to keep guard over the houses of the rich. On the 3rd of December they offered no resistance to the entrance of an enlarged body of troops headed by Marshal Soult and the duke of Orleans, eldest son of the king. The workmen were disarmed, the national guard was dismissed, and the tariff abolished. What especially characterised this first Lyons insurrection was that politics, properly speaking, had absolutely no share in it; the movement from first to last revolved around a question of wages.

It was different in Paris, where a series of insurrections burst forth, the most terrible of which were those of the 5th and 6th of June, 1832, on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque. These uprisings were the work of certain republican associations, secret or avowed, and the working people in general had but little share in them. Nevertheless it was the working people at whom the government aimed when it passed the law of 1834 on associations (26th of March).

The month of April, 1834, was marked by agitation. Troubles arose at Saint Étienne, Grenoble, Besançon, Arbois, Poitiers, Vienne, Marseilles, Perpignan, Auxerre, Châlon-sur-Saône, Épinal, Lunéville, Clermont-Ferrand, etc.; but the only really serious demonstrations were the second Lyons insurrection and the new revolt in Paris.

In Lyons a change had been brought about in the spirit of the working-classes by the operations of several secret societies. The question of wages was, as before, paramount; but it was no longer unmingled with political feeling. A new idea had arisen for which to do battle, the republican idea. The news of the vote deciding the passage of the law on associations stirred the chiefs to declare revolt. This time the struggle lasted five days—from the 9th to the 13th of April. The workmen of Lyons displayed a courage so desperate that at one time General Aymar thought seriously of retreat, but in the end the royal troops were victorious.

The Lyons insurrection had not been completely quelled when, on the 13th, broke forth in Paris the revolt that had the church and cloister of Saint Merri for its centre. Fighting continued the whole of that day and the next, but the movement was finally put down by the numerous force employed against it—forty thousand soldiers of the line and of the national guard.

The explosions that shook simultaneously fifteen or twenty cities of France had for result the monster trial called “trial of the April offenders.” The accused, to the number of 121, of whom 41 belonged to Paris and 80 to the departments, were arraigned before the chamber of peers, which was formed for the occasion into a high court, presenting a total of 88 judges.

Utopian Philosophies

A last echo of these conflicts was the law voted on the 9th of September, 1835, concerning freedom of the press. From that time forth through a period of twelve years the monarchy enjoyed comparative peace without presage of the fresh revolution that was brewing, a revolution of a character both political and social. The political phase lasted but a single day, the 24th of February; the second or social phase was of longer duration and of a nature more serious and sanguinary. The French workman, however, owed to the monarchy of July the law of March 22nd, 1841, on child labour in

factories, aiming to protect the children of working people against both the weakness of their parents and the greed of employers. The principle of this protective measure was combated by Gay-Lussac who denounced it, in the name of the right of all to work and make contracts, as the beginning of "Saint-Simonism or Phalansterianism." His arguments were a succession of sophistries unworthy of a great mind and masking but imperfectly the egotistical spirit of resistance that animated employers. The law applied only to such industrial establishments as employed mechanical motive power or fires that were never allowed to go out, and gave occupation to twenty or more workers. It interdicted the employment in factories of children under twelve years of age; authorised elsewhere only eight hours of labour a day broken by a rest for children of from eight to twelve, twelve hours of labour from twelve to thirteen, and no night work at all for those under thirteen. Up to the age of twelve years the apprentice, in his leisure hours, was supposed to attend school. Legal sanction was given by a corps of inspectors who had the right to impose fines for any contravention on the part of employers.

It was under the monarchy of July that the crude and vague ideas of which labour socialism was composed began to assume some definite shape and to issue forth as systems. Saint-Simon, the author of the "New Christianity," had died in 1825, but he left behind him a sort of lay congregation, the members of which practised obedience to a single chief, and the holding of all things in common. They were called Saint-Simonians, and at one time under Enfantin engaged in the practice of mysteriously mystic rites, at another in conjunction with the financier Pereire and the economist Michel Chevalier set out to reform the entire economic world. In 1832 the Saint-Simonians, accused of having violated public morality, were arraigned before the court of assizes, where they appeared in the full uniform of their sect (blue tunic, white trousers, and varnished leather belt); three of their number, one of whom was the "father" Enfantin himself, were sentenced to a month's imprisonment. After that the "family" became "secularised"—that is, it dispersed.

Other chiefs and other doctrines arose: Fourier, with his theory of the suppression of property and communal life in his *Phalansteries*; Cabet, with his dream of Icaria, the blessed isle whereon the state, sole proprietor, producer, and dispenser, was to lay down for its subjects their daily tasks, to prescribe the cut of their garments and the menu of their repasts; Pierre Leroux, with his books on *Equality* and *Humanity*, in which mysticism was blended with socialism; Louis Blanc, who in his *Labour Organisation* (1844) advised the state's absorption of all agricultural property and industrial establishments. These various theories shared one trait in common: they all professed communism or collectivism, which simply means suppression of proprietary rights and of individual initiative.

Proudhon departs radically from this idea. Like the other theorists he objects to individual holding of property and sums up his views in a phrase borrowed from Brissot de Warville, one of the most illustrious of Girondins: "What is property? It is theft." Ownership is unjust because it creates inequality, equality is exact justice. But Proudhon opposes communism with equal energy; according to him it is contrary to the primordial as well as to the noblest instincts of humanity.

He would not only do away altogether with state intervention, even where the state is communistic—he demands the total abolition of the state, of its diplomacy, its armies, its frontiers. The principle he advocates is

an-archy in the etymological sense of the word, that is to say the suppression of all authority save that of the father. The only social force that he admits is the force that springs from the free association of workmen.

The sincere and ardent republicans who, on the 24th of February, formed the provisory government, promised to assure the workman, to whose courage was due the success of the Revolution, an improved position in society. They conferred upon him the right of suffrage and free admission into the national guard, which was thus changed from a body of fifty or sixty thousand men to one of two hundred thousand.

In restoring absolute liberty of association and of the press, the provisory government made two very dangerous gifts to the excitable and profoundly ignorant Parisian workmen who, in consequence of the general perturbation caused by the sitting of February 24th, found themselves suddenly without work. Idleness and want made them accept as the wisest counsels the seditious utterances of the newspapers and of the demagogues at the clubs.

As early as the 25th of February a crowd of armed workmen bearing the red flag as symbol of republican socialism assembled at the Hôtel-de-Ville. It required all Lamartine's eloquence to induce them to discard their unworthy emblem and raise in its place the tricolour, which had already made the "tour of the world."¹

The situation of the workers soon assumed an aspect too serious to admit of any delay in providing relief. But was it possible to succour all the suffering toilers who were deprived of work? The attempt was made. Orders were given to the bakers and butchers to supply with bread and meat any of the armed citizens who had a requisition from their chief. All the articles pledged at the Mont-de-Piété since February 1st upon which had been advanced a loan of not over ten francs were to be returned to their former owners. The palace of the Tuileries was thrown open to receive invalided workmen, and the government proposed to "restore to the workmen, to whom they rightfully belonged, the million francs that were about to fall due from the civil list." To these acts of gross flattery towards the men of the people were added declarations of the utmost gravity. The government took upon itself to "guarantee the existence of the workman by means of work," that is to "guarantee work to every citizen." Twenty-four battalions of "mobile national guard" were created, each soldier of which was to receive a daily pay of thirty sous. At the same time were opened the "national workshops" which cost enormous sums to support and which completed the demoralisation of the artisan by exacting from him a merely nominal return in work for a daily wage of one and a half or two francs. Also followers of the finer crafts, such as jewellers, clockmakers, engravers, etc., were frequently to be seen spoiling the delicacy of their hands by pushing a wheelbarrow or digging ditches.

The National Workshops and Their Consequences

The government determined to effect still more. It instituted in the palace of the Luxembourg "a governmental commission" for working people, of which several workmen were elected members, and which was given a president and vice-president in the persons of two members of the government, Louis Blanc and the workman Albert. Louis Blanc in addition to his other duties undertook to explain to the workers just what was meant

[¹ Concerning Lamartine, the politician, a very interesting book appeared in 1903 by M. Pierre Quentin-Bauchart.]

by the "organisation of labour." Thus by lectures and fine speeches the government sought to make the people forget their miseries.

The many secret societies and professional demagogues (Blanqui, Barbès, and Félix Pyat had already made for themselves a wide reputation) profited by the inexperience of the labouring classes and drew them into all sorts of dangerous manifestations. Such for instance was the movement of the 17th of March, which demanded the withdrawal of the troops from Paris, and that of the 16th of April, so menacing for the government that it ordered out the national guard into the square before the Hôtel-de-Ville. The workmen, incited by their leaders to mingle in matters that did not concern or even interest them, were beginning to make of themselves an intolerable nuisance, while the Bonapartist or royalist agents that took an active part in their manifestations constituted a grave peril to the republic.

Another source of danger, and one that threatened more seriously day by day, was the workshops. In the beginning the number of workers they contained was but a few thousand; a short time after, the total had risen to 110,000. The strikes, encouraged by the commission of the Luxembourg, multiplied without any apparent reason; the participants doubtless preferred the *dolce far niente* of the national workshops to any serious toil elsewhere. Instead of breaking up these workshops into groups more or less widely distant from each other, their director, Émile Thomas, allowed them to become concentrated in the single district that to-day forms the Parc Monceau. He had instituted in these workshops an almost military discipline and organisation. By such measures the government hoped to raise up for itself a great power of defence; but it was soon found that the vast assemblages of workmen furnished nearly all the recruits for the popular manifestations.

When the constituent assembly came together (the 4th of May) the gravity of the situation was revealed to it by the audacious action of the labour leaders. On the 15th of May, under pretext of presenting a petition on behalf of Poland—many workmen believed that that very evening a relief expedition was to be undertaken in favour of the "France of the North"—a mass of people, nearly two thousand unarmed men, led by Blanqui, Raspail, Quentin, Huber, and Sobrier, made irruption into the assembly. Huber proclaimed it to be dissolved. After that the rioters were expelled without bloodshed by the mobile guard. They proceeded at once to the Hôtel-de-Ville, but were dispersed by Lamartine, who followed them at the head of the mobile guard.

The assembly showed less disposition to forgive this criminal aggression than had the governments of the Hôtel-de-Ville. It proceeded at once to close several clubs, decreed the arrest of Barbès, Blanqui, Sobrier, Quentin, and even Albert, the former member of the provisory government. It broke with Louis Blanc, and made minister of war a tried republican and valiant African general, Eugène Cavaignac. Lastly it formed a commission solely to investigate the matter of the national workshops and render a report.

Unfortunately the person charged with making this report was one of the most ardent members of the legitimist and clerical Right, the apologist of the terrible pope-inquisitor Pius V, and future author of the law of 1850 on public instruction, Alfred de Falloux. The assembly, acting on blind impulse, adopted his conclusions. It displayed as great an inexperience in closing the national workshops as that revealed by the governments of the Hôtel-de-Ville in creating them and allowing them to develop. It had not, however, the excuse of the latter in the eyes of posterity—their profound pity for the sufferings of the people.

One circumstance which was certain to produce bloodshed in Paris was the precipitate haste of the enemies of the national workshops in carrying out their measures of repression. On the 29th of May, by means of an arbitrary warrant that recalls the *lettres de cachet*, Émile Thoinas was arrested and taken to Bordeaux.

The watchword of the reactionists was "An end must be made at once." In his report Falloux, with odious hypocrisy, denounced the national workshops as the agency which had worked the "saddest deterioration in the character formerly so pure and glorious of the Parisian workman."

On the 22nd of June a decree, published in *Le Moniteur* and signed by Minister Goudchaux, declared that "all workmen between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five must on the following day enlist in the army under pain of being refused admission to the workshops." On the 23rd barricades were erected all over the city and firing commenced. Eugène Cavaignac, "chief of the executive power," was in supreme command, having under him several of the ablest and bravest generals of the African service. The battle between the workmen and the regular state forces raged with unparalleled fury for four whole days; the troops had the task of tearing down hundreds of barricades. On the 25th General Damesme was fatally wounded, the generals Bréa and de Négrier were assassinated, and Monseigneur Affre, archbishop of Paris, was killed.

The assembly now saw the mistake it had committed and voted three millions for the relief of needy workmen; the greater part of the insurgents, however, never even heard of the measure. The struggle ended on the 26th by the bombardment and capture of the faubourg St. Antoine. The workmen of this quarter had taken up arms on hearing the rumour that the royalists were attacking the republic; what was their surprise to see the troops, the national guard, the mobile guard—the latter composed entirely of workmen—all scaling the barricades to cries of "*Vive la république*." During that series of wretched misunderstandings which have come down to us as the "days of June," French blood was shed in streams. There were in all six or seven thousand wounded. The government troops, which went uncovered to the attack of the barricades, behind which were sheltered the insurgents, counted fifteen hundred dead, and among them seven generals. The insurgents lost but half that number. Of the rebels who were taken captive, 3,376 were transported to Algeria, where many of them founded colonies.¹

The recognition of the "right to work" and the faulty organisation of the national workshops have cast a great weight of blame on the memory of the provisory government; but still severer condemnation attaches to the assembly and to those political intriguers who made it do their will; who showed themselves so woefully ignorant of the psychology of the mass of workers, and so forgetful of their devotion on the 24th of February.

It was the republic that had to suffer by the mistakes made on every side. The remembrance of the "days of June" had due weight on the occasion of the presidential election on the 10th of December, 1848. The name of Louis Napoleon was cast into the urn by citizens eager for peace, and by workingmen who hoped to obtain through the nephew of the first emperor, through the author of *L'Extinction du paupérisme*, a signal revenge.

[¹ Alexandre Quentin-Bauchart, *Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur le 15 Mai et l'insurrection de Juin, 1848*. 3 vols. in 4. See also the apologies of Émile Thomas, *Histoire des ateliers nationaux, 1850*. *Histoires de la Révolution de 1848*, which are likewise apologies, by Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, and Louis Blanc.]

The Working Classes under Louis Napoleon

The two republican assemblies, the constituent and the legislative, were neither of them capable of offering a final solution to the labour problem; the first because of its brief term of existence, the second because of its internal divisions and over-conservative tendencies. The laws they passed were merely those of the 18th of June, 1850, on superannuation funds; of the 15th of July, 1850, on mutual aid societies; and of the 22nd of February, 1851, abolishing certain limitations—a survival of the old régime—to the number of apprentices. The law of the 27th of November, 1849, on coalitions of working people simply reproduces certain provisions of the Penal Code of Napoleon. The humiliating formality of the *livret* and Article 1,781 of the Civil Code were also allowed to remain in force.

Moreover, both republican assemblies, but especially the legislative, which more directly felt the pressure of the Napoleonic executive power, had departed widely from the principles of well-nigh absolute liberty promised by the provisory government as the foundation of the new republic. The constituent assembly by the enactment of July 28, 1848, which aimed particularly at secret societies, restricted liberty of meeting and association, and the legislative interdicted, for a period of time which was afterwards renewed, all clubs and public meetings. It did not venture, however, to re-enforce either Article 291 of the Penal Code or the law of 1834.

About the same course was pursued in regard to freedom of the press. That a stop might be put to the multiplication of subversive journals the constituent assembly redemanded the former security; then it pronounced penalties against writers who should attack any of the existing institutions—the national assembly, the executive power, the constitution, property-rights, the principles of universal suffrage or the sovereignty of the people, liberty of worship, the family, etc. The legislative reissued almost all the provisions of the law of 1835, then re-established the stamp-tax in addition to the obligatory security.

Finally the legislative committed the supreme folly of exacting, in the law of May 31, 1850, not six months' but three years' residence as qualification for the right to vote, which was virtually to exclude the whole body of workmen, forced as they are by the exigencies of labour to frequent changes of habitation. Thus the assembly struck an annihilating blow at the very system to which it owed its existence, universal suffrage. No enemy animated by the most perfidious designs could have counselled it to a more self-destructive act. The proclamation of the usurper-president had now, in order to make sure of the workmen's neutrality, but to include this simple declaration: "Universal suffrage is again established."

To sum up, the republic—provisory government or assembly—had given so little satisfaction to the masses of the people whether urban or rural, had fallen so far short of fulfilling, not their dreams but their most legitimate hopes, that it was an easy matter for any new rule, however autocratic, to establish its sway over them. The act of perjury and the massacres in which this dawning power took its rise might render inimical to it a certain high element among the people; it none the less succeeded in flattering the interests and thereby gaining the sympathies of the great majority of the nation.

Its first display of ability was in recognising that it was above all a government of universal suffrage and that its most pressing need was to conciliate the masses. All new laws must be framed with these facts in view;

they were the key-note that dominated the policy both at home and abroad. For how, if universal suffrage had not existed in France, could they have instituted a plebiscite before taking possession of Savoy and Nice, and have demanded of the king Victor Emmanuel that he confirm by a plebiscite his Italian conquests?

The rule that followed upon the coup d'état, bearing first the name of decennial presidency, then that of empire, had the support of the rural classes, which the provisory government had alienated by establishing the impost of 45 centimes—that is, increasing direct taxation by 45 per cent. It was easy enough for Napoleon III to win the favour of village inhabitants by building dwellings for the mayors, erecting churches, and cutting new parish roads; and to capture their suffrage by means of a cleverly executed system of official candidatureship. A series of full crops and harvests completed the general well-being in the country, and the superstitious peasant was inclined to attribute all to the magic name of Napoleon. Even now old inhabitants love to recall the times when grain and cattle “sold so high.”

Napoleon III also rendered inestimable services to the workers in cities; in him indeed may be seen the organiser, hesitating at times, without full knowledge of the work he was accomplishing, of that great power, urban democracy. His autocratic rule brought to realisation what none of the liberal monarchies or republican assemblies had even dared to attempt. The nephew of the great emperor in his law of the 25th of May, 1864, struck out of the Code Napoleon Articles 414, 415, and 416 which interdicted coalitions, abrogated at the same time the law of 1849 and put an end to a system which forced the tribunals to judge each year an average of seventy-five trials resulting from strikes. The new law recognised the right of workmen to concert for the purpose of obtaining an increase of wages, and to make use of the means most effectual for this end, the strike. It punished only those offences which brought about simultaneous cessation of labour by means of acts of violence, menace, or fraud. The government made it a point of honour to protect as fully the labourer's right to cease work as his right to work. Freedom so unrestrained might become, according to the use it was given in the hands of workmen, either a powerful instrument for their material improvement or the most dangerous weapon that was ever turned against both themselves and the industries of the nation. Was it to be hoped that they would always use it wisely? Led away by the ardour of political feeling, they were frequently guilty of unwarrantable acts that brought them into violent contact with the public authorities charged with protecting liberty of labour. From such encounters resulted sanguinary episodes like that of the Ricamarie “massacre” (1869), in which were killed eleven persons, two of whom were women.

By the law of the 2nd of August, 1868, the government abrogated Article 1,781 of the Civil Code. In 1854 more timidity had been shown, as for instance when the *livret* was insisted upon with greater rigour, and it was obligatory upon each new employer to have it endorsed by the police. The evils resulting from this practice becoming more apparent as time went on, an inquiry was ordered in 1869, which was about to end in the suppression of the *livret* when the Franco-Prussian War broke out. Hospitals were multiplied for the labouring classes, and asylums for infants and old people. The empress took under her especial patronage all these works of public charity, and one of the asylums on the Seine was given the name of Prince Imperial.

The species of popularity which Napoleon III enjoyed among Parisian workmen was founded on the abundance of work provided by the recon-

struction of a large part of the capital by Haussmann, the prefect of the Seine. The people were fond of saying in presence of this gigantic *haussmannisation*, "When the building trade flourishes everything goes well." The number of workmen employed in building alone was almost doubled—71,240 instead of 41,600. The total number of labourers employed in all the twenty districts of Paris had increased from 342,530 to 416,811, of which 285,861 were men, and the rest were women, girls, and young boys. Besides these, 42,028 people were employed in the public establishments and by the great companies, 26,242 were sub-contractors, and 62,199 were engaged in work on their own account. The whole made up an army of more than 500,000 Parisian workers.

The labour delegates that the emperor had allowed to be sent to the Universal Exhibition of London in 1863 noted the liberty enjoyed by the English labourers, and studied the working of their trade unions. Some returned affiliated to the dangerous International Association of Workingmen; others, more practical, merely brought back a deep veneration for the principles of mutuality. In the report of the typographers is to be read: "Association is the truest and most efficacious method of promoting the peaceful and progressive emancipation of the working-classes." Moreover, the influence was widely felt in France of the success obtained in Germany by Schulze-Delitzsch, who had created the workmen's mutual credit system and the people's banks. Soon in every part of France—naturally with the authorisation of the government—co-operative societies in the fields of consumption, production, and credit began to multiply. The progress of the urban working-classes was also shown by the great number of mutual aid societies that arose among them: five years after the passage of the law of July 15th, 1850, there were no less than 2,695 of these associations.

In 1853 the manufacturer Jean Dollfus of Mülhausen founded the Mülhausen Society of Labour Settlements, which not only assured the workman comfortable and salubrious quarters, but permitted him to own his home after the lapse of a few years by the payment of a small sum annually. This example was shortly followed in every part of France.

The Commune of 1871

The fall of the second empire, occurring as it did when a foreign war was at its height, was preceded and followed by revolutionary movements. After war had been declared it was found necessary all over the country, in order to supply the deficiency of troops of the line, to muster in the "mobile guards," the "mobilised troops," and the "national guard," which altogether made up a force that held discipline in contempt and, being also without military training or instruction, could render effective service—glorious service it was sometimes—only in case of siege.

In Paris, especially, nothing had been accomplished save to organise an armed conflict between political opinions of the bitterest and most fervid character. Those members of the "government of the national defence" who remained shut up in Paris soon had an opportunity to distinguish between the "good battalions" and the "bad battalions."¹ The latter were in general quite as active in opposing the German invasion as the others, but under all their patriotism lay the ulterior purpose of making the republic that was proclaimed on September 4th, and acknowledged throughout France,

¹ Depositions before the committee investigating the acts of the government of the national defence, preceded by the report of the Count Daru.

a socialistic republic. Many of these "bad battalions" were under the direct influence of leaders who had gained fame in previous revolutions, Blanqui, Félix Pyat, or certain new demagogues who, with the exception of Flourens or Delescluze, were for the most part unknown. Among the "bad battalions" there were many "worse" ones, for example those of Belleville who tore up the flag given them to raise on their march towards the enemy, but who were always in the lead when any rioting took place.¹

In reality the famous "commune" existed when Paris was still in a state of siege. The events of October 1st, 1870, when the government was penned up for fourteen hours in the Hôtel-de-Ville by riots which fortunately terminated without bloodshed, also those of the 22nd of January, 1871, when firing broke out in the square of the Hôtel-de-Ville between the "mobiles" of Brittany and the 101st battalion of the national guard, were all the work of the commune.

After Paris had capitulated, nearly one hundred thousand men belonging to the well-to-do classes, hence to the "good battalions," hurried to rejoin their families and the field was left free to the revolutionists, who until then had not been in the majority. It was at this juncture that they assumed the name of "federates." Upon the temper of this populace possessing 450,000 rifles, 2,000 cannon, and innumerable stores of powder, upon the spirit of men, already tried by the sufferings of the siege—sufferings that had resulted in enormous infant mortality—and a prey to the hallucinations of the "siege fever," and of patriotism exasperated by defeat, a number of incidents that now took place acted with disastrous effect. On the 1st and 2nd of March the Parisians saw the German troops march, according to the terms of capitulation, from the Arc de Triomphe to the garden of the Tuileries; they also had reason to believe that the national assembly, now in session at Bordeaux, was acting disloyally to the republic, and learned on the arrival of the representatives at Versailles that the royalist majority had received with violent hostility the complaints of the Paris mayors.

Finally, the dearest interests of all were attacked when the assembly gave forth that the notes which had been allowed to lapse through the whole duration of the siege were now demandable within forty-eight hours, such a decision being equivalent to paralysing Parisian commerce and plunging its leaders into bankruptcy. The episode of the cannon of Montmartre on March 18th caused the insurrection to burst forth with a fury that resulted in the shameful assassination of two generals. The revolutionists of Lyons rose at the same time and assassinated the prefect of Loire, and in Marseilles the riots were not put down without much bloodshed. M. Thiers resolved to evacuate Paris that he might obtain possession of it again the more surely. Though justifiable from a strategic point of view, this action virtually delivered Paris over to the tyranny of mob rule, with all its attendant chances of pillage, burning—perhaps even of total destruction.

Taking up his position at Versailles with a body of troops, small at first but growing in number as the prisoners from Germany returned, M. Thiers for two months held Paris in a state of siege, visiting terrible reprisals on those "communard" battalions which ventured out into the plain. On the 21st of May the Versailles troops took by surprise the gate of Saint Cloud and poured into Paris; after which commenced the "week of blood" or the "battle of seven days," which as far exceeded in horror the terrible days of June, 1848, as the latter surpassed the uprisings of 1831, 1832, and 1834.

[¹ Jules Ferry, deposition before the committee of investigation on the 18th of March, 1871, reproduced in vol. 1, page 549, of his *Discours et opinions*.]

The "proletariat" manifested its new-found power in an ever-growing thirst for destruction. The whole centre of Paris—Legion of Honour, court of Accounts, Tuileries, Ministry of Finance, Palais Royal, Palais de Justice, Prefecture of Police, and Hôtel-de-Ville, that marvel of the Renaissance—formed but one cauldron; everywhere insurgents of both sexes were going about making use of petroleum. The cannon of the Versailles artillery and those of the communards opened fire on each other from one quarter to another of the very heart of Paris. Unable to hold out longer, the commune ordered the massacre of the "hostages," among whom were the archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Darboy, and the president, Bonjean. The last of the federates were finally crushed among the tombs of Père-Lachaise.

Of the members of the commune, Delescluze had found death on a barricade, Jacques Durand and Varlin had been executed, the ferocious Raoul Rigault had been killed by a pistol in the hands of a policeman, and five others had received wounds. All the rest had taken to flight.

It was upon the poor devils, the humble members of the various national guards who were for the most part unwitting instruments, that the punishment fell most heavily. Seventeen thousand of these participants perished during or after the combat, and 37,000 were driven on foot through torrid heat to Versailles, where they were arraigned before a council of war. This trial resulted in 26 executions, 3,417 deportations, 1,247 detentions, 332 banishments, 251 condemnations to penal servitude, and 4,873 diverse penalties. "Paris has cruelly expiated the error into which it was plunged by certain guilty and irresponsible men; surely after the sufferings endured and the heroism displayed during the siege the city did not deserve a destiny so hard."¹

For more than two months the commune ruled supreme over one of the greatest capitals of the world, and to this day the collectivists, the anarchists, the unruly, and the lawless of every country on the globe celebrate that brief triumph as the most splendid manifestation of the power of the people that the world has ever seen.

It cannot be denied that the commune was guilty of monstrous crimes. To offset these crimes, what social ideals did it realise, what doctrines or plans of reform did it hand down to posterity, what guiding signs did it place along the route of succeeding generations or what foundations lay ready for the future constructions of humanity? The truth is that the commune distinguished itself for nothing so much as a complete dearth of ideas, a prodigious inability to do anything but repeat certain terrorist proceedings of '93, to strut about under the same stripes and dignities as those worn by the citizen-governors. The "central committee of the commune" was made up in the beginning of very ordinary individuals, who were obscure at the time of their selection and remained so even while wielding a power that was practically unlimited. Bound together by no common ties and for the most part grossly ignorant, these men had not even a true conception of the principles they represented; hence were utterly incapable of arranging, either singly or in concert, any plan for united action.

The central committee was supposed to consist of a hundred members, but rarely did more than twenty or thirty come together at a sitting. "The records of these meetings reveal the strange body to have been after all little more than a makeshift; instability is always apparent, as well as great confusion and a lack of sequence in ideas. Certain successful candidates suddenly

¹ Gabriel Hanotaux (former minister of foreign affairs), *Histoire de la France contemporaine*, vol. I, Paris, 1903.

relinquished membership, others abstained from attending any of the sittings, while yet other individuals, without having been elected, presented themselves in company with a friend and took part in the deliberations until a complaint was made and both were expelled."¹

An all-powerful commune (using the word in its true sense), holding universal sway by virtue of the terror it inspired, demanding of all provisions, bravery, and willing arms, was a legend rather than a fact. In reality a few audacious men both within and without the committee, such as Rossel, Flourens, the "generals" Duval and Bergeret, Raoul Rigault, and Delescluze, arrogated to themselves the greater part of the power and abused it shamefully. So long as lasted the commune the conditions under which men governed, tyrannised, fought, killed, and themselves found death were those of pure anarchy. Were it otherwise, had any serious organisation or system existed, would it have been possible for the Versailles troops to enter Paris and pass through the gate of Saint Cloud without discharging a shot from their rifles?

The suppression of the Paris revolt might—so hoped the assembly's Right—wipe out the republic itself, but this hope was not fulfilled. Democracy, though vanquished, was still formidable, and the republic in whose name it had been subdued retained such an appearance of power that M. Thiers, in whose hand lay the destinies of France, accentuated his evolution towards the Left. Moreover, the rural populations and the bourgeoisie of 1871 displayed more reason and self-possession than had characterised similar classes in 1848. Far from hastening to set over themselves a master, as had the latter, they gave all their support to the aged statesman who was doing his utmost to place the republic in a position of safety.

Recent Legislation for the Betterment of Labour

It was now universally comprehended that a republic should exist for the good of all classes of the nation, should be *res publica* in the full meaning of the words; whereas former revolutions had furthered the interests of one class alone. The assemblies which succeeded each other after 1875, having greater wisdom, more time for deliberation, and wider experience than those of the second republic, elaborated so many useful laws that a complete change was brought about in the situation of the workingman.

Powerful as was the instrument of emancipation put into the hands of working people when universal suffrage was proclaimed in 1848, the gift needed another to complete it—free and obligatory education for the masses as provided by the Ferry laws; also the adult schools, complementary to the primary school system, and technical instruction of all sorts.

The law of the 21st of March, 1884, on syndicates, borrowed the best features of early labour organisation in France and at the same time guaranteed, it was hoped, full liberty to the individual. The law of July 2nd, 1890, suppressed the obligation of the workingman to carry a *livret*, or certificate. The law of the 8th of July, 1890, provided for the appointment of delegates of miners, who were to be elected by their comrades and charged with securing safe conditions of labour. The law of the 27th of December, 1892, instituted optional arbitration in litigations between employers and employed. The law of the 9th of April, 1898, awarded an indemnity to workmen injured while performing any ordered task, even when the injury could

[¹ Camille Pelletan, *Le Comité central de la Commune*, New Edition.]

be shown to be the result of their own imprudence. In case of death from such a cause the indemnity is to be paid to the wife and children of the deceased. The law of the 30th of June, 1899, extended to agricultural labourers this same right of indemnity in cases where an accident was caused by the use of machines worked by inanimate forces (steam or electricity) and not by men or animals. The laws of the 19th of March, 1874, and of the 2nd of November, 1892, interpreted by numerous decrees, were intended as revisions of those elaborated by the chambers under Louis Philippe; but so complicated is the matter owing to the endless diversity of professions that it is found difficult to formulate a good general law. The many provisions and prohibitions come near to being vexatious, even ruinous, to the workingman himself.

By a law of 1883 commissioners and inspectors of child-labour are also charged with the enforcement of the law of May 17th, 1851, regulating the number of hours of work a day for adults.

The progress of the working-classes can always be estimated by the rate of advance of certain allied institutions. Thus the mutual aid societies, which in 1853 numbered 2,695, had attained in 1899 a total of 12,292, with 1,725,439 active members, 292,748 honorary members, and a capital of 312,000,000 francs.

The superannuation funds, including the "national" fund of that name founded in 1850, also entered upon a period of great development. The laws of June 25th, 1894, and July 16th, 1896, organised similar institutions for the benefit of miners, and the French parliament is constantly entertaining projects looking to the further extension of the idea.

In 1847 the savings banks contained in deposits only 358,000,000 of francs, in 1869 the amount had increased to 711,000,000, and in 1882 to 1,754,000,000. At the beginning of 1899 the banks had received in deposits 4,000,500,000 francs, represented by 7,000,000 bank-books.

The free medical aid system was established by the law of January 22nd, 1893; that of free judicial aid, created by the law of January 22nd, 1851, was reorganised by the law of July 8th, 1901.

It is evident that the working people, not wholly but in great part, compose the mutual aid societies, contribute to the superannuation funds, and own the three or four thousand million francs deposited in the savings banks of France. It is equally apparent that to them falls the largest share of the benefits arising from prosperity. According to calculations the consumption of meat has almost doubled since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the consumption of wine has doubled, that of coffee trebled, of sugar increased tenfold, and of beer augmented in the proportion of 70 per cent. Now the rich man hardly consumes a greater quantity of meat, wine, beer, coffee, and sugar than does the labourer, nor is the economical rural worker given to using half as much of these commodities as his urban brother; hence it will be seen that the general increase of prosperity has benefited most of all the labourers in cities.

The workingman of to-day is better fed, better clad, better housed, more generously provided in every way with worldly goods than was the workingman of thirty years ago. He profits by all the inventions of a philanthropic legislature, enjoys for himself and his children free medical service and judicial aid, but can it truly be said that he is happier than his congener of fifty or sixty years ago? And if it is true, will he admit it? It is ingrained in the nature of man to let his sufferings for the lack of certain things outweigh his happiness in the possession of others. French workingmen are not inclined

to seek comparisons in bygone times, they refuse to take into account any period but the present, to see anything but the existing difference between their own and their employer's condition. They display a greater animosity to-day toward the bourgeois class, that has made for them many sacrifices, than was ever cherished by their forerunners against the egoistical employers of 1830. Many among them would think it quite right to work only eight hours a day for high wages, and to have funds established for them to which they themselves would not have to contribute. Others also, who are depositors in savings banks and mutual aid societies, and in receipt of the income assured them by these institutions, give themselves airs of "proletarians" after the fashion of the workingman of 1830 whose only capital was a pair of shrunken arms. If they vote it is very often in favour of some extremist candidate, as though they had a horror of public tranquillity, and were not themselves the first to suffer from any disturbance of the peace. Furthermore they are beset by solicitations to join one or more of the many socialistic organisations—the Blanquists or the Allemanists—whose avowed mission it is to foment hatred between the classes, to prepare the way for a "universal strike," and whose favourite counsel to the workingman is to "study the chemistry of revolution."

Present-day Doctrines

We have left far behind us the days of Saint-Simon, of Enfantin, of Fourier, of Cabet and other mild utopians, of Proudhon, and of Louis Blanc. The new masters to whom socialists swear allegiance are more terrible ones whom they have found across the Rhine; from Ferdinand, but more especially from Karl Marx, proceed the most radical collectivist and the most destructive internationalist doctrines that have ever been uttered. Among the French disciples of Karl Marx a certain set of fanatics acknowledged as their leader Jules Guesde, the high priest with the wasted visage, who styles himself "chief of the French labour party"; others, who are the truly clever ones, call themselves independent, and, in company with Millerand and Jaurès, have enjoyed more than one foretaste of the bliss they promise the people in a more or less distant future.

Many workingmen were carried away by the formula, lately fallen into disuse, of the "three eights" (eight hours for labour, eight for relaxation, eight for sleep). Its inventors concerned themselves but little with those trades or professions that are marked by alternations of activity and stagnation. Other labourers—forming not a tenth part of the mass of French workers—allowed themselves to be drawn into the so-called professional syndicates which, in violation of the law of 1884, were diverted from their original purpose and transformed into agencies for strikes. Fortunately there arose against the despotism of strike leaders and "red" syndicates the powerful association of "yellow" syndicates, which dared show themselves independent even in the face of revolutionary tyranny.

The collectivists are hostile to the idea of country, army, uniform, or flag, and their bitter hatred of the priesthood leads them into complete forgetfulness not only of the nation's interests but of their own. This is what makes the management of public affairs so easy for unscrupulous politicians: one good campaign against religion will take the place of ever so many social reforms, even those that have been declared the most urgent.

The power gained by the labouring classes, now the "fourth estate," has by no means contributed everything towards the general welfare; it has pro-

moted neither the public peace, continually disturbed by so-called "social reclamations," nor the industrial prosperity of the country, repeatedly endangered by unjustifiable and sanguinary strikes such as those of 1898 and 1899; while it has as certainly not added to France's glory in the eyes of the world, since all her institutions of national defence are the subject of the most hostile and annihilating criticism.

The old régime of France with its kings and nobles counts fourteen centuries of a glory whose origin is lost in the legends of antiquity; the predominance of the bourgeoisie during the revolution, the first empire, and the parliamentary monarchies was marked by splendid progress, victories, and expansion of ideas; just what will distinguish the era ushered in by socialism in every country of the globe it is difficult to conceive, nor is it easier to foretell the future lot of humanity when the collectivist state shall have become an accomplished fact.

We are frequently assured that if every country were to disband its armies the peace of the world would be secured. Who can guarantee, though, that all the inhabitants of any given country would calmly consent to relinquish their property, bow their necks to the heaviest bureaucratic yoke that has ever been imposed (for many more officials would be required to run such an enormous phalanstery of a state than are employed to-day), and endure without rebelling the wearisome, monotonous, and depressing existence that would be theirs under the sway of the least enlightened classes of the nation? Nor would the suppression of the states do away either with the different ethnological groups that form their support, nor with the inclination of these groups to live their own life, to speak their own tongue, to draw inspiration from the legends of their own past, to feel themselves in a word separate and distinct from all the other groups around them. There have been innumerable wars in former times between those national personalities calling themselves in the present France, Germany, England, Spain, and Italy—feudal wars, monarchical wars, Jacobin wars, bourgeois wars, and tariff wars, wars for pillage, wars for principles, and wars for display. It is not clearly apparent how any of these wars could have been averted had each of the nations participating been ruled by a collectivist autocracy and bureaucracy. And again, who can assert that the diplomacy of the future will be as skilled in avoiding causes of conflict as the diplomacy of the present? The collectivist state, moreover, having assumed control in each country of all the agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests, will be ill inclined to brook that a neighbour shall hinder its traffic in grains and other produce, or shall contend for the markets in its possession. Evidently a custom-service will be a necessity, with a regiment of officials, and frontier-lines will again come into prominence. Thus, with a police force on land to guard against sedition by malcontents, and warships on sea to protect its counting-houses, the collectivist state's institutions of defence will offer a very close parallel to the standing army of to-day.

The future that has been pictured for us in such glowing colours may, after all is said and done, be simply a repetition of the present with a few worse features thrown in. There will doubtless still be wars, but the warfare will rage about a singularly diminished object; in the poverty-stricken commonwealths that will succeed to the opulent nations of to-day there will be no doing battle for glory or for the propagation of ideas, the inhabitants will seek to exterminate each other on account of a few sacks of rye. The citizen wars of the Revolution and the empire were marked by a fiercer spirit than had characterised any of the previous monarchical wars; it is to

be feared that the "labour" wars will exceed them all in ferocity and hate, will in fact turn the world back again to the modes of living and degree of civilisation of the cave-dwellers. Let us hope, however, that the men of the "fourth estate" will discover before it is too late the vanity, the danger, the absurdity of the collectivist utopia; it is not well to serve as a springboard for ambitious men who, without believing in the possibility of the realisation of their utopia, understand marvellously well how to exploit it.



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Philip de Comines was born in 1445 at the château de Comines. His godfather was Philip the Good, and he himself became attached to the service of Charles the Bold. He was entrusted with diplomatic commissions to Calais, London, Brittany, and Spain. In 1472 he left the service of Charles, and attached himself to Louis XI, who made him councillor and chamberlain, and gave him several estates, among them the *seigneurie* of Argenton. Comines rendered Louis XI many important services, but fell into disgrace under his successor. For eight months he was imprisoned in an iron cage for having espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans. He returned to favour for a time under Charles VII, and again under Louis XII, but he never regained his old influence. The latter years of his life were spent in comparative retreat, and it was then that he wrote his memoirs, which cover the period from 1464 to 1483, and from 1488 to 1498. Hallam says of them: "The memoirs of Philip de Comines almost make an epoch in historical literature. If Froissart by his picturesque descriptions and fertility of historical invention may be reckoned the Livy of France, she had her Tacitus in Philip de Comines. He is the first modern writer who in any degree has displayed sagacity in reasoning on the characters of men,

and the consequences of their actions, and who has been able to generalise his observation by comparison or reflection."

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Rodolphe Madeleine Cléophas Daresté de la Chavanne was born at Paris, October 28th, 1820, and died at the same place in 1882. He was professor of history at Grenoble and Lyons and in 1871 was rector of the Academy at Nancy. On account of his ultramontane views and intolerance towards the students he was obliged to leave Nancy in 1878. Daresté's history of France is one of the best of the general histories of that country. It lacks the brilliancy of Michelet and some of the conspicuous excellencies of Martin, but the author has thoroughly investigated his subject, his material is well arranged and the narrative is enlivened with accurate descriptions. The Academy of France twice distinguished the work with the Gobert Prize.

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Jacques du Clercq was born in Artois about 1420 and died about 1475. His memoirs begin at the year 1418 and extend to the death of Philip the Good in 1467, giving a detailed account of events in Flanders, at court and elsewhere. His narrative is a very personal one, dealing largely with people, thus giving an interesting picture of the society of the time.

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Jean Victor Duruy, historian, minister, and member of the French Academy, was born at Paris, September 11th, 1811, of a family of artists employed in the Gobelins factories. He was himself at first destined for the same profession and did not commence his studies until a rather late date at the Rollin College. He passed a brilliant examination at the École normale

supérieure, after which, until 1861, he held a number of secondary professorships in history. During this time he took part in the collaboration of Napoleon III's *Julius Caesar*, thus drawing the Emperor's attention to his ability, and in 1863 he was made Minister of Education. He introduced various reforms into the educational system, among them being the institution of public lectures, a course of secondary education for girls, schools for higher education, and laboratories for special research. He suggested making primary education compulsory, but was not supported in the plan by the Emperor. From 1881-1886 he served on the *Conseil supérieur de l'Instruction Publique*, and in 1884 was chosen to succeed Mignet in the French Academy. Duruy's greatest work was his history of Rome, for which the author received various decorations and prizes. His history of France is one of the best ever written in such a small compass, and is of special value to students who wish readable information in a compact form.

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Jean Froissart is the historian of the fourteenth century, as Villehardouin is of the twelfth and Joinville of the thirteenth. His chronicle includes the period 1328-1400 and treats of events which took place in France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, Spain, and other European countries. The author was born in Valenciennes in 1337 and was early destined for the church, although he put off taking orders as long as possible, wishing first to enjoy some of the pleasures of life. In 1356 he went to England and became clerk of the chapel of Philippe of Hainault, who encouraged him to describe the great events of his century. For this purpose

he visited Scotland, Brittany, and Bordeaux, and accompanied the duke of Clarence to Italy. After the death of the queen he entered the service of the duke of Brabant and on his death became clerk of the chapel of the count of Blois. The latter encouraged him to continue his travels for the purpose of continuing his chronicle, and after visiting various places in France he returned again to England. The last fourteen years of his life were spent in quiet in Flanders. Froissart deals mainly with the deeds of valour and chivalry which took place around him, telling of tournaments and battle-fields, knights and ladies. As to the deeper problems of society, the transition stage from the old feudalism which was fast dying out, he is wholly silent.

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François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, statesman and writer, was born at Nîmes in 1787. His father died on the scaffold in 1794. Young Guizot studied at Geneva, and came to Paris in 1805, where he busied himself with law and literature. His name is closely connected with the stirring events in France in the first half of the 19th century, and Guizot alternately took part in politics and lectured at the Sorbonne. In 1840 he was ambassador to London, where his literary and political fame, and his works on English literature and history, made him very popular. In 1851 he was obliged to leave France after the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, and on his return he was made president of the Paris Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, in 1854. Guizot died in 1874 on his estate in Normandy. Mr. Reeve says of him: "Public life, ambition, the love of power, and the triumph of debate no doubt shook and agitated his career, and sometimes misdirected it; but they produced no effect upon the solid structure of his character, which remained throughout perfectly simple, indifferent to wealth, and prouder of its own

integrity than of all the honour the world could bestow. M. Guizot will be remembered in history less by what he did as a politician than by what he wrote as a man of letters, and by what he was as a man; and in these respects he takes rank amongst the most illustrious representatives of his nation and his age."

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The chronicle of *Jean de Troyes* is one of the most valuable sources for the history of Louis XI. The title *Chronique Scandaleuse* was probably added by some publisher and the first edition of it gives neither the date nor the author's name. Jean de Troyes relates occurrences as the king wished them to be known to the people, without thinking of seeking any underlying political cause for them. He also gives a great many details which give more than any other work a deep insight into the inner life of Paris at the end of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately the chronicler often relates from hearsay, so that his work requires comparison with other writers.

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The *Sire de Joinville* was born in 1224 and was for a time attached to the service of Count Thibaut of Champagne. He afterwards became the friend and chronicler of Louis IX and accompanied him on his first crusade to Egypt, fighting at his side and sharing his captivity. It was not until long after the author's return to his own country, when he was an old man, that he wrote the biography which has made him famous, writing it, as he says, at the request of the king's mother Jeanne de Navarre. The narrative is wonderfully attractive, bringing out clearly the character of the "saint king" for which the history of the crusade forms a background.

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Olivier de La Marche was born at La Marche in Burgundy in 1426 and died in 1501. He lived at the court of the dukes of Burgundy, and describes events there from the year 1425 to 1492. His memoirs are valuable for military history and the general history of the time, although their style is somewhat dull. He also wrote several works in verse, among them the second mentioned above.

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Alphonse Marie Louis de Lamartine, poet, politician, historian, the son of an officer and himself a member of the guard in 1814, was born in 1790 at Mâcon. A full-fledged poet, he was elected a member of the French Academy in 1829. He at once embarked in politics. In 1847 he published the *Histoire des Girondins*, a work which, while at times inaccurate, possessed brilliant qualities and did much to prepare public sentiment for the republic. He continued his diplomatic career until the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, forced him into private life. He continued to produce miscellaneous works until his death in 1869. A brilliant stylist and word-painter, he is perhaps not the most accurate of historians, and allowances must be made for his flights of imagination.

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Bon Louis Henri Martin was born at St. Quentin (Aisne) in 1810, and died in 1883. He began his literary career by writing historical novels, but soon turned his attention more exclusively to history and in 1833 published the first edition of his chief work, "The History of France." After the second edition the work was completely revised and enlarged, and in 1856 received the first prize of the Academy. The first work, extending to the Revolution, was supplemented by his *Histoire de France moderne*, the two together giving a complete history of France, which stands perhaps at the head of general histories of that country. It shows profound research and is characterised by great impartiality, accuracy, and courage in dealing with political events. Martin was prominent in political life. In 1848 he was a lecturer at the Sorbonne, but was obliged to retire during the reaction from democratic tendencies. In 1871 he was chosen delegate from Aisne to the National Assembly, and in 1876 was senator for the same province. Martin aimed at writing a national history of his country and his work has had a great national influence.

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Jules Michelet was born at Paris in 1798 and died in 1874. From 1821 to 1826 he was professor of history and philosophy at Rollin college, during which period he published the remark-

able *Précis de l'histoire moderne*. He was made member of the Academy in 1838, and succeeded Daunou in the chair of history at the Collège de France. He refused in 1848 nomination to the National Assembly and devoted himself exclusively to his historical labours. The *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, deprived him of his chair in the Collège de France, and he continued in retirement his *Histoire de France* and *Histoire de la Révolution*. A vivid colorist, he is sometimes called a poetical historian because his imaginative representation is imbued with the ideals of democracy. He regarded everything from a personal point of view so that everything he wrote is strongly stamped with his individuality, with his violent prejudices and ardent patriotism. In this respect he is one of the most remarkable of historians. It has truly been said that there are no dry bones in his writings.

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Enguerrand de Monstrelet was born of a noble family of Flanders in about the year 1390. He attached himself to the duke of Burgundy and became provost of Cambrai. He died in 1453. His chronicle begins where Froissart left off, at the year 1400, and continues to 1444, having been continued by other writers until 1516. He describes the events of his time, chiefly the wars of France, Artois, and Picardy. While his narration lacks the brilliancy of that of Froissart, it is almost uniformly accurate and is very valuable for the original documents it reproduces.

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Very little is known concerning the life of *Guillaume de Nangis*, except that he was a monk of St. Denis, lived in the thirteenth century and wrote under Philip the Fair. His account of the French kings was written in French, the other works in Latin. The general chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the author's own time, and is a compilation of the works of Eusebius, Saint Jerome, and Sigebert de Gembloux. His history of Philip the Bold is based on personal observations and experience. The chronicle was continued by the monks

of St. Denis, notably by Jean de Vinette, who brought it down to the year 1368. It is almost the only authority for the first sixteen years of Philip the Fair. The chronicle was published by H. Géraud, for the Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1843, 2 vols.

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Geoffroy de Villehardouin was the first great historian to write in French prose. He was born in Champagne about the middle of the twelfth century and died in Thessaly in 1213. He took an active and glorious part in the fourth crusade, of which he gives a lively description, his narrative covering the period between 1198 and 1207. Villehardouin's work is remarkable not only as being the first of its kind, but for its literary excellence also. It has well been called the epic of the Crusades or a *chanson de geste* in prose.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE, FROM THE TREATY OF VERDUN

On the death of Louis le Débonnaire (840) the empire of Charlemagne is dismembered. The two younger sons of the dead monarch, Charles and Ludwig, dispute the right of the eldest, Lothair, to supreme authority over all the Franks. War results, and at the battle of Fontenailles (841) Lothair is completely defeated. This important event leads to the Treaty of Verdun (843), in which three kingdoms are distinctly marked: for Lothair, Italy and Lorraine; for Ludwig, Germany; and for Charles, France.

THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY FROM THE TREATY OF VERDUN (843-987 A.D.)

An epoch "in which," says Kitchin, "France passes through a dreary and confused period of formation."

- 843 **Charles (II) the Bald** is king of all Gaul west of the Schelde, the Maas, the Saône, and the Rhone, down to the Mediterranean, and north of the Pyrenees; but three states still resist his authority, Brittany, Septimania, and Aquitaine. The Northmen are now coming every year, ravaging the coast and ascending the rivers.
- 844 The diet of Thionville confirms the partition of the empire effected at Verdun.
- 845 Nomenoë, count (or duke) of Brittany defeats Charles. Pepin of Aquitaine continues his resistance.
- 847 Charles and his two brothers conclude an offensive and defensive alliance at Mersen.
- 848 Brittany made independent by Nomenoë, who takes title of king.
- 850 Pepin of Aquitaine allies himself with the Northmen and Saracens against Charles.
- 851 Charles defeats and imprisons Pepin and takes possession of Aquitaine.
- 852 Charles makes peace with Muhammed, the Saracen ruler of Spain, who has sent his general, Musa, to invade France.
- 853 The Northmen capture Nantes and Tours.
- 854 Pepin escapes from prison and recovers Aquitaine.
- 858 Ludwig of Germany invades France, but is persuaded to withdraw. The Northmen settle on the Oise.
- 861 Charles makes Robert the Strong count of Paris.
- 863 Charles confers the duchy of Flanders on Baldwin, who had abducted and married his daughter Judith. On death of King Charles of Provence (son of the emperor Lothair) Charles the Bald makes an unsuccessful attempt to seize the kingdom.
- 865 Charles again captures Pepin and takes Aquitaine.
- 866 Death of Robert the Strong at battle of Brissarthe against the Northmen.
- 867 Charles makes his son Louis king of Aquitaine.
- 870 After the death of Lothair II, Charles divides Lorraine with Ludwig the German.
- 875 On death of the emperor Ludwig II, Charles the Bald obtains the imperial succession. The Northmen take Rouen.
- 876 Charles fails in an attempt to seize the possessions of the son of Ludwig the German.
- 877 The pope calls on Charles to drive the Saracens from Italy. Edict of Quierzy, making hereditary the fiefs of the counts who accompany him to Italy. Death of Charles. His son **Louis (II) the Stammerer** king of Aquitaine succeeds.
- 879 Death of Louis. His two sons divide the kingdom; **Louis III** ruling in northern France, **Carloman** in Burgundy and Aquitaine.
- 880 The French and German kings proceed against King Boson of Burgundy, who has assumed that title. Siege of Vienne.
- 882 Death of Louis; Carloman rules over the whole of France.
- 884 Death of Carloman. The nobles make the emperor **Charles the Fat**, grandson of Louis le Débonnaire, king of France. The empire of Charlemagne is reunited.
- 885 The Northmen under Rollo besiege Paris.
- 886 Charles buys the Northmen off.
- 887 Deposition of Charles at diet of Tribur. He retires to Germany.
- 888 Death of Charles. The nobles, disgusted with the degenerate Carolingians, elect **Eudes** king. He rules over the land between the Maas and the Loire. Beyond the Maas,

- Arnulf of Germany is recognised ; and south of the Loire, Duke Rainulf of Aquitaine takes the title of king. Louis, son of Boson, founds Cisjurane Burgundy ; and Rudolf of Auxerre founds Transjurane Burgundy.
- 889 Eudes proceeds vigorously against the Northmen. The Saracens settle at Fraxinet in Provence. Eudes forces Rainulf to renounce his title, but is unable to conquer southern France. The count of Flanders refuses obedience to Eudes.
- 892 Victory of Eudes at Montpensier over the Northmen.
- 893 The opponents of Eudes meet at Rheims and elect **Charles (III) the Simple**, natural son of Louis II, king. Eudes compels Charles to flee to Arnulf.
- 895 Arnulf makes Lorraine into a kingdom for his son Zwentibold.
- 896 Eudes recognises title of Charles and cedes him some territory in eastern France.
- 898 Death of Eudes. Charles the Simple sole king.

THE TENTH CENTURY

- 911 Northmen under Rollo settle at Rouen. The Lorrainers give their kingdom to Charles.
- 912 Charles gives Rollo his daughter and the duchy of Normandy for a fief. Conversion of Rollo to Christianity. He takes the name of Robert. The Northmen are henceforth the Normans of France.
- 920 The Lorrainers take back their kingdom.
- 922 The nobles crown **Robert I** (brother of Eudes and duke of France) king of France. Charles proceeds against him.
- 923 Defeat of Charles at Soissons by Robert. Death of Robert in battle. His son-in-law **Rudolf** of Burgundy is elected to succeed. The strife with Charles continues. He is betrayed and imprisoned. Lorraine is given to Henry the Fowler.
- 929 Death of Charles the Simple. Rudolf repulses a Magyar invasion.
- 936 Death of Rudolf. **Louis (IV) d'Outre-Mer**, son of Charles the Simple, is made king.
- 938 Otto the Great prevents Louis from seizing Lorraine.
- 941 Louis is defeated by Hugh the Great, duke of France.
- 942 Assassination of William Longsword of Normandy.
- 945 Louis defeated in his attempts on Normandy. He is vanquished and imprisoned by the national party under Hugh the Great.
- 946 Otto the Great invades France as far as Rouen. Louis is liberated.
- 948 Excommunication of Hugh at council of Ingelheim.
- 954 Death of Louis. His young son **Lothair** is raised to the throne.
- 955 Louis gives Burgundy to Hugh.
- 956 Death of Hugh the Great ; his son Hugh Capet succeeds to his title. Lothair gives him Aquitaine.
- 973 The Saracens are driven from the south of France.
- 978 Lothair invades Lorraine. Otto invades France as far as Paris, and in retreat loses a large part of his army.
- 980 Lothair abandons Upper Lorraine to Otto, but obtains Lower Lorraine and Brabant for his son Charles.
- 986 Death of Lothair. His son **Louis (V) le Fainéant** succeeds.

THE HOUSE OF CAPET TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS IX

THE FEUDAL MONARCHY BEGINS (987-1270 A.D.)

- 987 Death of Louis. **Hugh Capet** takes the throne supported by some of the nobles. Others advocate the claim of Charles of Lorraine. Hugh is the first French king in the modern sense of the word, for as duke of France, count of Paris, Orleans, etc., he has territories of his own. The Carolingians ruled as emperors with little or no territorial possessions. Hugh associates his son Robert on the throne.
- 988 Charles of Lorraine invades France.
- 991 Capture and Imprisonment of Charles. Opposition to Hugh by the duke of Aquitaine.
- 994 Dispute of Hugh and Pope John XV over Archbishop Gerbert.
- 996 Death of Hugh. His son **Robert II** succeeds as sole king.
- 998 The pope forces Robert to repudiate his wife and cousin, Bertha. He marries Constance of Aquitaine.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

- 1010 Persecution of the Jews in France.
- 1016 Robert acquires his right to the duchy of Burgundy after a fourteen years' war with the rebellious Otho William, who had assumed the title of Duke Henry in 1003.

- 1017 Henry, son of Robert, crowned joint king.
 1022 Thirteen Manichæan heretics burned at Orleans; the first of these executions.
 1028 Robert le Diable usurps the ducal crown of Normandy. He helps Henry crush the revolt-
 ing barons.
 1031 Death of Robert. **Henry I** succeeds as sole king.
 1032 Henry gives the duchy of Burgundy to his brother Robert, who founds the first Capetian
 house of Burgundy, which lasts until 1361.
 1033 Robert le Diable fails in an invasion of England, and ravages Brittany.
 1035 Death of Robert le Diable. His son William the Bastard succeeds him. The "Peace of
 God" proclaimed.
 1041 The "Truce of God" proclaimed. Henry captures his rebellious brother Eudes.
 1046 At the battle of Val-ès-Dunes, William the Bastard brings his rebellious barons to obedi-
 ence. The dukes of Lorraine and Flanders give their homage to the German emperor.
 1054 Great victory of William over Eudes of Anjou, at Mortemer.
 1059 Henry makes his son Philip joint king.
 1060 Death of Henry. **Philip I** sole king. Brittany still independent.
 1066 The Norman invasion of England.
 1069 William the Bastard (the Conqueror) seizes Maine.
 1070 The people of Le Mans use the word *commune* or "municipality" for the first time.
 1071 Robert the Frisian invades France and defeats Philip at Cassel.
 1075 Philip compels William the Conqueror to raise the siege of Dol in Brittany.
 1076 Peace made between Philip and William. Revolt of the commune at Cambray.
 1079 Robert, son of William, rebels against his father.
 1087 Death of William, Robert succeeds as duke of Normandy; his brother William Rufus as
 king of England.
 1090 William Rufus invades Normandy.
 1094 Quarrel of Philip and Urban II over the divorce of Queen Bertha.
 1095 Henry, son of the duke of Burgundy, receives the county of Portugal from Alfonso VI of
 Leon and Castile, and becomes the ancestor of the kings of Portugal.
 1096 The first crusaders start from France.
 1097 Robert of Normandy joins the crusade, mortgaging the duchy to William Rufus.
 1097-1099 Hostilities with William Rufus of England, who claims the French Vexin.
 1100 On death of William Rufus, Robert returns to Normandy to resume his rule. Philip
 makes his son Louis joint king.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The opening of this century is noted for the rapid growth of town liberties.

- 1104 Henry I of England invades Normandy.
 1106 Battle of Tinchebray and defeat and capture of Robert of Normandy by Henry of England.
 Normandy once more attached to England.
 1108 Death of Philip. **Louis VI** sole king.
 1109 War breaks out between France and England.
 1111 The count of Anjou takes possession of Maine.
 1112 Beginning of the riots of the commune of Laon.
 1119 The war between France and England is ended by the decisive defeat of Louis at Brenne-
 ville. The cause of William Clito is lost.
 1124 War renewed between France and England over the possession of Normandy.
 1127 Marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry of England, to Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou,
 brings the Anglo-Norman domination down to the Loire. Murder of the count of
 Flanders. Louis gives that province to William Clito.
 1128 Death of William Clito. Louis loses his influence in Flanders.
 1129 Peace arranged between Louis and Henry.
 1131 The king makes his son Louis joint king.
 1136 The marriage of the young Louis to Eleanor of Guienne (Aquitaine) unites that duchy to
 the crown.
 1137 Death of Louis. **Louis (VII) the Young** sole king. He continues the policy of his
 father, and second the communal movement. King Stephen of England makes a short
 invasion of Normandy.
 1140 Beginning of quarrel of Louis with the papacy over the archbishopric of Bourges. Suger
 advises Louis.
 1142 Louis attacks the count of Champagne and burns down Vitry church.
 1144 Louis makes peace with the papacy and promises to undertake a crusade. Louis interferes
 in the quarrel of Stephen and Geoffrey Plantagenet. Dismemberment of the Anglo-
 Norman monarchy; Stephen remains king of England and count of Boulogne; Geoffrey,
 duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine.
 1146 Death of Geoffrey Plantagenet. His son, Henry of Anjou, inherits his possessions.
 1147 Louis departs on the Second Crusade, leaving the kingdom in charge of Suger.

- 1149 Return of Louis. Queen Eleanor petitions the pope for a divorce.
 1152 The pope grants Eleanor's divorce. She marries Henry of Anjou, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda.
 1154 Henry of Anjou becomes Henry II of England. Besides his French territory inherited from Geoffrey, he is, in his wife's name, count of Poitou and duke of Guienne.
 1158 Henry II of England adds Nantes to his possessions on death of his brother Geoffrey.
 1159 War breaks out between France and England over the possession of Toulouse.
 1161 Peace made between Henry and Louis.
 1162 Foundation of the Paris cathedral laid.
 1167 Louis renews hostilities with England.
 1169 Peace of Montmirail between England and France.
 1171 Brittany passes by marriage to Geoffrey, son of Henry II.
 1172 Louis supports the sons of Henry II in their rebellion against their father, but is unable to wrest any territory from the king of England.
 1177 Henry seizes Berri and buys the county of La Marche.
 1179 Louis makes his son Philip Augustus joint king.
 1180 Death of Louis. **Philip (II) Augustus** sole king.
 1182 Philip banishes the Jews from France, and issues edicts against heretics.
 1185 Philip at war with the count of Flanders, during which he obtains Vermandois, Valois, and the county of Amiens. The duke of Burgundy is reduced to submission.
 1188 Philip induces Richard Cœur de Lion to rebel against his father Henry II.
 1189 Henry forced to make a disastrous peace with Philip, yielding Berri to France. Death of Henry II marks the beginning of the decline of the Angevin power in France.
 1190 Philip leaves for the crusade.
 1191 Philip returns to France. He abolishes the powerful office of seneschal.
 1192 Philip breaks faith with Richard, makes alliance with Prince John of England, and invades Normandy. The garrison of Rouen repels him.
 1193 Philip repudiates his new queen Ingeborg of Denmark.
 1194 Richard, released from captivity, makes war on Philip.
 1196 A truce between Philip and Richard. The former withdraws from Normandy and retains Auvergne. Philip marries Agnes of Meran.
 1198 Battle of Gisors.
 1199 Definite peace between Philip and Richard. Death of Richard. England and Normandy receive John as king. Brittany, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, and Touraine declare for Arthur of Brittany, son of Geoffrey, under protection of Philip.
 1200 Philip seizes Brittany. He makes peace with John. Excommunication of Philip and Agnes. The pope compels the former to take back Ingeborg.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- 1202 The house of Capet prevails. John seizes Arthur of Brittany and puts him to death.
 1203 Philip invades Normandy.
 1204 Fall of Château Gaillard. John flees from Rouen to England. Normandy and Brittany pass to Philip. John retains only La Rochelle and a few places near the coast. Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou are also reunited to the royal domain.
 1206 John fails in an attempt to capture Angers.
 1208 Crusade against Raymond of Toulouse and the Albigenses (Manichæan heretics) begins.
 1209 The crusaders under Arnaud Amalric seize Béziers and massacre 60,000 inhabitants. Simon de Montfort takes Carcassonne.
 1212 Raymond, defeated at Castelnaudary, goes to Aragon for help.
 1213 Battle of Muret. Raymond of Toulouse assisted by Pedro II of Aragon is badly defeated by Simon de Montfort. Raymond's possessions are given to Simon.
 1214 Philip wins a great victory at Bouvines over a coalition of John of England, Otto IV, and the count of Flanders. This battle firmly establishes the French monarchy.
 1215 The Lateran council ratifies the dispossession of Raymond of Toulouse.
 1216 Louis son of Philip invades England, having been invited there by the barons.
 1217 The earl of Pembroke defeats Louis near Lincoln and he returns to France. Toulouse shuts out Simon de Montfort and recalls Count Raymond.
 1218 Death of Simon at siege of Toulouse. His son Amaury continues the war.
 1222 Death of Raymond of Toulouse.
 1223 Death of Philip Augustus. In his reign he doubled the royal domain and attacked feudalism in many of its vital points. His son **Louis (VIII) the Lion** succeeds. He carries on the struggles with England and with the Albigenses. Henry III of England demands the restitution of Normandy and other provinces.
 1224 Amaury de Montfort, driven from the south, transfers his claim on Toulouse to Louis. Lower Poitou taken from England. Capture of La Rochelle. Saintonge, Angoumois, Limousin, Périgord, and part of Bordelais submit. Bordeaux and Gascony alone remain to England. Louis begins to free the serfs.

- 1225 Louis undertakes a new crusade against the Albigenses.
- 1226 The country between the Rhone and Toulouse (lower Languedoc) submits to Louis. Siege of Avignon. Death of Louis, succeeded by his young son **Louis IX** or **Saint Louis** under regency of the queen, Blanche of Castile. The barons form a coalition, but Blanche defeats their plans.
- 1229 The Albigensian War ended by the Treaty of Meaux. The count of Toulouse's daughter is married to Louis' brother. Upper Languedoc added to the royal domains.
- 1230 Henry III of England lands in Brittany, but his expedition comes to nothing.
- 1231 The Treaty of St. Aubin du Cormier between Blanche and the revolting nobles.
- 1234 Count Thibaut of Champagne, succeeding to the throne of Navarre, sells Sancerre and other valuable fiefs to Louis.
- 1236 Louis attains his majority; end of the regency of Blanche of Castile.
- 1238 Louis purchases the county of Mâcon.
- 1242 Louis attempts to set his brother Alphonse over Poitou and Auvergne, and the unwilling barons call on Henry III of England. Henry comes to France, but is badly defeated at Taillebourg and Saintes by Louis.
- 1243 Henry makes peace with Louis. Raymond VII of Toulouse revolts.
- 1244 Raymond reduced to submission. The last of the Albigenses perish at Mont Ségur. Louis with his three brothers assumes the cross. Louis forbids his lords to hold fiefs under both the king of England and of France at the same time. This greatly helps to develop national feeling.
- 1245 Provence passes to the house of Anjou on marriage of Charles of Anjou (Louis' brother) to Beatrice of Provence.
- 1248 Louis departs for the crusade, leaving Blanche of Castile regent.
- 1249 Louis captures Damietta.
- 1250 Battle of Mansurah. *Capture of Louis. He is liberated upon restoring Damietta to the Mohammedans, and retires to Acre.
- 1251 The crusade "des Pastoureaux."
- 1252 Robert de Sorbon founds the Sorbonne.
- 1253 Death of Blanche of Castile recalls Louis to France.
- 1254 Return of Louis to France, a disappointed man.
- 1258 By Peace of Corbeil with King James of Aragon, Louis settles the frontier difficulties and recognises the independence of the county of Barcelona.
- 1259 Peace of Abbeville, yielding the Limousin, Périgord, and parts of Saintonge to Henry III, who renounces all claims on Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou.
- 1262 Louis refuses the crown of Sicily, offered by Urban IV, and it is accepted by his brother, Charles of Anjou.
- 1263 Louis arbitrates in the disputes of Henry III and his barons.
- 1266 Charles of Anjou acknowledged king of Sicily.
- 1267 Louis again assumes the cross.
- 1269 The "Pragmatic Sanction" of Louis lays the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church. Its genuineness is doubted.
- 1270 Publication of the "Establishments." Louis sets out on his crusade, goes to Tunis, and at the siege of the city dies of the plague. End of the crusading era, and close of the most remarkable period of the Middle Ages. The power of the king now predominates over that of the feudal nobles, and the prerogatives of imperial authority have become reunited to the crown. Roman law has been substituted for feudal justice in many provinces of France. The "Third Estate" has been developed in France, and the contest against feudal society, ending in the French Revolution, has begun.

THE DESCENDANTS OF SAINT LOUIS

I

THE ELDER OR PHILIPPINE LINE (1270-1589 A.D.)

- 1270 Louis succeeded by his son, **Philip (III) the Bold**.
- 1271 Death of Alfonso and Joan of Toulouse. Philip inherits the county.
- 1272 Philip goes to war with the counts of Foix and Armagnac and defeats them.
- 1273 Philip yields the pope the county of Venaissin and half of Avignon.
- 1274 On death of Henry I of Navarre, Philip occupies his French possessions, Champagne and Brie, as guardian of the infant heiress Joan, and places French officials in Navarre. He buys the county of Nemours.
- 1276 War breaks out with Castile over the occupation of Navarre. Siege of Pamplona. War's expedition is unfortunate, and a truce is concluded with Castile.
- 1279 Philip gives some fiefs to Edward I of England.

- 1283 At the instigation of Charles of Anjou, Philip makes war on Aragon. The pope offers the throne of Aragon to Charles of Valois, son of Philip.
- 1284 Marriage of the king's son, Philip, to Joan of Navarre.
- 1285 The war with Aragon continues. Philip captures Elne. His fleet is badly defeated, and he dies at Perpignan. The Langue d'oïl begins to replace the Langue d'oc.

Elder Branch of the Philippine Line

- 1285 **Philip (IV) the Fair** succeeds his father. By his marriage with Joan of Navarre, Champagne, Chartres, and Blois are united to France. One year's truce made between France and Aragon.
- 1287 Edward I of England arranges peace between France and Aragon. Charles of Valois abandons his pretensions to the crown of Aragon.
- 1289 The pope induces Charles of Valois to resume his claim to Aragon.
- 1291 Treaty of Aix, between France and Aragon.
- 1293 War breaks out between France and England. Philip invades Guienne.
- 1294 The emperor of Germany and the count of Flanders join Edward I against Philip.
- 1295 John Baliol of Scotland joins France against England.
- 1296 Philip resists the papal bull forbidding the clergy to pay taxes to princes. He forbids the exportation of money from France. Boniface VIII threatens excommunication. The earl of Lancaster invades Guienne.
- 1297 Philip defeats the count of Flanders at Furnes. Philip and Boniface are reconciled.
- 1299 Boniface arranges peace between France and England. A marriage between Philip's daughter and Edward's son is arranged.
- 1300 Charles of Valois conquers the count of Flanders; his lands united to the crown.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- 1301 Quarrel with Boniface over the bishop of Pamiers.
- 1302 The Flemings revolt against Philip, who is badly defeated at Courtrai, "Battle of the Spurs." The first states-general convoked.
- 1303 Philip sends Guillaume de Nogaret to Italy, who, with the aid of the Colonna, captures and imprisons Boniface. He is thus rid of his worst antagonist.
- 1304 Fresh revolt of the Flemish, who are defeated at Mons-en-Pévèle. Philip makes peace. They cede him some territory, and he gives them back their count.
- 1305 Philip procures the election of Clement V to the papacy.
- 1306 Revocations of the bulls of Boniface against Philip.
- 1307 Arrest of the Templars, Jacques de Molay, and other knights.
- 1309 The holy see is fixed at Avignon.
- 1310 Trial and condemnation of the Templars. Many are burned alive.
- 1312 Suppression of the order of the Templars at the council of Vienna. The Beghards and Beguines of Flanders are condemned. Philip acquires Lyon by purchase.
- 1314 Burning of Jacques de Molay. Death of Philip the Fair. His son, **Louis (X) the Quarrelsome**, already king of Navarre, which is now united to France, succeeds.
- 1315 Execution of Enguerrand de Marigny.
- 1315-1316 Great famine in France. Louis fails in an expedition against Flanders.
- 1316 Death of Louis. A posthumous son, **John (I)**, lives only seven days. On account of the Salic law, the throne of France passes to Louis' brother, **Philip (V) the Tall**.
- 1318 The state council established.
- 1322 Death of Philip. His brother, **Charles (IV) the Fair**, succeeds. He has constant trouble in Flanders, and favours the rebellion of Isabella of England and Mortimer.
- 1324 First historical mention of gunpowder, used by the inhabitants of Metz.
- 1328 Death of Charles without male issue. The direct line of the Capets comes to an end.

Younger Branch of the Philippine Line (House of Valois). (Descendants of Philip III through a Younger Son, Charles of Valois)

- 1328 **Philip (VI) of Valois**, cousin of Charles IV, and son of Charles of Valois, succeeds to the throne of France. Navarre is given to Joan II, daughter of Louis X. Edward III of England puts forward a claim to the French throne through his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair. Philip defeats the Flemings at Cassel.
- 1329 Edward III gives homage for Guienne and Ponthieu.
- 1332 Trial and banishment of Robert of Artois.
- 1334 Edward III, influenced by Robert of Artois, claims the French throne.
- 1336 The count of Flanders, on Philip's suggestion, arrests the English merchants in Antwerp. Edward prohibits exports of wool.
- 1357 The Flemish cities, led by Jacob van Artevelde, put themselves under the protection of

- England. Edward sends a fleet to Flanders. The blockade of Cadsand is raised. Beginning of the Hundred Years' War.
- 1338 Edward arrives at Antwerp.
- 1339 Edward assumes title of king of France.
- 1340 Defeat of the French fleet at Sluys. The English obtain mastery of the British Channel. Edward besieges Tournay unsuccessfully. Philip seizes Guienne. A truce is concluded.
- 1341 Death of John III of Brittany without issue. The duchy claimed by his brother, John de Montfort, and his niece, Joan de Penthievre, wife of Charles of Blois. Philip espouses cause of Joan, and Edward that of John. Philip captures De Montfort. His wife, Joan, continues the war. Charles of Blois takes the duchy.
- 1342 Joan de Montfort besieged in Hennebon, and is relieved by the English. Edward besieges Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes.
- 1343 The war in Brittany interrupted by a three years' truce.
- 1344 Philip invites Olivier de Clisson and other Breton chiefs to Paris, and treacherously beheads them; upon which the war with England breaks out afresh. The French defeated at Bergerac in Guienne. The English invade Périgord.
- 1345 The French defeated at Auberoche; the count de Lisle is taken prisoner. Van Artevelde slain in a riot in Ghent. Edward returns to England.
- 1346 Edward lands at La Hogue. He and the Black Prince administer a crushing defeat to the French at Crécy. Edward returns to Calais, which he besieges. Philip recalls his son from the south, which the English overrun. They take Poitiers.
- 1347 Charles of Blois captured by Joan de Montfort in the struggle for the duchy of Brittany. His wife, Joan de Penthievre, continues the war. Capture of Calais by Edward. Philip obtains a ten months' truce.
- 1348 The Black Death rages in France.
- 1349 Philip buys Montpellier from James II of Majorca. Humbert II, heir to Dauphiné, concludes treaty with Philip, selling his estates to him on condition that the eldest son of the French king shall take the name of dauphin. The fief and title given to the king's grandson Charles. France now reaches to the Alps.
- 1350 Death of Philip. His son, **John (II) the Good**, succeeds. Charles the Bad of Navarre claims Champagne and Angoumois, but John holds them and seizes Charles' fiefs in Normandy. Charles passes to the English side.
- 1351 The first court order, "the Star," established. True chivalry is being replaced by an official one.
- 1352 The Breton war continued. "Battle of the Thirty."
- 1353 The English renew their ravages. John appeals to the people.
- 1356 Great defeat of the French at Poitiers. John captured and taken to England. His son Charles assumes the regency. A two years' truce concluded.
- 1357 Marcel brings forward his reform measures, restricting royal prerogatives, in the states-general. Charles of Navarre champions the cause.
- 1358 Murder of the dauphin's ministers. Revolts of the peasants. "La Jacquerie" is put down with much bloodshed. Murder of Marcel by the dauphin's party.
- 1359 Edward again invades France, and besieges Rheims.
- 1360 Edward advances to Paris. Peace of Bretigny concluded. Edward renounces claim to French throne, and all territory north of the Loire except Calais, Guines, and Ponthieu in Picardy. He takes Guienne and adjoining provinces. John ransomed.
- 1361 Defeat of James de Bourbon by brigands near Brignais. End of the first line of Burgundian dukes with death of Philip de Rouvre. The duchy reverts to the crown.
- 1362 John returns to England.
- 1363 John gives Burgundy to his fourth son Philip, who founds the second Burgundian house.
- 1364 Death of John in London. The dauphin, **Charles (V) the Wise**, already regent, succeeds. Charles the Bad sends an army to Normandy to recover his confiscated fiefs. Bertrand du Guesclin defeats it at Cocherel. End of war of the Breton Succession, by the battle of Auray, in which Charles of Blois is killed.
- 1365 By the treaty of Guérande, John de Montfort is recognised duke of Brittany. Charles of Blois' widow receives Penthievre and Limoges. John does homage to Charles V. Peace with Charles of Navarre. He exchanges Montpellier for his Norman fiefs.
- 1366 The English parliament declares the succession of John the Good to have been illegal. Du Guesclin forms a great company, marches to Avignon, receives a large sum from the pope, and goes to Castile, expelling Pedro the Cruel from the throne.
- 1367 The Black Prince sides with Pedro. Battle of Navarrette. Du Guesclin captured and Pedro restored.
- 1368 The Gascon nobles appeal to Charles from the Black Prince, now prince of Aquitaine.
- 1369 The war is renewed. Du Guesclin restores Henry of Trastámara to the throne of Castile. The states-general declare Guienne confiscated. An English army lands at Calais. The Black Prince attacks from the south.
- 1370 Sack of Limoges by the English. The Black Prince is succeeded by the earl of Pembroke. Du Guesclin made constable of France. A part of the Limousin is conquered by France. The count of Auxerre sells his county to the crown.

- 1372 Poitiers and La Rochelle retaken by the French. England loses Poitou.
- 1373 The English under John of Gaunt make a futile invasion of France.
- 1375 A truce concluded between Edward and Charles.
- 1377 Death of Edward III. Charles breaks the truce and renews the war.
- 1378 Charles begins a futile attempt to seize Brittany.
- 1379 Charles of Navarre cedes many places to the French. The Bretons sign articles of confederation and recall John IV. Cruelties of Anjou in Languedoc.
- 1380 Treaty signed between England and Brittany. Death of Du Guesclin, and of Charles. Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, Cherbourg, and Calais alone remain to the English.

Elder Branch of the House of Valois

- 1380 **Charles (VI) the Well Beloved** succeeds his father at the age of twelve under the guardianship of his three uncles — the dukes of Anjou, Burgundy, and Berri. Olivier de Clisson made constable of France.
- 1382 Revolt of Philip van Artevelde in Flanders. The French defeat the men of Ghent at Roosebeke. Artevelde is slain.
- 1384 At death of Louis de Mâle, count of Flanders, that county is united to Burgundy, the duke of which has married Louis de Mâle's daughter. Truce with England.
- 1385 Peace made with Flanders.
- 1386 Charles declares war on England, and makes extensive preparations.
- 1388 Failure of an expedition against Gelderland. Charles begins his rule.
- 1392 Attempt to assassinate the constable De Clisson. Charles becomes insane. Burgundy and Berri seize government, setting aside the king's brother, the duke of Orleans. The great civil discord between Burgundy and Orleans begins.
- 1395 A twenty-eight years' truce signed with Richard II of England. Charles accepts the protectorate of Genoa.
- 1396 Marriage of Richard II with Isabella, daughter of Charles. Great defeat of John the Fearless, son of the duke of Burgundy, in his crusade against Bajazet at Nicopolis.
- 1399 Deposition of Richard II destroys the alliance with England.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

- 1401-1404 The struggle between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans continues.
- 1404 Death of Philip of Burgundy, succeeded by his son John the Fearless.
- 1405 John the Fearless enters Paris.
- 1406 The duke of Orleans obtains the duchy of Aquitaine.
- 1407 Murder of the duke of Orleans at the instigation of John the Fearless.
- 1408 John defeats the Liégeois at Hasbain.
- 1409 Peace of Chartres between the Burgundian and Orleans factions.
- 1410 The count d'Armagnac — whose daughter married the murdered duke of Orleans' son — assumes head of the Orleans faction, henceforth known as the Armagnacs. Peace of Bicêtre between Burgundians and Armagnacs. Insurrection of the Cabochians in Paris.
- 1411 The Armagnacs break the Peace of Bicêtre, and begin to ravage the north of France. The Burgundians apply to Henry IV of England for aid. John the Fearless makes himself master of Paris and Picardy.
- 1412 The Armagnacs invest Bourges. Peace of Bourges, renewing that of Chartres.
- 1413 The Armagnacs obtain the ascendancy in Paris, the dauphin Louis at their head.
- 1414 Treaty of Arras between the Burgundians and Armagnacs. Henry V of England prepares for war.
- 1415 Henry takes Harfleur, and wins at Agincourt.
- 1416 The count of Armagnac lays siege to Harfleur, but desists for want of funds.
- 1417 Henry takes Caen; makes treaties with Anjou, Brittany, and Burgundy.
- 1418 Massacre of the Armagnacs in Paris.
- 1419 Henry captures Rouen. John the Fearless is murdered. His son Philip the Good succeeds him and joins the English party. Queen Isabella joins the Anglo-Burgundians. Paris leans towards the English.
- 1420 The Treaty of Troyes. Henry V recognised as heir to the French throne. He marries the princess Catherine. All France north of the Loire becomes English.
- 1421 Defeat of the English by the national party at Baugé.
- 1422 Death of Henry V. His young son Henry declared king of France with the duke of Bedford as regent. Death of Charles VI two months after Henry's. The dauphin **Charles VII** is proclaimed king at Mehun.
- 1423 Lords Salisbury and Suffolk defeat the French and their Scotch allies at Cravant.
- 1424 The duke of Bedford defeats the French and Scotch at Verneuil.
- 1428 The duke of Bedford begins siege of Orleans.
- 1429 The French badly defeated at Rouvray, "battle of the Herrings." Joan of Arc appears

- at Orleans and raises the siege. English defeated at Patay by Joan. She enters Troyes and the English withdraw. Châlons opens its gates to the French. Coronation of Charles at Rheims. The duke of Burgundy founds the order of the Golden Fleece.
- 1430 The duke of Burgundy acquires Brabant. Joan's success continues until she is captured by the Burgundians at Compiègne and sold to the duke of Bedford.
- 1431 Henry VI crowned king of France at Paris. Execution of Joan of Arc at Rouen.
- 1432 The French take Chartres from the English.
- 1434 Revolts in Normandy against the English.
- 1435 Congress of all the Christian states at Arras to re-establish peace. The duke of Burgundy joins the French.
- 1436 The English are permitted to retire from Paris.
- 1437 Charles enters Paris.
- 1438 Charles summons council at Bourges. The "Pragmatic Sanction" enacted therein declares the pope subordinate to a general council and annuls his fiscal rights.
- 1439 The states-general provides for the establishment of a standing army. The nobles form an opposition known as the "Praguerie," headed by the dauphin Louis.
- 1440 The Praguerie overthrown. Louis is sent to Dauphiné to govern.
- 1441 Charles crushes the freebooters in Champagne and drives the English from Pontoise.
- 1443 Charles and the dauphin repulse the English from Dieppe and suppress the count of Armagnac in the south.
- 1444 Two years' truce concluded with England. Marriage of Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI of England arranged. The French win a victory at Sankt Jakob near Bâle. Charles unsuccessfully besieges Metz.
- 1445 Organisation of the regular army effected.
- 1449 The last stage of the Hundred Years' War begins. Surienne seizes Fougères. Many towns in Normandy and Brittany taken by the French.
- 1450 Kyriell, with an army from England, is beaten at Formigny. Rehabilitation of Joan of Arc.
- 1451 The French attack Guienne. Bordeaux and Bayonne captured.
- 1453 Battle of Castillon. The English defeated. Charles enters Bordeaux, and the Hundred Years' War is over. Guienne again a part of France. The English retain only Calais and two neighbouring towns in France.
- 1456 The dauphin takes refuge at court of Philip of Burgundy.
- 1461 Death of Charles; succeeded by his son **Louis XI**.
- 1462 Louis receives Roussillon and Cerdagne as guarantee for a loan to the king of Castile.
- 1463 Louis ransoms back from the duke of Burgundy the towns on the Somme given him by the Treaty of Arras.
- 1465 Formation of the "league of the Public Weal" nominally headed by Louis' brother, Charles the duke of Berri, against the king. Louis, besieged in Paris, agrees to the treaties of Confians and St. Maur, favourable to the nobles.
- 1466 Louis takes Normandy from his brother.
- 1467 Death of Philip the Good of Burgundy; succeeded by Charles the Bold. Edward IV of England, the kings of Castile and of Aragon, and the dukes of Burgundy and of Brittany form a new league against Louis.
- 1468 Interview with Charles the Bold at Péronne. Louis signs a treaty similar to that of Confians.
- 1469 Guienne is given to the duke of Berri. Charles the Bold compels Louis to accompany him on his expedition to punish the men of Liège. Louis aids Warwick against Edward IV.
- 1470 Assembly at Tours declares Treaty of Péronne null.
- 1471 Coalition of the dukes of Brittany and Guienne against Louis. Truce of Amiens.
- 1472 Death of the duke of Guienne breaks up the coalition. Charles of Burgundy attacks Louis. Charles makes truce with Louis at Senlis.
- 1473 Charles the Bold acquires a portion of Lorraine. Arrest of the duke of Alençon. Assassination of the count d'Armagnac.
- 1474 League headed by the archduke Sigismund formed against Charles the Bold. He besieges Neuss, but is forced to retire. Louis takes towns in Picardy from him. Revolt in Roussillon. Louis sends an army to take Perpignan.
- 1475 Treaty of Picquigny. Truce between Louis and Charles. Charles conquers Lorraine and enters Nancy.
- 1476 Charles defeated by the Swiss at Granson and at Morat.
- 1477 The duke of Lorraine and the Swiss attack Nancy. Charles falls in its defence. As he leaves no male heir the crown resumes possession of Burgundy. Louis also seizes Franche-Comté. His armies recover Picardy and enter Flanders. Mary of Burgundy marries Maximilian, son of Frederick III. This transfers Brabant, Luxemburg, Franche-Comté, Flanders, Hainault, etc., to Austria.
- 1479 Louis defeated by Maximilian at Guinegate.
- 1480 Truce with Maximilian. The free archer army abandoned; the cities supply money in place of men. The age of foreign mercenaries begins.

- 1481 Louis inherits Anjou, Maine, and Provence on death of Charles of Anjou.
- 1482 Treaty of Arras with the Burgundians. Maximilian gives his daughter to the dauphin with Artois and Franche-Comté for her dowry.
- 1483 Death of Louis. He has crushed feudalism and substituted aristocracy for anarchy. His young son **Charles VIII** succeeds, with Anne de Beaujeu as regent.
- 1485 The duke of Orleans revolts. Orleans is captured, but Francis II of Brittany prepares for war with France.
- 1486 Maximilian invades Artois, breaking the Treaty of Arras.
- 1488 Louis de la Trémouille defeats the Bretons at St. Aubin du Cormier. Treaty of Sablé. Death of Francis II. Anne outwits plan of Maximilian to marry Francis' daughter Anne of Brittany, and secures her for Charles, who abandons the proposed alliance with Maximilian's daughter.
- 1491 Marriage of Charles and Anne of Brittany unites Brittany and the crown of France. Anne de Beaujeu retires from the regency.
- 1492 Henry VII of England invades France and lays siege to Boulogne. Maximilian attacks Artois. Peace of Étaples with England.
- 1493 Treaty of Narbonne with Ferdinand the Catholic. Charles restores Roussillon and Cerdagne to Spain. Treaty of Senlis with Maximilian, who recovers Artois, Franche-Comté, and Charolais for his son.
- 1494 Charles invades Italy. The duke of Orleans defeats the Neapolitan fleet at Rapallo. Charles enters Pisa, Florence, and Rome in triumph.
- 1495 Charles enters Naples. The Italian princes unite with the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand and Isabella against him. Charles defeats the allies at Fornovo. Treaty of Novara. Charles cuts his way through to France.
- 1496 The French garrison at Naples capitulates and returns to France.
- 1498 Death of Charles VIII with no living heir. The crown passes to the duke of Orleans.

The Younger Branch of the House of Valois [(Valois-Orleans) descended from Charles V through Louis, Duke of Orleans, his Second Son]

- 1498 **Louis XII.** His assumption of the crown reunites Orleans and Valois to the kingdom. In order to preserve the union with Brittany, Louis obtains the pope's permission to divorce his virtuous but unloved wife Joan of France, that he may marry Anne of Brittany. Louis in return invests Cæsar Borgia with the Valentinois and Diois.
- 1499 Marriage of Louis and Anne assures the union of Brittany. Louis claims Milan through his grandmother Valentina Visconti. Alliance with Venice. Louis enters the Milanese with an army and takes possession of the city. Lodovico Sforza flees to the Tyrol.
- 1500 The Milanese recall Lodovico. He is betrayed into Louis' hands at Novara, and the latter takes him to France. Treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic to take the kingdom of Sicily.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1501 Frederick II of Naples surrenders to Louis' army.
- 1502 France and Spain begin to quarrel over the partition of Sicily. Hostilities in Naples.
- 1503 French defeat at Seminara. The duke of Nemours killed at Cerniola. Gonsalvo de Cordova wins a decisive victory over the French on the Garigliano and the whole kingdom of Sicily becomes subject to Spain.
- 1504 Louis signs the three treaties of Blois: the first, an alliance with Maximilian to attack Venice; the second, to arrange for the investiture of the Milanese; the third, to arrange the marriage of Charles of Austria with Louis' daughter Claude, giving Brittany, Burgundy, Blois, and the French claims in Italy as dowry.
- 1505 Louis gives his claim to the kingdom of Sicily to Germaine de Foix on her marriage to Ferdinand the Catholic, which breaks the third treaty of Blois.
- 1506 Louis convokes the states-general at Tours to declare that Brittany and Burgundy cannot be alienated from the crown.
- 1507 Louis takes Genoa. He returns to France, giving the city back its laws and liberties. Interview with Ferdinand at Savona.
- 1508 Formation of the League of Cambray against Venice.
- 1509 Louis defeats the Venetians at Agnadello, and soon has possession of northern Italy.
- 1510 Pope Julius II makes peace with Venice, and allies himself with the Swiss.
- 1511 The French army surprises the pontifical forces before Bologna. Defeat of Julius at Casalecchio. Louis convokes a council at Pisa to depose the pope. Julius interdicts Pisa and summons a new council at St. John the Lateran. Formation of the Holy League, the pope, Spain, England, the empire, Venice, and the Swiss, one of its objects being to drive the French from Italy.
- 1512 Gaston de Foix takes Bologna, Brescia, and wins a brilliant victory at Ravenna, but loses his life. The French lose Italy. Ferdinand the Catholic invades and conquers Navarre.

Henry VIII declares war on France and sends an army to help Ferdinand invade Gascony. The English return home.

- 1513 Louis continues struggle in Italy. Henry VIII lands an army at Calais. Defeat of La Trémouille at Novara by the Swiss and Massimiliano Sforza. Genoa frees itself from French suzerainty. The English and the emperor-elect Maximilian besiege Théroutanne and defeat a relief army of the French at Guinegate ("battle of the Spurs"). The Swiss invade France. Treaty of Dijon between French and Swiss reconciles France with the holy see. Indecisive naval battle of the French and English off Brest.
- 1514 Death of Anne of Brittany. Marriage of the princess Claude and Francis d'Angoulême. They are invested with the duchy of Brittany. Truce of Orleans with the emperor and Ferdinand the Catholic. Treaty of peace with Henry VIII signed at London. Louis marries Mary Tudor, sister of Henry.
- 1515 Death of Louis XII; succeeded by his son-in-law, **Francis I.** of the Orleans-Angoulême family. Francis makes alliance with the archduke Charles (prince of Castile). Francis invades Italy with a large army, and defeats the forces of the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand at Marignano. Genoa places itself in France's hands.
- 1516 Concordat with Leo X, bartering away the liberties of the French clergy. Francis returns to France, bringing back the ideas of the Renaissance. Treaty of Nyon with Charles, by which French Navarre is restored to the D'Albrets. Perpetual peace signed with the Swiss.
- 1518 Henry VIII sells Tournais to France. Foundation of Le Havre.
- 1519 Death of the emperor Maximilian. Struggle for the imperial crown between Francis, Charles, and Henry VIII. Election of Charles V.
- 1520 Meeting of Francis and Henry VIII on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, but Francis fails to make the desired alliance, which Henry concludes with Charles V.
- 1521 Charles claims Burgundy. A French army invades Navarre. Capture of Pamplona. Leo treats with Francis and then deserts him for Charles. The duke de Bouillon attacks Luxemburg. The imperials seize the duchy of Bouillon and invade Champagne. Bayard drives them from Mézières. The French lose Tournay. French defeat at Logroño. The Spaniards recover Navarre. Lautrec abandons Milan, Parma, and Piacenza in Lombardy.
- 1522 Defeat of Lautrec by Prospero Colonna at La Bicocca. Colonna takes Genoa. Francis goes to the war, leaving the kingdom under the regency of his mother, Louise of Savoy. The Spaniards forced to raise the siege of Fuenterrabia in Navarre. The earl of Surrey ravages the coasts of Brittany and Normandy.
- 1523 The pope, the emperor, Henry VIII, and many of the Italian governments form a league against France. Secret alliance of the Porte and France. Bourbon joins the Spanish army in Italy.
- 1524 The French driven out of the Milanese. The imperials fail in an attack on Picardy. The constable De Bourbon invades Provence. Siege of Marseilles. Francis goes to Italy with a large army, reoccupies Milan; besieges Pavia, to which Francis lays siege. The pope concludes a secret treaty with France and Florence.
- 1525 Battle of Pavia. Francis made prisoner and taken to Madrid. The Spaniards masters of Milan. Henry VIII breaks the alliance with Charles and makes treaty with Louise of Saxony. First persecution of Protestants in France.
- 1526 Treaty of Madrid to effect release of Francis, who agrees to give up Burgundy, his Italian claims, Artois, and Flanders. On his return to France he refuses to give up Burgundy. Formation of a holy league by Francis with the pope, England, Venice, Florence, and the Swiss, to deliver Italy from the Spaniards.
- 1527 Capture and sack of Rome by the imperials under the constable De Bourbon, who is killed. Lautrec takes Genoa and nearly all the duchy of Milan and marches on Rome. By Bourbon's death, Bourbonnais, La Marche, and Auvergne are united to the crown. Unsuccessful siege of Naples by Lautrec.
- 1529 French under Saint-Pol defeated at Landriano. The French driven from Italy. The pope deserts France and signs alliance with Charles V. The Treaty of Cambray (the "Ladies' Peace") arranged by Louise of Savoy and the emperor's aunt, Margaret of Austria.
- 1532 Francis makes alliance with Henry VIII, who has quarrelled with the pope, and also with the Protestant league of Smalkald.
- 1533 Meeting of Francis and the pope at Marseilles. The friendship of Francis and Henry VIII is broken up. Francis demands the hand of Catherine de' Medici for his son Henry.
- 1534 Francis makes a definite alliance with the Porte.
- 1535 Francis decides to occupy Savoy on behalf of a claim descending from his mother.
- 1536 Charles V seizes Milan, and Francis declares war on him. The emperor invades Provence, loses half his army, and returns to Italy. Sudden death of the dauphin; suspicions of poison. Treaty with Turkey.
- 1537 War continues in Artois. Truce between France and the Netherlands.
- 1538 Ten years' Truce of Nice with the emperor. Francis holds Hesdin, Savoy, and Piedmont.
- 1539 Friendly interview at Aigues-Mortes between Charles and Francis.

- 1541 Francis declares war on Charles and forms league with Denmark, Sweden, and the Protestant states of Germany.
- 1542 Siege of Perpignan by the dauphin Henry.
- 1543 Henry VIII, reconciled to Charles V, concludes an alliance against France. Campaign of Charles V against the duke of Cleves. A Franco-Turkish fleet besieges Nice, which surrenders. The Spaniards enter Provence and Dauphiné and take Lyons.
- 1544 The duke d'Enghien wins the battle of Ceresole. Henry VIII lands at Calais, takes Boulogne, and besieges Montreuil. Charles V takes St. Dizier. Peace of Crespy between Charles and Francis, giving back their recent conquests. Henry VIII will not agree to the peace and returns to England.
- 1545 French fleet threatens England, but is repulsed. Severe persecution of the Vaudois.
- 1546 Peace with Henry VIII, who promises to give back Boulogne in eight years.
- 1547 Death of Francis, succeeded by his son **Henry II**.
- 1548 A revolution against the *gabelle* in Guienne put down by Anne de Montmorency. Bordeaux is cruelly chastised. Alliance with Scotland. Mary Stuart affianced to the dauphin. Marriage of Jeanne d'Albret and Anthony de Bourbon.
- 1549 Henry II enters Boulogne, while an English fleet is defeated off Guernsey.
- 1550 Treaty of peace between France, England, and Scotland. France recovers Boulogne.
- 1551 Edict of Châteaubriant against heretics.
- 1552 Henry invades Lorraine. He conquers the Three Bishoprics and adds them to the crown. The emperor besieges the French in Metz.
- 1553 The French and the Turks take a portion of Corsica from the Genoese.
- 1554 Andrea Doria recovers the Corsican conquest. Henry II ravages Brabant and Hainault.
- 1555 Brissac takes Casale.
- 1556 Truce of Vaucelles between Henry and Charles V. Abdication of Charles. Henry and Pope Paul IV unite. The pope absolves Henry from the truce.
- 1557 Emmanuel Philibert, with the help of the English, badly defeats the French at St. Quentin. Brave defence of St. Quentin by Admiral Coligny. Guise and the pope defeated at Civitella in the Abruzzi by the duke of Alva. The pope compelled to make peace with the Spaniards.
- 1558 Investment of Calais by the duke of Guise. The town surrenders and the English lose their last inch of French territory. Marriage of Mary, queen of Scots, and the dauphin Francis. Guise takes Dunkirk, Nieuport, and other coast towns, but is defeated at Gravelines by Count Egmont.
- 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, between France, Spain, and England. France retains the Three Bishoprics and Calais, recovers Ham and St. Quentin. France and Spain secretly agree to suppress heresy. Henry holds a tournament in honour of the peace, at which he is accidentally slain. His young son **Francis II** succeeds. Francis is governed by his mother Catherine de' Medici, the duke of Guise, and the cardinal De Lorraine.
- 1560 Failure of a Huguenot plan to abduct the king. The states-general assemble at Orleans to consider the Huguenot question. Arrest of the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre at Orleans for complicity in the Huguenot plot. Death of Francis. His young brother **Charles IX**, ten years old, succeeds. The Guises are defeated in their plans to crush the Huguenots in the south.
- 1561 Mary Stuart compelled to leave France. This marks the fall of the Guises. Conference of Poissy. Montmorency goes over to the Guises and the triumvirate of Guise, Montmorency, and Marshal Saint-André is formed. L'Hôpital convokes the states-general at Pontoise.
- 1562 Edict of January favourable to the Huguenots. Massacre of the Huguenots at Vassy marks the opening of the civil or religious wars. Coligny and Condé collect an army. Anthony of Navarre captures Rouen and dies of a wound. English auxiliaries arrive to aid the Huguenots. They take possession of Le Havre. Defeat of the Huguenots at Dreux. Jeanne d'Albret encourages Protestantism in Navarre. The French abandon Turin and other Piedmontese towns to the duke of Savoy.
- 1563 Catherine de' Medici makes the Peace of Amboise with Condé, giving the Calvinists freedom of worship in the towns they hold. End of the first religious war. Le Havre retaken from the English.
- 1564 Peace concluded at Troyes between Catherine and Elizabeth of England. Catherine and Charles IX visit the provinces in the interest of the struggle against Calvinism.
- 1565 Conference at Bayonne between Catherine and the duke of Alva, supposedly concerning the extermination of the Protestants.
- 1566 L'Hôpital issues the ordinance of Moulins for the reformation of justice.
- 1567 Rumours that Catherine is raising an army to destroy the Protestants leads to the second civil war. Condé blockades Paris. Battle of St. Denis, in which the Catholics are victorious. The Spaniards expel the French colonists in Florida as heretics.
- 1568 Peace of Longjumeau closes the second war. Peace of Amboise renewed. The third religious war. Catherine de' Medici issues an edict prohibiting the exercise of the Huguenot religion.
- 1569 The Huguenots defeated at Jarnac by Henry of Anjou. Assassination of the captive prince

- of Condé. The young Henry of Navarre, son of Jeanne d'Albret, named generalissimo of the Calvinist army. Coligny defeated at Moncontour.
- 1570 Peace of St. Germain closes the third war. It is the most favourable peace the Huguenots have yet won. Charles marries Elisabeth, daughter of Maximilian.
- 1571 The court makes treacherous advances to the Huguenots. The Huguenots hold the synod of La Rochelle. Growth of the *politique* party — the moderate Catholics.
- 1572 Catherine plans a massacre. Death of Jeanne d'Albret at the court. Henry of Navarre marries Marguerite of Valois. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Great slaughter of the Huguenots in Paris and the provinces. Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé save their lives by a sudden conversion to Catholicism. The fourth religious war follows.
- 1573 The cities in the south revolt. The duke of Anjou proclaimed king of Poland. Treaty of La Rochelle with the Huguenots, allowing them greater privileges than they have yet attained.
- 1574 The duke of Alençon and the *politiques* join the Huguenots. Death of Charles. His brother **Henry III** resigns the Polish crown to take that of France. The fifth religious war breaks out.
- 1575 Marriage of Henry and Louise de Vaudémont. The king attaches himself to the Guise party. Compact of Milhaud between the *politiques* and the Huguenots. Victory of Guise at Dormans over a German army sent by Condé.
- 1576 The Peace of Monsieur, concluded by the duke d'Alençon at Beaulieu, ends the fifth war. It is favourable both for the *politiques* and the Huguenots. The high Catholic party forms the league headed by the duke of Guise. Henry of Navarre renounces Catholicism and again heads the Huguenots. The sixth religious war breaks out.
- 1577 The Peace of Bergerac ends the sixth war.
- 1578 The duke of Anjou (formerly d'Alençon), having rejoined the court party, deserts it and makes friends with the Calvinists in the Netherlands.
- 1579 Henry founds the order of the Holy Ghost. The "Gallants' War," or seventh religious war, breaks out between Henry of Navarre and Henry III. Reformation of the civil code by the ordinance of Blois.
- 1580 Treaty of Fleix closes the seventh war. It is brought about by the mediation of the duke of Anjou, to whom the United Provinces have offered their sovereignty.
- 1582 Elizabeth of England refuses marriage offer of the duke of Anjou.
- 1583 The duke of Anjou fails to capture Antwerp, and retires in disgrace to France.
- 1584 Death of the duke of Anjou makes Henry of Navarre heir presumptive. Treaty of Joinville between the duke of Guise and Philip of Spain to exclude heretics from the throne of France.
- 1585 Henry III concludes Treaty of Nemours with the duke of Guise, becoming nominal head of the league. The "war of the Three Henrys" (the king, Guise, and Navarre), or the eighth religious war, breaks out. The leaguers are defeated at Gien and in Touraine. Paris is threatened. The pope attempts to repudiate Henry of Navarre's claim to the French throne. The English assist Condé, and relieve La Rochelle.
- 1587 Henry of Navarre wins at Coutras; the duke of Guise, at Vimory and Auneau.
- 1588 The duke of Guise marches to Paris. Day of the Barricades. The king is obliged to flee and appoint Guise lieutenant-general. The king has both the duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal, assassinated.
- 1589 Henry III joins his army with that of the Huguenots to oppose the league, now headed by the duke of Mayenne. Henry of Navarre takes many towns, and the two kings appear in sight of Paris. On the eve of the attack Henry III is assassinated.

II

THE YOUNGER OR ROBERTINE LINE (HOUSE OF BOURBON) (1589-1792 A.D.)

[Descended from Robert de Clermont, Sixth Son of St. Louis, and Brother of Philip III]

- Henry (IV) the Great**, king of Navarre, becomes king of France, joining his dominions of Navarre (which include Foix, Périgord, Béarn, a portion of Gascony, and the Limousin) to the crown. His accession is opposed by the *politiques* and the league, and he has only the Huguenots at his back. The Guises proclaim Cardinal de Bourbon as Charles X. The duke of Lorraine and the king of Spain are other claimants. Victory of Henry over the league at Arques. He is acknowledged in parts of Normandy, Dauphiné, Brittany, Provence, and Languedoc.
- 1590 Dissension breaks out in the league. Henry wins at Ivry, and lays siege to Paris. Philip II sends the duke of Parma to assist the Parisians. Parma besieges Meaux and relieves Paris. Philip II claims throne for his daughter Elisabeth.
- 1591 Henry obtains assistance from England and Germany. He takes Chartres, and lays siege to Rouen. Violent measures of the "Sixteen of Paris."

- 1592 Parma relieves Rouen. Mayenne loses the leadership of the league. Parma dies at Arras.
- 1593 The league treats with Spain in the interests of Philip II's daughter. It is proposed to break the Salic law. To save the situation, Henry becomes a Catholic. The Huguenots do not oppose the step.
- 1594 Coronation of Henry at Chartres. He enters Paris. The leaders of the league give their allegiance. Henry drives the Spaniards from Normandy and makes peace with the duke of Lorraine.
- 1595 Attempt of Châtel to assassinate Henry leads to the expulsion of the Jesuits from France. Henry declares war on Philip II. Brave resistance of Henry at Fontaine-Française. The Spaniards ravage the Somme, and Cambray submits to them. Henry, reconciled with the pope, receives absolution.
- 1596 The duke of Mayenne submits to the king, and receives the government of Burgundy. This puts an end to the league. The Spaniards take Calais.
- 1597 The Spaniards take Amiens. Henry recovers it later. The baron de Rosny (afterwards duke of Sully) is made head of the finances. He makes many urgent reforms.
- 1598 Henry issues the Edict of Nantes, granting freedom of worship and political privileges to the Huguenots. Treaty of Peace with Spain signed at Vervins.
- 1599 Death of Gabrielle d'Estrées, the king's mistress. Divorce of Henry and Marguerite.
- 1600 Henry marries Marie de' Medici. War breaks out with Savoy over the marquisate of Saluzzo. Henry takes Montmélian and the duke's possessions on the Rhone.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1601 Treaty of peace with Savoy. Henry exchanges Saluzzo for Bresse, Bugey, Valromeys, and the Pays de Gex.
- 1602 Plot of the duke of Biron with Spain and Savoy. Biron is tried and beheaded.
- 1603 The Jesuits recalled.
- 1604 Treaty between Henry and James I of England to uphold the United Provinces. Henry sends Champlain to Canada to found Port Royal (Annapolis). Advantageous commercial treaty with Turkey.
- 1606 Submission of the duke de Bouillon completes the reduction of the recalcitrant nobles.
- 1608 Foundation of Quebec.
- 1609 Henry assists in the twelve years' truce between Spain and the United Provinces.
- 1610 Henry is assassinated by Ravaillac. His nine-year-old son **Louis (XIII) the Just** succeeds under the regency of Marie de' Medici. Henry IV's policy is abandoned.
- 1614 Revolt of Condé and other nobles against the regency. Marie de' Medici makes the Peace of Ste. Menegould with them. Concini declares the king's majority. Louis convokes the states-general (the last before the revolution) at Paris. It accomplishes nothing, but proves that the third estate has reached a high degree of political education.
- 1615 Marriage of Louis and Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III of Spain. She renounces all rights to the Spanish throne. Second revolt of the nobles against the government. Condé places himself at the head of the discontented Huguenots. Louis inherits the county of Auvergne.
- 1616 Peace made with the malcontents at Loudun. The future duke of Richelieu becomes a member of the council. He causes the arrest of Condé, and troops are sent to put down the rebels in Picardy, Champagne, and Berri.
- 1617 Quarrel between Concini and Luynes, the king's favourite. The king has Concini murdered. His wife, Leonora Galigai, is beheaded. Marie de' Medici exiled to Blois. Richelieu is dismissed. Luynes directs the government. Edict by which the Béarnais are bereft of their rights as Protestants. The king takes an army to Béarn to enforce the edict.
- 1618 The great power assumed by Luynes drives the nobles over to the side of Marie de' Medici. The Thirty Years' War breaks out in Bohemia.
- 1619 Assisted by the nobles, Marie de' Medici escapes from Blois. Richelieu reconciles her with Louis. She receives the government of Anjou. Condé released from prison.
- 1620 France decides to protect the emperor in the Thirty Years' War. Marie de' Medici aims to regain her power. The king marches upon Angers and defeats Marie's adherents at the Ponts-de-Cé. Treaty of Angers reconciles the king and his mother.
- 1621 The Huguenots assemble at La Rochelle, publish a declaration of independence, and raise an army of which the duke de Rohan takes the head. Luynes proceeds against it. He is forced to abandon the siege of Montauban, and dies shortly after.
- 1622 Louis continues the Huguenot war. Montpellier is besieged. Peace made with the Huguenots. The Edict of Nantes is renewed. Richelieu made cardinal.
- 1624 Richelieu dominates the ministry and begins to map out his policy, which is chiefly directed to resisting the Austro-Spanish house. He interferes in the Valtelline war and, sending an army to drive the Spaniards and papal troops from the valley, restores it to the Grisons. Richelieu makes treaties with the United Provinces, Savoy, and Venice.

- 1625 Revolt of the duke de Soubise and the Rochellois. Richelieu wins naval victories.
- 1626 Temporary peace with the Huguenots. Treaty of Monzon with Spain. Conspiracy to depose Louis XIII and place his brother Gaston, duke of Orleans, on the throne. Gaston submits to Richelieu.
- 1627 Richelieu lays siege to La Rochelle.
- 1628 Surrender of La Rochelle after fifteen months' siege. Peace made with England, which has espoused the Huguenot cause.
- 1629 Peace of Alais marks the end of the religious wars. Richelieu intervenes in the quarrel over the Mantuan succession. Louis XIII and his army force the pass of Susa, and the Spaniards raise the siege of Casale. Protestant movement in Languedoc put down.
- 1630 Richelieu leads an army into Savoy, where the Spaniards have reappeared. Richelieu frustrates the plot of Marie de' Medici and others to overthrow him. The "Day of Dupes." Marie flees to Brussels, Gaston to Lorraine, and the duke of Guise to Italy.
- 1631 Treaty of Bärenwald; alliance with Gustavus Adolphus. Treaty of Cherasco ends the war in Italy. Treaty with the duke of Savoy, securing Pinerolo to France. Richelieu made duke and receives the government of Brittany.
- 1632 The exiled nobles attempt to raise the provinces against Richelieu. The royal army wins at Castelnaudary. Gaston flees. England returns to France, by treaty, Acadia and Cape Breton, which she seized in 1629. On death of Gustavus Adolphus, France takes the first place in struggle against the Austrian house.
- 1633 New treaty of alliance between France and Sweden. Treaty with the United Provinces. Louis and Richelieu seize Lorraine. Nancy and Bar-le-duc occupied.
- 1634 Gaston makes treaty with the king of Spain. Gaston submits to France.
- 1635 The Spaniards seize the archbishop of Treves. Richelieu declares war on Spain. Foundation of the French Academy.
- 1636 Richelieu narrowly escapes assassination by the machinations of Gaston. This war is without result in Italy and on the sea.
- 1637 The invaders are swept out of France.
- 1638 The Austro-Spanish power seems to be checked. A French fleet destroys part of Spain and ravages the coasts of Naples and Spain. Great success of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar on the Rhine. Imperials beaten at Rheinfelden and Breisach taken. The birth of the dauphin destroys the hope of Gaston and his friends. The French forced to raise the siege of Fontarabia in Spain. Death of Father Joseph, Richelieu's counsellor and agent. His place is taken by Mazarin.
- 1639 Death of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. The French occupy his conquests, and take over his army. Richelieu assists the English covenanters with money. Spanish disasters in Flanders and on the sea. The French army enters Roussillon.
- 1640 Revolt in Normandy put down. Siege of Arras and conquest of Artois by Louis XIII. Capture of Turin. Brézé wins naval victory at Cadiz.
- 1641 Richelieu assists John of Braganza, the new king of Portugal, and the Catalan rebels. The Spaniards driven from Catalonia by Harcourt. Conquest of Roussillon and Cerdagne by Louis. They are added to France. Guébriant and Banér defeat the imperials and Piccolomini at Wolfenbüttel. Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars.
- 1642 Victory of Guébriant over Lamboy at Kempen. The French fleet takes Collioure. Defeat of the French at Honnecourt. Arrest and execution of Cinq-Mars and De Thou. The duke de Bouillon forced to cede Bouillon and Sedan to France. Perpignan falls before the French. Louis XIII recognised as count of Barcelona and Roussillon. Guébriant goes to Germany and forces the surrender of Leipsic. Death of Richelieu. He has succeeded in destroying the balance of Austria's power. Mazarin succeeds as prime minister.
- 1643 Death of Louis XIII; succeeded by his five-year-old son, **Louis (XIV) the Great**. Anne of Austria obtains the regency. Mazarin retained as prime minister. The duke d'Enghien (the great Condé) wins great victory over the Spaniards at Rocroi. The friends of the queen return from exile and form the cabal of the *Importants*. They plot to kill Mazarin. The queen decides to break with them, and they are again banished. Enghien seizes Thionville. The Weimarian army loses its general, Guébriant. It is defeated by the imperials at Tuttlingen, but is reorganised by Marshal Turenne. French naval victory at Cartagena. Negotiations for peace begin at Münster.
- 1644 Turenne wins victory over the imperials at Freiburg. Gaston wins at Gravelines. Condé and Turenne take Philippsburg, Worms, and Mainz, and drive the imperials from the middle Rhine.
- 1645 Turenne defeated by Mercy at Marienthal, but Condé defeats and kills Mercy at Nördlingen. Turenne takes Treves. The Spaniards regain Mardyck from the French.
- 1646 Condé goes to Flanders, and takes Dunkirk and other places.
- 1647 Turenne and the Swedish general Wrangel win the battle of Lawingen.
- 1648 Victory of Turenne and Wrangel at Zusmarshausen. They march upon Vienna. Schomberg captures Tortosa. Condé administers a crushing defeat to the Spaniards at Lens. Treaty of Westphalia between the empire and France ends the Thirty Years' War. France keeps her conquests in Lorraine and Artois. The quarrel between France and Spain remains unsettled. The burdens and extravagances of Mazarin's rule, together

with the pretensions of the parliaments for more power, lead to the outbreak of the Fronde. Day of the Barricades. Cardinal de Retz heads the popular party. Peace of St. Germain, giving advantages to the magistracy, ends the first insurrection of the (Old) Fronde.

- 1649 The Spaniards return to Flanders and seize Ypres. Mazarin determines to deal harshly with the *frondeurs* and the court leaves Paris. Parliament obtains the assistance of many of the nobles discontented with Mazarin's rule. Condé refuses to join them and lays siege to Paris, which leads to the Peace of Ruel, diminishing a few taxes. The rebellious nobles refuse to accept the peace and the New Fronde begins. The New Fronde opens negotiations with Spain. A Spanish army enters northern France.
- 1650 The queen, sustained by the Old Fronde, arrests Condé, Conti, and Longueville. Turenne joins the New Fronde and with Spanish troops threatens Paris. The royal army takes Bethel from Turenne. Mazarin releases Condé and his friends.
- 1651 The two Frondes unite through influence of De Retz and force the queen to exile Mazarin. The Old Fronde, jealous of Condé, goes over to the side of the queen. Condé rouses a revolt in Guienne. Turenne goes over to the court and proceeds against Condé. Mazarin returns to France.
- 1652 Condé defeats the royal troops at Bléneau and at the faubourg St. Antoine, and enters Paris. Mazarin retires to Flanders. The Spaniards recover Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Casale.
- 1653 Weary of the struggle, parliament and the citizens of Paris invite the queen to return to Paris. De Retz is imprisoned. Condé joins the Spanish army. Mazarin comes back all-powerful. End of the Fronde.
- 1654 Condé and the Spaniards lay siege to Arras, but Turenne drives them off. Turenne takes Quesnoy and Stenay. Jansenist doctrines spread.
- 1655 Mazarin makes a treaty of peace and commerce with Cromwell. French make a fruitless siege of Pavia. Mazarin founds the Academy of Sculpture and Painting.
- 1656 Turenne continues his campaign against Condé.
- 1657 Mazarin makes alliance with Cromwell, and England declares war on Spain. The Spaniards begin to give way before Turenne's army, strengthened by the Puritans.
- 1658 Turenne wins the decisive battle of the Dunes over the Spaniards. Dunkirk surrenders and is given over to the English. Gravelines, Oudenarde, and Furnes fall before the French. Lionne, Mazarin's agent, forms the League of the Rhine, to uphold the Peace of Westphalia.
- 1659 Spain yields and the Treaty of the Pyrenees is signed. French conquests of Artois, Roussillon, and Cerdagne confirmed. France restores conquests in Catalonia to Spain, but retains Gravelines and other towns in Flanders. The duchy of Bar ceded to France by Lorraine. Marriage compact between Louis XIV and the infanta Maria Theresa. Condé is pardoned.
- 1660 Marriage of Louis and Maria Theresa. She renounces her rights to the Spanish throne, but her marriage dowry is not paid. Death of Gaston, duke of Orleans, at Blois.
- 1661 Death of Mazarin. The personal rule of Louis begins. Disgrace and imprisonment of Fouquet; Colbert takes his place as superintendent of the finances. Marriage of Philip, duke of Orleans, brother of Louis, to Henrietta of England.
- 1662 Louis buys Dunkirk and Mardyck from Charles II. The French ambassador insulted at Rome. Treaty with the Dutch against England.
- 1663 Louis occupies Marsal, Avignon, and Venaissin. Colbert introduces many reforms in the finances, manufactures, commerce, etc.
- 1664 The pope yields, and the quarrel with Rome is settled. Avignon and Venaissin restored. Louis aids the emperor and the Venetians against the Turks. The French take an important part in the battle of St. Gotthard. Louis prepares to take part in the war between England and Holland. Colbert obtains many islands in the West Indies.
- 1665 Successful campaign against the Barbary pirates. On death of Philip IV of Spain, Louis asserts Maria Theresa's claim to the Netherlands by the right of devolution. Alliance with the Dutch. Gorée taken from the Dutch.
- 1666 War declared against England, but the French make little effort to take part in it. Foundation of the Academy of Sciences.
- 1667 Louis makes the Peace of Breda with England. France restores some of the West India Islands and England gives back Acadia. Louis enters Flanders and the war of the Queen's Rights begins. Rapid French conquests. The whole of Flanders reduced.
- 1668 Louis makes a rapid conquest of Franche-Comté. Holland, alarmed at Louis' progress, makes a triple alliance with England and Sweden, and forces Louis to mediation. He signs the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and ends the war of the Queen's Rights, giving up Franche-Comté and keeping his conquests in Flanders.
- 1670 Louis attempts to break the triple alliance. He buys Charles II, and the secret Treaty of Dover is signed. Secret Treaty of alliance with the emperor. Louis secures several of the imperial powers as allies, renewing the League of the Rhine.
- 1671 Death of Lionne; succeeded by Pomponne.
- 1672 Louis detaches Sweden from the alliance. Charles II and Louis renew the Treaty of

Dover, and Louis declares war on the United Provinces. English ships augment the French fleet. Overijssel, Gelderland, and Utrecht submit. William of Orange opens the sluices and saves Holland.

- 1673 William of Orange succeeds in forming the first coalition against France, composed of the United Provinces, Spain, the emperor, the duke of Lorraine, and several of the imperial princes, who desert Louis. William recovers Naarden, and with the imperial army takes Bonn. Louis takes Maestricht. Indecisive naval combats.
- 1674 The war having become European, Louis abandons Holland and attacks the Spaniards in Franche-Comté. The province is reduced in six weeks. The Great Elector joins the allies. The English parliament forces Charles II to make peace with Holland. Turenne defends Alsace, defeats the imperials at Sinsheim, and ravages the entire Palatinate. Condé defeats the Spaniards and Dutch at Seneffe. Turenne defeats the imperials at Mülhausen and Colmar. The Spaniards seize Bellegarde in Roussillon.
- 1675 Victory of Turenne at Türkheim. The imperials driven across the Rhine. Turenne enters the Palatinate. Battle of Salzbach and death of Turenne. The French flee across the Rhine, pursued by the imperials. Condé enters Lorraine and drives the imperials back across the Rhine. Messina revolts from Spain. Louis sends a fleet. Negotiations for peace begin at Nimeguen.
- 1676 The French take Condé and Bouchain. The Germans regain Philippsburg. Great naval victories of Duquesne in Sicily over the Dutch and Spanish fleets.
- 1677 Créquy, Turenne's successor, conducts a brilliant campaign in Germany. He wins the battle of Kochersberg, and takes Freiburg. Luxembourg, Condé's successor, together with Louis, captures Valenciennes and Cambray; with the duke of Orleans he wins the battle of Cassel and takes St. Omer.
- 1678 Charles II forced by parliament to make treaty with the Dutch and declare war on France. Surrender of Ghent, besieged by Louvois and Louis. Louis withdraws forces from Sicily. Peace negotiations concluded at Nimeguen. William tries to break them by giving battle to Luxembourg at St. Denis near Mons, but is defeated. Treaty of Nimeguen between Holland and France. Treaty with Spain. The conquest of Franche-Comté confirmed. Valenciennes and other frontier towns in the Netherlands given to France.
- 1679 Treaty with the emperor. Philippsburg given up, but Freiburg retained. The Treaty of Westphalia confirmed.
- 1680 Louis XIV at the height of his power. The title "the Great" bestowed upon him. "Chambers of Reunion" regulate the frontier. They declare many fiefs in Alsace and Lorraine united to France. Restrictions of the religious liberty of the Huguenots. Foundation of Pondicherry.
- 1681 Strasbourg united to France by force. Luxembourg blockaded. Louis purchases Casale.
- 1682 Algiers besieged by Duquesne. England, Spain, and Holland force Louis to raise the siege of Luxembourg. The council called by Louis, to settle the differences with the pope, emphasises the liberties of the Gallican church. La Salle takes Louisiana.
- 1683 Surrender of Algiers. Death of Maria Theresa. Death of Colbert.
- 1684 The diet of Ratisbon makes a twenty years' truce with Louis, allowing him to keep Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and other towns united before 1682; but his ambition is not satisfied. Duquesne bombards Genoa for assisting the Algerians and Spaniards.
- 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, abolishing all privileges of the Huguenots. They emigrate to other countries, causing irreparable loss to France. The doge of Genoa submits to terms dictated by Louis. French fleet bombards Tripoli and Tunis. Louis claims the lower Palatinate in the name of the duke of Orleans' second wife.
- 1686 Louis marries Madame de Maintenon. The emperor, the empire, Spain, Holland, and Sweden form the League of Augsburg—the second coalition against France.
- 1687 Quarrel with the pope. Louis seizes Avignon and the pope accedes to the league in secret.
- 1688 Dispute over Cologne. Louis occupies Philippsburg, the Palatinate, and important places on the Rhine.
- 1689 William III, placed by the Revolution on the English throne, joins the league, which declares war on France. Louis gives the deposed James II a fleet to recover the English throne, and tries his strength against Spain and Savoy. The dauphin ravages the Palatinate. Mainz and other places on the Rhine recovered from the French. The Spaniards repulse the French in Catalonia.
- 1690 Louis restores Avignon to the pope. Luxembourg defeats the prince of Waldeck at Fleurus. James II returns to France after his defeat on the Boyne. Catinat defeats the duke of Savoy at Staffarda. The French take Saluzzo, Chambéry, and Susa.
- 1691 Louis besieges and captures Mons.
- 1692 Louis prepares a descent on England, but his fleet, under Admiral Tourville, is defeated at La Hogue. Luxembourg takes Namur.
- 1693 Tourville wins naval victory from the English off Cape St. Vincent. William III defeated at Neerwinden by Luxembourg. The French take Huy and Charleroi. All Piedmont, except Turin, in the hands of the French. Louis settles with the pope the dispute concerning the appointment of bishops.

- 1694 The English fail in an attack on Brest. Dieppe, Le Havre, and Dunkirk bombarded. The allies recover Huy.
- 1695 Villeroi attacks Brussels. William III takes Namur. Casale surrenders to the duke of Savoy, who destroys it.
- 1696 Louis makes peace with the duke of Savoy and gives him back Casale and Pinerolo. James II goes to England with a French army, but the plot is discovered, and he returns to France. Destruction of the French magazines at Givet by the English.
- 1697 Catinat, Villeroi, and Boufflers enter Belgium. Ath is captured. William saves Brussels. The duke de Vendôme captures Barcelona. Pointis captures Cartagena in New Grenada. William III accepts Sweden's offer of mediation and the Peace of Ryswick ends the war of the league of Augsburg. Louis recognises William III as king of England. All conquests from England, Spain, and Holland since the Treaty of Nimeguen are restored. The empire gets back all places taken since the Peace of Nimeguen, except Strasburg. The duke of Lorraine is restored.
- 1698 France, England, and Holland sign the first treaty of partition of the Spanish monarchy. It is to be divided between France, Austria, and Bavaria.
- 1699 Second treaty of partition, made necessary by death of the electoral prince of Bavaria.
- 1700 Death of Charles II of Spain leaving by will his entire inheritance to Louis' grandson, Philip, duke of Anjou. Louis accepts this for him.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1701 Alarm and protests in Europe over Louis' violation of the treaty of partition. Louis XIV breaks the Treaty of Ryswick, and orders the elector of Bavaria, governor of Belgium, and his ally to drive the Dutch garrisons from the Netherlands. Formation of the third coalition against France—the grand League of the Hague—by England, Holland, Austria, and the empire. Louis has for allies the Bavarian princes and the duke of Modena and Savoy. The war of the Spanish Succession begins. Prince Eugene defeats Catinat and Villeroi.
- 1702 Surprise of Cremona by Prince Eugene. Capture of Villeroi, who is replaced by Vendôme. England declares war on France and Spain. Louis sends Boufflers into the Netherlands to oppose Marlborough. Victory of Vendôme at Luzzara. The imperials are driven beyond the Mincio. Catinat takes command on the Rhine, where the prince of Baden takes Landau, Weissenburg, and Hagenau from him. Villars defeats the prince of Baden at Friedlingen. The French fleet is defeated in Vigo Bay. Outbreak of the *camisards* (Protestants) in the Cévennes. Marlborough takes many towns in the Netherlands. Louis unites the principality of Orange to France.
- 1703 The duke of Savoy and Portugal join the coalition. Marlborough captures Bonn, Huy, and Limburg. Villars defeats Louis of Baden at Stollhofen, takes Kehl, and joins the elector of Bavaria, who has driven the Austrians from the upper Danube. The Franco-Bavarians enter Innsbruck and threaten Vienna. They win at Höchstädt. Tallard takes Breisach, defeats Louis at Speier, and recovers Landau.
- 1704 Marlborough and Prince Louis of Baden defeat the Bavarians and take Donauwörth. Marlborough joins Prince Eugene. The elector unites with the French, and together they suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of the allies at Blenheim. The empire is saved. The elector takes refuge in Flanders. Louis of Baden crosses the Rhine and retakes Landau. Marlborough takes Trarbach and Treves. Villars recalled to Alsace. The French and Spaniards besiege Gibraltar, which has been captured by the English, and win great naval victory off Velez Malaga. Surrender of Susa to La Feuillade. Suppression of the *camisard* revolt by Villars.
- 1705 The French and Spaniards compelled to raise the siege of Gibraltar. Marlborough defeats the French at Triermont. Louis of Baden drives Villars across the Rhine. Vendôme wins from Prince Eugene at Cassino.
- 1706 Vendôme defeats the allies at Calcinato and drives them from Milanese territory. Marlborough wins the great victory of Ramillies from Villeroi. La Feuillade takes Nice and lays siege to Turin. Italy falls into the hands of the allies. The archduke Charles enters Madrid, drives Philip V from his capital, and is proclaimed King Charles III. The allies take Louvain, Brussels, and Malines in the name of Charles III. The Castilians replace Philip on the Spanish throne. The allies reject Louis XIV's proposals for peace.
- 1707 Charles XII of Sweden appears in Germany and paralyses both sides for a time. Villars breaks through the Stollhofen lines to join him, but Charles does not desire the French alliance and marches towards Poland. Villars returns to the Rhine. Duguay-Trouin makes great havoc with the English and Dutch commerce.
- 1708 France is in desperate financial straits. Failure of a French expedition to Holland. Prince Eugene joins Marlborough, and they surprise Ghent and Bruges and defeat Vendôme and the duke of Burgundy at Oudenarde. The allies cross into France and

besiege Lille, which Boufflers is compelled to surrender. The Dutch penetrate as far as Versailles. The duke of Savoy recovers his frontier fortresses from France. Measures taken against the Jansenists. Port Royal suppressed.

- 1709 Louis renews offers of peace, but his terms are rejected. Famine and misery in France. The allies take Tournay and defeat Villars and Boufflers at Malplaquet, though with tremendous losses. Mons surrenders to the allies.
- 1710 Louis makes further concessions to obtain peace, but is unsuccessful. The allies take Montaigne and Douai. Marlborough takes Béthune. The allies take St. Venant and Aire. Philip V again driven from Madrid by Charles III. Vendôme takes command of the French in Spain, restores Philip, and defeats the Austrians at Villaviciosa.
- 1711 Marlborough defeats the French at Arleux and takes Bouchain. The French take Gerona in Spain. Fall of the Whig government in England. The Tories declare for peace. Marlborough retired from the command. The succession of Charles to the empire changes the attitude towards the Spanish succession. Truce made with England. Duguay-Trouin captures Rio Janeiro. Death of the dauphin.
- 1712 Peace congress opened at Utrecht. The emperor and the empire refuse to take part. Prince Eugene continues his campaign in the Netherlands; is defeated at Denain by Villars. Douai, Marchiennes, Anchin, and Le Quesnoy retaken. The French frontier is saved. Philip V renounces his claim to the French throne. The Dutch enter the truce with England. Death of the duke of Burgundy (the second dauphin) and his eldest son, the duke of Brittany.
- 1713 Treaty of peace signed at Utrecht between all powers except the emperor and the empire, on the basis of the Treaty of Ryswick. The permanent separation of the French and Spanish crown agreed upon. France obtains Barcelonnette but gives up Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson Bay Territory to England. Dunkirk dismantled. The emperor and the empire continue the war. Villars takes Landau and Freiburg.
- 1714 Treaty of Rastatt with the emperor, and Treaty of Baden with the empire. Freiburg, Brisach, and Kehl restored to Germany. France retains Strasburg. End of the war of the Spanish Succession. Death of the duke de Berri, leaving Louis, duke of Anjou, son of the duke of Burgundy, heir to the throne. Louis legitimatises his children by Madame de Montespan.
- 1715 Death of Louis XIV; succeeded by his grandson **Louis (XV) the Well-Beloved**, under regency of the duke of Orleans.
- 1716 John Law's bank established.
- 1717 Formation of a Triple Alliance by France, England, and Holland, to resist the Spanish minister Alberoni. Creation of Law's Mississippi Company (*Compagnie d'Occident*).
- 1718 Plot of the Spanish party to assassinate the regent. *Compagnie des Indes* formed; the Royal Bank founded. The emperor joins the Triple Alliance, forming the Quadruple Alliance.
- 1719 War with Spain.
- 1720 Alberoni yields to the Quadruple Alliance, and the war ends. The "Mississippi Bubble" bursts.
- 1721 Dubois made cardinal.
- 1722 Coronation of Louis; Dubois prime minister.
- 1723 Louis' majority proclaimed. Deaths of the regent and Cardinal Dubois. Duke de Bourbon prime minister.
- 1725 Louis marries Marie Leszcynska.
- 1726 Fleury, bishop of Fréjus, prime minister.
- 1733 The war of the Polish Succession begins. Berwick takes Kehl and lays siege to Philippsburg.
- 1734 Villars and Charles Emmanuel lay siege to Milan. Novara, Arona, and Tortona surrender to them. Death of Villars at Turin. Berwick killed at the siege of Philippsburg.
- 1735 Peace congress opened at Vienna. End of war of Polish Succession.
- 1738 The French assist the Genoese in Corsica.
- 1739 The French reduce nearly the whole of Corsica.
- 1740 The French retain their hold on Corsica.
- 1741 The First Silesian War (the Austrian Succession) begins. France joins Prussia by the Treaty of Nymphenburg. A French army enters Bohemia. Prague is captured.
- 1742 Frederick II makes peace with Maria Theresa. The French, left alone in Bohemia, are forced to retreat from Prague.
- 1743 Death of Fleury. French defeated at Dettingen; the "*Journée des Batons Rompus*."
- 1744 Vigorous renewal of the war (sometimes called Second Silesian War) by a league against France formed at Frankfurt. Failure of French expedition to Scotland to support the young Pretender. In Flanders, Marshal Saxe captures several towns. Louis has severe illness at Metz; on his recovery he is called "the Well-Beloved." Indecisive naval battle between French and English off Toulon.
- 1745 Marshal Saxe takes Tournay and defeats the English and Dutch at Fontenoy and Antoin. The Austrian Netherlands fall into his hands. Victory of Bassignano. In America the English take Louisburg and Cape Breton from the French. Maria Theresa makes

- Peace of Dresden with the king of Prussia. End of the Second Silesian War, leaving France practically isolated.
- 1746 The French and Spaniards defeated at Piacenza. Saxe wins victory at Raucoux. In India Labourdonnais and Dupleix take Madras from the English. English invade Provence; forced by Marshal Belle-Isle to withdraw. Madame de Pompadour becomes mistress of Louis.
- 1747 Saxe wins victory of Lawfeld from the English. Count de Löwendahl takes Bergen-op-Zoom, and Holland is invaded by the French. Great defeat of the French fleet by Admiral Hawke off Belle-Île.
- 1748 Dupleix repulses English from Pondicherry. Peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen). England and France mutually restore their conquests. France enters on a period of great commercial prosperity.
- 1751 Clive defeats Dupleix and his Indian allies at Arcot. The École Militaire established at Paris.
- 1753 Beginning of quarrel between parliament of Brittany and the duke d'Aiguillon. Exile of the magistrates of the parliament of Paris for interference in religious matters.
- 1754 Dupleix recalled from India. His successor Godeheu makes a truce with the English. George Washington with English and Indian troops is sent from Virginia into the Ohio valley and takes possession of Fort Necessity. Jumonville, sent by Villiers to demand its evacuation, is surprised and killed. Villiers besieges Fort Necessity and obliges Washington to surrender. The French and Indian War begins. The king imposes silence on parliament on questions of religion.
- 1755 England prepares for war on France. Admiral Boscawen captures two French ships. Defeat of Braddock. The French defeated on Lake George.
- 1756 France allies herself with Austria and Russia — "Alliance of the Three Petticoats." The Seven Years' War begins. French fleet defeats Admiral Byng and takes Port Mahon. French defeat on the Onondaga, but Montcalm takes Fort Oswego.
- 1757 France declares war on Frederick the Great and joins the league, composed of Russia, Saxony, the German diet, and Sweden, against him. French army under D'Estrées defeats the English under the duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck. The French occupy Hanover, Göttingen, and Cassel. Richelieu drives the English to the Elbe, and Cumberland surrenders to him at Closter-Seven. Frederick the Great defeats Soubise at Rossbach. English fleet repulsed at La Rochelle. In America, Montcalm captures Fort William Henry. War resumed in India. Clive captures Chandanagar. Attempt of Damiens to assassinate Louis XV.
- 1758 English expel French from Emden. Ferdinand of Brunswick dislodges Clermont from Brunswick, defeats him at Crefeld, and takes Düsseldorf. Soubise wins battles of Sondershausen and Lützenberg and takes Cassel. Admiral Osborne defeats Duquesne off Cartagena. English fleets ravage the French coast, and capture Cherbourg. English defeated in an attack at St. Malo. In America Fort Duquesne, Louisburg, and Cape Breton are taken by the English, but General Abercrombie is repulsed at Ticonderoga. English capture Fort Louis in Senegal and drive the French from Gorée. General Lally sails for India; his ships are defeated by Admiral Pococke. On arrival he besieges and captures Fort St. David and besieges Madras.
- 1759 Disastrous year for France. The duke de Broglie defeats Ferdinand of Brunswick and the English at Bergen; but Ferdinand and the English win at Minden. The French evacuate Hanover and Hesse. Failure of a French attempt to invade England. Le Havre bombarded by an English fleet. Admiral Boscawen defeats Admiral La Clue in Lagos Bay. Admiral Conflans defeated by Admiral Hawke in Quiberon Bay, and his fleet destroyed. In America the French lose Fort Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point. General Wolfe defeats the French on the Heights of Abraham. Montcalm and Wolfe slain. Surrender of Quebec. Admiral Pococke defeats a French fleet near Mauritius.
- 1760 A French fleet under Thurot is captured. The French regain Marburg and win at Korbach; lose at Warburg; win at Kloster Camp. English conquest of Canada completed. In India the English take the offensive and win most of the French towns.
- 1761 The French armies defeated by Ferdinand at Vellinghausen. English fleet captures Belle-Île. Choiseul arranges the "Family Compact," an offensive and defensive league signed by all the Bourbon sovereigns — France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Parma, and Piacenza. Surrender of Pondicherry, the last French stronghold in India.
- 1762 Defeat of the Hanoverians by the French at Johannesburg. Martinique surrenders to the English fleet. Further conquests stopped by peace negotiations.
- 1763 Treaty of peace signed at Paris ends France's part in the Seven Years' War.
- 1764 The Jesuits suppressed in France. Death of Madame de Pompadour.
- 1765 Death of the dauphin; the title passing to his son, afterwards Louis XVI. Arrest and imprisonment of La Chalotais by the duke d'Aiguillon.
- 1766 Duchy of Lorraine reunited to France.
- 1768 France acquires Corsica.
- 1769 Birth of Napoleon Bonaparte in Corsica.

- 1770 Trial of d'Aiguillon by the parliament of Paris. Louis XV revokes its decision. Through influence of Madame du Barry, the king's new mistress, Choiseul is dismissed. Marriage of the dauphin and Marie Antoinette of Austria.
- 1771 Suppression of the parliaments of France. The chancellor Maupeou forms a new parliament in Paris, which bears his name. Reconstruction of the provincial parliaments.
- 1774 Death of Louis XV, succeeded by his grandson **Louis XVI**. Turgot, minister of finances, proposes radical reforms and the abolition of privileges.
- 1775 Beginning of a three years' famine in France.
- 1776 Turgot replaced by Necker. Franklin solicits aid for the American colonies.
- 1777 Treaty of alliance between France and the American colonies.
- 1778 Treaty of offence and defence signed with the American colonies; their independence recognised. A fleet sent to America. England declares war on France. Indecisive naval contest off Ushant. The French seize Dominica and the English St. Lucia in the West Indies. The English seize Pondicherry in India, and St. Pierre and Miquelon in North America.
- 1779 Spain joins France. French attack on Jersey repulsed. The French take St. Vincent and Granada in the West Indies. The English seize Senegal and Gorée in Africa. Admiral D'Estaing repulsed at Savannah, Georgia. The French attack Gibraltar. Peace of Teschen.
- 1780 Admiral Rodney defeats the Franco-Spanish fleet and relieves Gibraltar. In the West Indies he defeats Admiral Guichen. French Army sent to America under Rochambeau.
- 1781 Necker resigns; Joly de Fleury succeeds him. Admiral de Grasse captures Tobago. Rochambeau and the French army take an important part in the victory of Yorktown. Grasse returns to the West Indies and assists Bouillé to recover the Dutch islands taken by the British.
- 1782 The English garrison at Minorca surrenders. Rodney defeats the French fleet under Grasse off Santo Domingo. Admiral Suffren fights Admiral Hughes, and forms vast plans with Hyder Ali, sultan of Mysore, for the destruction of English domination in India. Gandelour is besieged.
- 1783 Preliminary peace articles signed; conquests restored in Africa, the East Indies, and America, except Tobago.
- 1785 Affair of the queen's necklace.
- 1786 Commercial treaty with England.
- 1787 Convocation of the Notables. Calonne's plan of reform rejected; he is replaced by Cardinal de Brienne, who insists on Calonne's proposals. Two parties are formed—one of the king, queen, Brienne, and some of the nobility; the other of the duke of Orleans, the bulk of the nobles, and the parliament of Paris: the latter defend privilege; the former is almost willing to abandon the nobility. The people hold their own rights and claims against both. Louis XVI holds a Bed of Justice. The Paris parliament states the forgotten doctrine that the states-general alone may impose taxes, and the king exiles it to Troyes. Parliament recalled to Paris. Louis XVI holds a "royal sitting." The duke of Orleans exiled.
- 1788 Parliament declares *lettres de cachet* illegal; several members of the Paris parliament arrested. Other parliaments treated the same way. The Breton parliament forms the club afterwards known as the Jacobins. Necker recalled. Second assembly of the Notables.
- 1789 Election to the states-general, which meet at Versailles May 4th. The *cahiers*, containing demands for reform in all branches of the government, presented. The three orders united into one body called the National Assembly. Oath of the Tennis Court (June 20th). The Constituent Assembly. Necker resigns. The duke of Orleans and forty-six nobles join the assembly. First collision of the troops and the people. The old municipality of Paris is done away with. Fall of the Bastille (July 14th). The emigration of nobles begins. Necker recalled. Abolition of privileges by the assembly, August 4th, and Declaration of the Rights of Man. Freedom of conscience and liberty of the press decreed. Famine in Paris; a mob proceeds to Versailles, attacks the palace, and brings back the king and queen to Paris (October 6th). The assembly follows. Church property taken by the state. Parliament is suspended. Issue of paper money; crown domain and estates of the empire seized by the state.
- 1790 The marquis de Favras, the first judicially condemned victim of the revolution, is executed. The assembly redivides France into departments. Sale of church lands and civil constitution of the clergy. Grand federation of the Champ de Mars. The assembly abolishes titles of nobility (June 19th). Necker resigns. The king negotiates with the kings of Europe for help.
- 1791 Death of Mirabeau. Flight and arrest of the king. The Feuillants Club formed of the moderate Jacobins. The constitution completed; the king agrees to it and is re-established in his functions. Treaty of Pillnitz between Prussia and Austria to restore Louis XVI. The constituent assembly dissolves and the legislative holds its first meeting, October 1st. Insurrections in La Vendée and Brittany. Massacres at Avignon, Marseilles, and Aix.

1792 Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia threaten France, which puts three armies in the field. War declared on Austria (April 20th). The French invade Flanders. The Austrians win at Quesnoy and Mons. La Fayette wins at Maubeuge, and Luckner at Menin. The populace invades the Tuileries (June 20th). Brunswick announces his intention of invading France. Insurrection of August 10th. The king seeks refuge in the assembly and is taken to the Temple. The Prussians take Longwy and Verdun. Outrages in Paris; murder of the princess de Lamballe. Kellermann drives the Prussians from Valmy. Dumouriez wins in Flanders. The siege of Thionville raised. The Germans are driven from France. The convention votes the abolition of royalty (September 21st).

THE FIRST REPUBLIC (1792-1804)

The Convention (1792-1795)

The executive power lodged in the committee of the constitution. General Custine takes Speier, Worms, and Mainz. The Austrians repulsed from Lille. Victory of Jemmapes. Belgium conquered. Savoy made a department.

1793 Trial and execution of Louis XVI. The First Coalition of European powers. The convention declares war on England, Holland, and Spain. The empire, Denmark, and Sweden declare war upon it. Dumouriez, defeated at Neerwinden, evacuates Belgium; accompanied by the duke de Chartres takes refuge in the Austrian Camp. Civil war in La Vendée. Committee of public safety established at Paris. Girondist ministry overthrown. The Reign of Terror begins (June 2nd). The English take Tobago and Pondicherry; Santo Domingo occupied. Revolt of Lyons and Marseilles. The Constitution (that of the Year I) drawn up. Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday, who is guillotined. The Austrians take Condé and Valenciennes. Mainz surrenders to the Prussians. The levy *en masse* ordered. The Spaniards invade Roussillon. The English take Toulon, but are defeated at Dunkirk. Carnot appointed to conduct the war. Houchard defeats the English at Mondschoote; Brunswick wins at Pirmasens. General Jourdan defeats Coburg at Wattignies. Lyons retaken by the republicans, who show terrible barbarity. Trial and execution of Marie Antoinette, the duke of Orleans, the Girondists, Madame Roland, and Bailly. The convention decrees the worship of the Goddess of Reason. The new calendar introduced. Victory of Brunswick at Kaiserslautern. The French regain Toulon, at the siege of which Napoleon Bonaparte first distinguishes himself. Hoche and Pichegru drive the Austrians across the Rhine. The republic annexes the county of Montbéliard.

1794 The convention decrees the abolition of slavery; the blacks under Toussaint Louverture revolt in Santo Domingo. The Spaniards driven from Roussillon. The English take Martinique and Guadeloupe; and win some success in Belgium. The French win at Mouscron and Turcoing. Robespierre at head of affairs. The revolutionary tribunal commits fearful atrocities. Hébert and others of the Cordelier party, Danton and Camille Desmoulins, put to death. "The Great Terror." General Masséna routs the Piedmontese. The emperor takes Landrécies. Charleroi surrenders and Coburg is defeated at Fleurus, which re-opens the Netherlands to the French. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse defeated by Lord Howe. Paoli establishes the dominion of Great Britain in Corsica. Fall of Robespierre and his party on the 9th Thermidor (July 27th), followed by the execution of himself and seventy-one of his adherents. The committee of public safety re-established. End of the Reign of Terror. The Jacobin clubs suppressed. Pichegru drives the English behind the Waal; Jourdan the Austrians beyond the Maas and the Rhine, French conquest of Belgium completed. Dugommier victorious in Spain. The French invade Holland. Prussia negotiates for peace.

1795 Pichegru enters Amsterdam and completes conquest of Holland. The Dutch fleet captured in the ice at Texel. Final suppression of the Chouans and the people of La Vendée. The grand duke of Tuscany makes peace with France. Jacobins fail to regain ascendancy (riot of the 12th Germinal). Treaty of Bâle with the king of Prussia, who gives up the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. The French take Bilbao in Spain, when peace is made. England, Austria, Sardinia, and the empire remain in the coalition. The United Provinces make Holland into the Batavian Republic and make alliance with France. Second insurrection of the Jacobins (1st Prairial) suppressed. Death of Louis XVII in the Temple. His uncle Louis XVIII becomes head of the royalist cause. Luxemburg surrenders to the French. An English fleet and a party of émigrés defeated in Quiberon Bay by Hoche. The émigrés are shot. Düsseldorf and Mannheim taken by the French. Hesse-Cassel and Hanover make peace with the republic. The constitution of 1793 abolished. Constitution of the year III organises the Directory. Bonaparte, recalled by Barras, puts down an insurrection (13th Vendémiaire — October 5th), and gains command of the army of the Interior. All clubs suppressed. The

Austrian Netherlands are united to France. Wurmser recovers Mannheim. Jourdan is defeated at Höchst. The convention ended 4th Brumaire — October 26th.

The Directory (1795–1799)

Jourdan defeated at Mainz. Schérer and Masséna win at Loano in Italy.

1796 Bonaparte made commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. He marries Josephine Beauharnais. Hoche ends the rebellion in La Vendée. Bonaparte wins at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego. He crushes the Sardinian army at Mondovi and forces an armistice. Conspiracy of Babœuf betrayed and punished. Bonaparte wins at Piacenza and Lodi. Treaty with Sardinia, giving Savoy to France. The French enter Milan. Bonaparte makes terms with the dukes of Parma and Modena. The Austrians driven back to the Tyrol. Mantua blockaded. Verona, Ferrara, and Bologna occupied. Armistice signed with the pope. Admiral Nelson takes Elba, but the English are forced to abandon Corsica. Wurmser driven from Italy by Napoleon. General Moreau takes Kehl and defeats the Germans at Rastatt and Ettlingen, and the archduke Charles at Neresheim. But the archduke defeats Jourdan at Neumark, Amberg, and Würzburg, and drives him beyond the Lahn. Wurmser reappears in Italy. Bonaparte defeats him at Bassano, shutting him up in Mantua. Peace with Naples. The Cispadane Republic founded. France makes alliance with Tipu Saib and with Spain. Moreau makes a skilful retreat into Alsace, defeating the Austrians at Biberach. Bonaparte wins at Arcola. A French fleet sails for Ireland, but is dispersed by storm.

1797 Kehl surrenders to the archduke. Bonaparte wins at Rivoli. Mantua and Ancona surrender. The pope makes Peace of Tolentino. The Archduke Charles arrives in Italy. Bonaparte defeats him on the Tagliamento, and reaches Leoben, when the Austrian court signs an armistice by which France is to receive Belgium. Meanwhile Hoche crosses the Rhine and defeats the Austrians at Neuwied and Altenkirchen. Moreau drives the Austrians into the Black Forest. The Preliminaries of Leoben put an end to both these generals' plans. An insurrection at Venice; Bonaparte overthrows the republic and establishes a provisory government. For similar outrages, the Genoese senate is overthrown and the Ligurian Republic established. England offers mediation and conferences are opened at Lille. The May elections in France show a reaction in favour of the royalists. The Directory, threatened, recalls General Hoche, and Bonaparte sends them General Anguereau. The Directory carries out the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor and establishes the ascendancy of the moderate party. Sudden death of Hoche. Treaty of Campo-Formio. Austria receives Venice, and France the Ionian Islands and the right bank of the Rhine. The Cisalpine Republic accepted. Insurrection at Rome. Joseph Bonaparte restores order.

1798 France intervenes in the troubles in Switzerland. General Berthier occupies Rome, expels the pope, and sets up the Roman Republic. Surrender of Bern. The Helvetic Republic replaces the ancient Swiss Confederacy. Bonaparte sails for Egypt, takes Malta, then Alexandria, defeats Murad Bey in the battle of the Pyramids and enters Cairo. Nelson destroys the French fleet in the battle of the Nile. The Porte declares war on France. Formation of the Second Coalition, into which Russia enters. Spain remains the sole ally of France. Neapolitan army drives the French from Rome. Defeat of Civitâ Castellana. French enter Piedmont, driving the king to Sardinia; recover Rome, and invade Naples. War threatened with United States of America over French claims to seize British subjects on neutral ships.

1799 Surrender of Naples and re-establishment of the Parthenopean Republic. Bonaparte, in Syria, takes Gaza and Jaffa. Turks and Russians capture the Ionian Islands. The Directory declares war on Austria and Tuscany. The archduke Charles drives Jourdan back to the Rhine. Schérer defeated by the Austrians at Verona and Magnano. The Rastatt congress dissolves. Murder of the French envoys. Suvaroff defeats Moreau at Cassano. The allies enter Milan. Bonaparte driven off from siege of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith and returns to Egypt. Macdonald abandons Naples and is defeated by Suvaroff on the Trebbia. Joubert defeated and slain by Suvaroff at Novi. Conflict of Directory and councils, 30th Prairial (June 18th). Critical position of the Directory and growing sentiment for Bonaparte. Lucien Bonaparte heads the opposition. Talleyrand retires from the office of foreign affairs. Terrible massacre of the French party in Naples by Cardinal Ruffo. Bonaparte defeats a Turkish Army at Abukir. Bonaparte returns to France. Masséna defeats Korsakoff, at Zurich. The duke of York, after several defeats by General Brune in Holland, is forced to surrender at Alkmaar. French garrison at Rome surrenders. Bonaparte prepares to assume the dictatorship. *Coup d'état* of the 18th and 19th Brumaire (November 9th and 10th). The Directory suppressed and replaced by the three consuls—Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Duces. A commission is appointed to revise the constitution.

The Consulate (1799-1804)

- The Austrians capture Ancona and Coni. New constitution (year VIII) adopted December 13th. It provides for three consuls, elected for ten years: Bonaparte, first consul; Cambacérès, second; and Lebrun, third. First consul has all the power. Council of state, tribunate, and senate established.
- 1800 Treaty of Lugon with the Vendéans. Battle of Heliopolis in Egypt; Kléber, after making treaty to evacuate Egypt, defeats the Turks and re-establishes French dominion. Austrian's defeat Masséna at Voltri. Brilliant campaign of Moreau in Bavaria: victories of Engen, Messkirch, and Biberach. Capture of Nice by Melas. Bonaparte crosses the Alps and restores the Cisalpine Republic. Masséna, forced to surrender Genoa, joins Bonaparte. Melas is checked at Montebello and totally defeated at Marengo. Armistice of Alessandria. Assassination of Kléber in Egypt. Menou takes command. Moreau enters Munich; the armistice stops his operations. The French surrender Malta to the British. Bonaparte renews treaty with the United States and ends the differences, which have resulted only in a few sea fights. Austria, instigated by Great Britain, renews the war. Moreau wins the brilliant victory of Hohenlinden, takes Salzburg, and wins on the Traun. In Italy, Brune forces the Austrians across the Adige. The French seize Tuscany, and Murat drives the Neapolitans from the papal states. Armistice of Steyr with Austria. Attempt to kill Bonaparte.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 Peace of Lunéville with Austria. Formation of the kingdom of Etruria. Naples makes peace with France. The English defeat Menou at Aboukir. Concordat with the pope. Cairo surrenders to the English. The French sign a treaty and evacuate Egypt. Peace made with Portugal, Russia, and Turkey.
- 1802 Bonaparte makes preparations for a descent on England. His plans are stopped by the Peace of Amiens. England recognises France's continental acquisitions and the republics, and restores the French colonies. Bonaparte president of the Italian Republic. Bonaparte made consul for life. The concordat adopted. The Legion of Honour established. Constitution of the year X, strengthening Bonaparte's position, adopted. Piedmont annexed to France. Bonaparte sends an army to Switzerland; also one to Haiti. Capture of Toussaint Louverture.
- 1803 England fails to carry out provision of the Peace of Amiens for turning Malta over to the knights of St. John. Bonaparte demands this restitution, and England replies by seizing French and Batavian ships. Rupture of peace with England. England declares war. Interdiction of English merchandise. Bonaparte plans to invade England. A British fleet captures St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon. Hanover surrenders to General Mortier. Louisiana sold to the United States. The blacks drive the French from Haiti, and General Rochambeau is captured by the British.
- 1804 Admiral Linois attacks the British East India fleet but is defeated. Conspiracy of Pichegru, Cadoudal, and Moreau against Bonaparte's life discovered. The duke d'Enghien abducted from Baden and shot. Adoption of the *Code Napoléon*. Bonaparte has himself proclaimed emperor as **Napoleon I**, May 18th.

THE FIRST EMPIRE (1804-1814)

- The people ratify the establishment of the new dynasty by overwhelming majority. Coronation of Napoleon and Josephine by the pope.
- 1805 Third coalition against France formed by England, Russia, and Sweden. Failure of French and Spanish fleet to take Dominica. The Italian Republic made into a kingdom and Napoleon crowned king at Milan. The Ligurian Republic annexed to France. Napoleon, at Boulogne, plans to invade England. The coalition joined by Austria. Napoleon enters Germany and defeats General Mack at Wertingen, Günzburg, and Elchingen. Augsburg and Munich taken by the French. Ulm surrenders to Ney. Nelson wins at Trafalgar. Napoleon enters Vienna; wins at Austerlitz. Armistice concluded. Treaty of Pressburg.
- 1806 The Gregorian calendar restored in France. Napoleon puts Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Naples and makes Louis Bonaparte king of Holland. He forms the imperial princes into the Confederation of the Rhine and makes himself its protector, which puts an end to the empire of Charlemagne. Fourth Coalition between Russia, Prussia, England and Sweden. Napoleon defeats Prussia at Schleiz, Auerstädt, and Jena, he

enters Berlin. Conquest of Prussia completed. Napoleon issues decree for the continental blockade. He defeats the Russian army at Czarnovo, Golymin, Soldau, and Pultusk.

1807 The tribunate suspended. Surrender of Breslau to the French. Bernadotte defeats the Russians at Mohrungen, and Napoleon wins an indecisive victory at Eylau. Napoleon defeats the Russians at Friedland and occupies Königsberg. Treaty of Tilsit with the emperor Alexander. Hesse-Cassel and adjacent provinces made into kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome Bonaparte; the Polish provinces of Prussia are made into the duchy of Warsaw and given to the king of Saxony. Both form part of the Confederation of the Rhine. Alexander enters Napoleon's continental system. The Peninsular War begins. The Portuguese court flees, and General Junot occupies Lisbon.

1808 Murat invades Spain and occupies Madrid. The royal family of Spain meet Napoleon at Bayonne and resign their rights. Napoleon makes Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain, and puts Murat on the throne of Naples. The inhabitants of Madrid revolt, and are subdued with great slaughter. The whole of Spain rises. England agrees to assist. Lord Collingwood captures the French fleet off Cadiz. General Bessières wins at Medina del Rio Seco. Joseph enters Madrid. The French are defeated at Saragossa and Valencia, and General Dupont surrenders to the Spaniards at Baylen. Joseph leaves Madrid. Sir Arthur Wellesley arrives in Spain with an army and defeats Junot at Vineiro. Portugal lost to the French by the capitulation of Cintra. Interview of Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt, where the terms of Tilsit are renewed. Napoleon arrives in Spain, wins victories at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela, and enters Madrid.

1809 General Soult drives the British from Salamanca and defeats them at Corunna. Successes of General Gouvion-Saint-Cyr in Catalonia. The English seize Martinique. Joseph Bonaparte returns to Madrid, Napoleon to Paris. Capture of Ferrol by Soult. Surrender of Saragossa to the French. Failure of Soult's expedition to Portugal, although he gains Oporto. The French fleet destroyed in the Basque Roads. Austria renews the war and forms the Fifth Coalition with England and Germany. Napoleon defeats the Austrians at Abendsberg, Landslut, Eckmühl, Ratisbon, Vienna, Aspern, and Essling. The pope excommunicates Napoleon, who carries him off a prisoner to Savona. Great victory of Wagram, which ruins for a time the military power of Austria. Armistice concluded at Znaim. Joseph and Soult defeat the Anglo-Spaniards at Talavera. The English seize Flushing, threaten Antwerp, and capture the Ionian Islands. Peace of Vienna. Cordova and Seville surrender. Napoleon divorces Josephine.

1810 The English capture Guadeloupe, the Isle of Bourbon (Réunion), and Mauritius. The papal states are added to France. Napoleon marries the archduchess Marie Louise of Austria. General Victor besieges Cadiz; Suchet captures Lerida. Dutch Brabant and Zealand are annexed to France. The king of Holland abdicates, and the country is added to the French Empire. Masséna captures Almeida, but is defeated by Wellington at Busaco, and the latter holds the lines of Torres Vedras. Ney captures Ciudad Rodrigo. Masséna retreats from Santarem. The Hanseatic towns are united to France. Napoleon seizes the duchy of Oldenburg.

1811 Capture of Tortosa by Suchet, and Olivenza and Badajoz by Soult. The French defeated at Barrosa. Oldenburg united to France, causing rupture with Russia. Birth of a son to Napoleon. Wellington defeats Masséna at Fuentes de Onoro and captures Almeida. Defeat of Soult at Albuera.

1812 Capture of Valencia by Suchet. Wellington recaptures Badajoz. War declared on Russia. Formation of the Sixth Coalition between England, Russia, and Sweden. Wellington wins at Salamanca, and enters Madrid. Napoleon begins his march to Russia. He wins battles of Smolensk and Borodino. Arrives at Moscow. The city burned. Retreat from Moscow begins. Battle of Malojarslavetz. The Beresina is crossed with immense loss. Napoleon reaches Vilna with the wreck of his army. He gives command to Murat and returns to Paris. Failure of Malet's conspiracy. The French re-occupy Madrid.

1813 The French army reaches Berlin. Napoleon defeats the Russians and Prussians at Lützen, Bautzen, and Hochkirchen. Wellington defeats Joseph at Vitoria. The French retreat to the Pyrenees. Wellington enters France. Surrender of Pamplona. Negotiations at Dresden. Austria declares war on France. Macdonald defeated on the Katzbach and Oudinot at Grossbeeren. Napoleon defeats the allies at Dresden, but loses at Leipsic, "one of the decisive battles of the world's history." French domination of Europe is ruined and all the imperial creations come to an end. Napoleon makes treaty with Spain and liberates Ferdinand VII. The Austrian army enters France.

1814 Blücher enters France. Napoleon restores the pope to Rome. Wellington defeats Soult at Orthez. The British repulsed at Bergen-op-Zoom. Combats follow almost daily. The English enter Bordeaux, where Louis XVIII is proclaimed king. The allies march on Paris and compel surrender. Napoleon deposed by the senate. He abdicates at Fontainebleau on behalf of his son Napoleon II; then abdicates completely and retires to Elba.

THE FIRST BOURBON RESTORATION (1814-1815)

1814 **Louis XVIII** elected king; in ignorance of this, Wellington defeats Soult at Toulouse (April 10th). Peninsular War ends. Louis promulgates a constitution (*charte*) embodying principles of 1789. First Peace of Paris (May 30th): boundaries settled as in 1792. Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia (the Pentarchy), with Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, sign Act of the Congress of Vienna, leaving Belgium to France, recognising the Netherlands, and creating the German Confederation.

The Hundred Days (1815)

1815 Dissensions at Vienna and French discontent with the Bourbons encourage Napoleon to return from Elba. Forced march to Paris; Ney and the army join him. International proclamation against Napoleon. Louis XVIII flees. All Europe, except Sweden, allied against Napoleon. Murat defeated at Tolentino (May 3rd). Ferdinand restored as king of Naples. Blücher defeated at Ligny, and Ney defeated at Quatre-Bras (June 16th). Wellington, with British, Dutch, and German troops, and the help of Blücher, defeats Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo (June 18th). Napoleon goes to Paris, abdicates (June 22nd), and flees to Rochefort. Commission of government (Fouché, president); **Napoleon II** proclaimed (June 23rd).

THE SECOND BOURBON RESTORATION (1815-1830)

1815 Allies capture Paris (July 7th). Commission dissolves. **Louis XVIII** restored (July 8th). Talleyrand, premier. Napoleon surrenders (July 15th); Murat taken and shot (October 13th); Ney escapes—is recaptured and executed (December 7th). Duke de Richelieu, premier. Second Peace of Paris (November 20th); French boundaries of 1790 re-established. Revolutionaries executed (White Terror). Napoleon exiled to St. Helena (October).

1816 Law of Amnesty: the Bonapartes excluded from France forever (January 12th). *Chambre introuvable* dissolved by Louis.

1818 The army of occupation withdraws. Dessolles, premier. The doctrinaires, led by Guizot, lay foundation of modern journalism.

1819 Decazes, premier.

1820 Duke de Richelieu, premier. Assassination of the duke de Berri, and the birth of the duke de Bordeaux (Comte de Chambord) excite the ultra-royalists. Censorship revived.

1821 Villèle, premier. Napoleon dies at St. Helena.

1822 Champollion deciphers hieroglyphics.

1823 France intervenes in Spain. Cadiz capitulates, and Ferdinand VII is liberated.

1824 Louis XVIII dies. **Charles X** elected king.

1827 National guard disbanded. Allies defeat Ibrahim at naval battle of Navarino; French troops land in Greece. Attack on Algiers. New peers created. Election riots in Paris.

1828 Martignac ministry (moderate). Béranger imprisoned for political songs.

1829 Polignac (ultra-royalist), premier.

1830 Mignet and Thiers (liberals) found *Le National*: their presses destroyed by the populace. Modification of electoral law. Liberty of the press curtailed. Revolution of July: three days' fighting (27th-29th). Charles abdicates.

HOUSE OF ORLEANS (1830-1848)

1830 Paris bourgeoisie elect **Louis Philippe I.** Great liberal movement: Laffitte, premier; Soult, minister of war; Guizot, minister of the interior. Polignac and others imprisoned. Belgian revolt. Capture of Algiers following an outrage upon the French ambassador. Fortifications of Paris begun.

1831 Kingdom of Belgium created. Casimir Périer, premier. Guizot organises public education. Hereditary peerage abolished.

1832 Conspiracy of the rue des Prouvaires. Casimir Périer dies of cholera, then raging in Paris. Soult, premier. Death of Napoleon II (duke of Reichstadt).

1834 Death of La Fayette (May 26th). Unstable ministries of Gérard, duke de Bassano (Maret) and Mortier, premiers. Duchess de Berri sent to Palermo.

1835 Duke de Broglie, premier. Fieschi's attempt on the king's life.

1836 Thiers, premier. Bonapartist plot at Strasburg. Molé, premier (twice recalled). Death of Charles X.

1839 Soult, premier.

- 1840 Funeral of Napoleon I at Paris. France and the powers interfere in Egypt. Thiers resigns; Soult succeeds with Guizot. Bonapartist plot unsuccessful at Boulogne; Louis Napoleon imprisoned for life. Vote of 140,000,000 francs to fortify Paris. Nossi-Bé acquired.
- 1841 Duke of Orleans killed. Queen Victoria visits the king.
- 1842 Marquesas islands annexed.
- 1843 Extradition treaty with England. Mayotte acquired.
- 1844 War with Morocco (May–September). Louis Philippe visits Queen Victoria. Tahiti made a French protectorate.
- 1845 Boundaries of Algeria and Morocco regulated.
- 1846 Louis Napoleon escapes from prison. Marriages unite French and Spanish royal families. Paris fortifications finished.
- 1847 Guizot, premier. Jerome Bonaparte returns from thirty-two years' exile. Abdul-Kadir surrenders.
- 1848 Guizot is impeached and resigns; Thiers recalled. February revolution in Paris suppressed by Cavaignac as military dictator. Louis Philippe abdicates.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC (1848–1852)

- 1848 The Second Republic established. Louis Philippe and his family banished in perpetuity. **Cavaignac** executive chief (June–December). **Louis Napoleon**, president. Odilon Barrot, premier. The “red republicans”; Paris barricaded; archbishop of Paris killed; loss of life and property. New constitution. Death of Châteaubriand.
- 1849 After two months' siege, French troops capture Rome; Roman republic abolished. Rouher, premier, and constant ministerial changes.
- 1850 Death of Louis Philippe. First cable laid between England and France (used November, 1851).
- 1851 Louis Napoleon elected president for ten years (*coup d'état*). Thiers, Cavaignac, and others arrested. Bloodshed in Paris (December.)

RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE (1852–1871)

- 1852 Louis Napoleon is proclaimed emperor as **Napoleon III**.
- 1853 The emperor marries Eugénie de Montijo (born August 5th, 1826). Bread riots (September). Attempt to assassinate the emperor. *Crédit foncier* established.
- 1854 Crimean War: French and English alliance against Russia to keep Turkey intact. Odessa bombarded. Battle of the Alma. Fifty thousand allies land in the Crimea and besiege Sebastopol. Battle of Balaklava. Allies victorious at Inkerman.
- 1855 The French, under Pélissier, storm the Malakoff. Allies enter Sebastopol. Emperor and empress visit London. Exhibition at Paris. Queen Victoria visits Paris. Obok, in French Somaliland, purchased.
- 1856 Crimean War ends. Peace of Paris (March 30th): powers agree to abolish privateering and define contraband of war; Black Sea and Danube neutralised.
- 1857 French and English expedition against China. Allies occupy Canton. French and Russian emperors meet at Stuttgart. Mont Cenis tunnel commenced.
- 1858 Orsini executed for attempting to kill the emperor. Treaty of Tientsin: Chinese ports opened, and European embassies established at Peking.
- 1859 War of France and Sardinia against Austria; victories of Magenta and Solferino; Peace of Villafranca; Lombardy ceded to Napoleon III and subsequently to Sardinia.
- 1860 Savoy and Nice surrendered to France. Syrian expedition. Chinese infractions of the treaty; French and English forces land at Shanghai; battle of Palikao; Peace of Peking. Emperor sees Cobden and adopts free trade. Commercial treaty with England. Bois de Boulogne opened. Colonial extension in West Africa.
- 1861 Part of Monaco purchased. The Mexican War undertaken by France, England, and Spain, at first to enforce treaty obligations. Allies occupy Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulúa. Final obsequies of Napoleon I.
- 1862 Treaty of La Soledad: Mexico agrees to pay arrears, but does not do so; England and Spain withdraw. Napoleon III, expecting the United States to be dismembered, plans a Mexican monarchy. After a repulse at Puebla, French reinforcements arrive. French victories in Cochin China, where six provinces are ceded.
- 1863 Spanish frontier regulated. Elections reveal anti-Napoleonic feelings, and Thiers organises a new opposition. Puebla captured by the French under Forey; the archduke Maximilian of Austria becomes emperor of Mexico. Victor Duruy as minister of education. Cambodia a French protectorate.
- 1864 Mexican republicans assail the new monarchy, and the Civil War being over, the United

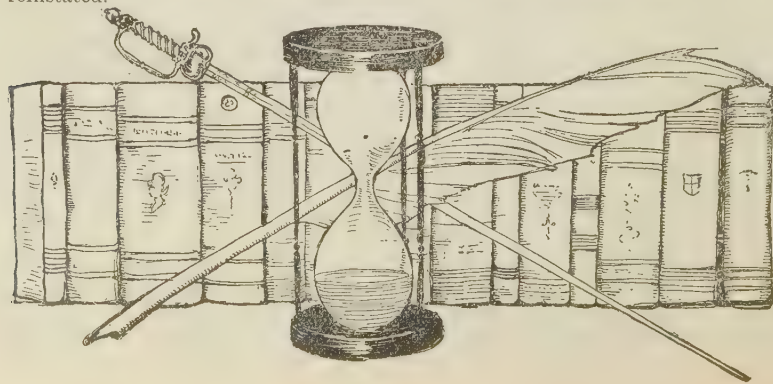
- States demands that Napoleon withdraw his troops. Treaty with Italy for French troops to protect the holy see for two years.
- 1865 Bismarck visits Napoleon. Papal encyclical forbidden. Treaty with Sweden.
- 1866 Austro-Prussian War breaks out; France, England, and Russia proffer mediation. Austria accepts, and cedes Venetia to Napoleon III; Prussia and Italy object, but sign truce; Venetia ceded to Italy. French troops leave Rome on a promise of papal security.
- 1867 France and Germany on verge of war, until the neutrality of Luxemburg is guaranteed by the great powers. Italian volunteers attack papal territory; the French defeat them. Meetings of French and Austrian emperors. French troops withdraw from Mexico; Maximilian, fighting alone, is captured, tried, and shot. Attempted assassination of the Czar while visiting Paris. Opatowitz annexed. International exhibition, Paris.
- 1868 Bourbons deposed in Spain; Queen Isabella flees to France; a German prince accepts the throne. New army organised. Thiers' speeches on military and financial inefficiency. Newspapers prosecuted; and a new law allows greater liberty of publication. Rochefort's *La Lanterne* suppressed; Rochefort flees.
- 1869 Opening of the Suez Canal, completed by Ferdinand de Lesseps. Growing feeling against Napoleon III. The "vice-emperor," Rouher, dismissed; election riots (June). French Atlantic cable laid (July).
- 1870 Formation of a moderate liberal ministry by Ollivier. Pierre Bonaparte is concerned in the death of Victor Noir, a radical journalist, but is acquitted. Excitement and riots in Paris. Rochefort imprisoned for his newspaper articles. A new liberal constitution approved by a plébiscite; Paris and the army dissatisfied. War declared with Germany for the purpose (among others disputed) of establishing *les frontières naturelles*, to check the growth of Prussia, and to protest against a German dynasty in Spain. The minority under Thiers oppose the war. The Germans, 750,000 strong, advance to the boundary. The French repulse a German battalion at Saarbrücken; MacMahon defeated at Wörth; Bazaine takes command. French defeats at Gravelotte and St. Privat; retreat to Metz, which is besieged. Strasburg also besieged. Concentration of 140,000 French troops at Sedan, where 250,000 Germans surround them. Battle of Sedan (September 1st); entire French army capitulates, with Napoleon III.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC (1870)

- 1870 News of the defeats of the army causes excitement in Paris; a commission of government and national defence is formed, and Thiers orders a constituent assembly; Gambetta and other liberals proclaim the deposition of Napoleon III, and the establishment of the Third Republic. Provisional "government of defence." The senate adheres to the emperor. The Germans advance on Paris; siege commences (September 19th). Capitulation of Strasburg and of Metz. Germans overrun France. Sorties from Paris. Battle of Orléans. Bombardment of Paris begins (December 27th). The republic recognised by the United States and Spain (September 8th); by Switzerland (September 9th). Delegated government at Tours. "Red republican" troubles at Lyons. Gambetta escapes from Paris in a balloon, and joins the government at Tours. Agitation for the Paris commune commences. The Tours government moves to Bordeaux.
- 1871 Battle of Le Mans; Belfort; last great sortie from Paris by Trochu and 100,000 men. Battle of St. Quentin. Paris capitulates; the armistice disavowed by Gambetta at Tours; he resigns. National assembly at Bordeaux elects Thiers, chief of executive; he negotiates with Bismarck the preliminaries of the Peace of Versailles: France to cede Alsace and Lorraine, and to pay 5,000,000,000 francs in three years, German troops to occupy territory as security. Peace signed at Frankfurt. Insurrection in Paris. Paris elections lead to the proclamation of the commune. Hostilities begin between the government and the commune. Reign of terror in Paris. Definitive peace signed at Frankfurt. MacMahon's troops enter Paris. Seven days' bloodshed. Gradual restoration of Paris. Thiers nominated president. Many communists, including women (*pétroleuses*), executed. Rochefort sentenced to life imprisonment. Mont Cenis tunnel opened. Algerian insurrection ends.
- 1872 The Right declares for constitutional monarchy. Convention with Germany for speedier evacuation. A new 6½ per cent. loan of 120,000,000 francs oversubscribed twelve-fold.
- 1873 Napoleon III dies. Bonapartist manifesto. Thiers resigns on an adverse vote. MacMahon succeeds as president. Shah of Persia visits Paris. Anglo-French treaty of 1860 renewed till 1877. The last German quits French territory. Comte de Chambord declares for the "White Flag." The Septennate established. Ministry resigns. Duke de Broglie, premier.
- 1874 New electoral law, disenfranchising three million voters. Rochefort escapes from New Caledonia. The ministry, defeated on the electoral law, is reorganised by Cisse with out Broglie. Republican and Bonapartist disputes, a prolonged endeavour to establish the monarchy. Manifesto by Comte de Chambord as "Henry V."

- 1875 Wallon's amendment establishes the constitution. New Senate Act. New ministry under Buffet. Gambetta defends the new constitution. New Press law.
- 1876 Dufaure's ministry. Senate meets. Queen Victoria visits Paris. Jules Simon's ministry.
- 1877 Broglie, premier. Gambetta carries resolution for parliamentary government. Gambetta and Murat convicted for a speech against MacMahon. Defeat of Bonapartists at general election.
- 1878 The Limoges affair; suspected plan for a *coup d'état*. International exhibition.
- 1879 MacMahon resigns. **F. P. Jules Grévy** elected president by the new republican senate. Dufaure's resignation; Waddington succeeds. Ferry's attempt to check clericalism. The prince imperial, Napoleon, only child of Napoleon III, killed in Zululand.
- 1880 Decree to abolish Jesuit and other orders. Tahiti made a colony. Gallieni's Niger expedition. Jules Ferry, premier.
- 1881 New loan of 40,000,000 francs applied for thirty-fold. Colonisation of West Africa. French engineers commence Panama Canal. Tunis a protectorate; Sfax taken. Free education. Gambetta, premier. Revolt in New Caledonia suppressed.
- 1882 Gambetta resigns; Freycinet forms a ministry. Anglo-French treaty renewed. Compulsory education. Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt. New ministry under Duclerc. Miners' disturbances. Anarchist and dynamite scares. Kongo treaty.
- 1883 Prince Victor Napoleon arrested after a manifesto. Prince Krapotkin and anarchists sentenced. Duclerc's ministry reconstructed by Fallières; succeeded soon after by Jules Ferry's Gambettist ministry. Princes expelled from army. French defeat at Tongking; Mojanga (Madagascar) bombarded; Tamatave captured. Tongking and Annam protectorate. King of Spain hooted at Paris; official apology. Dispute with China as to Tongking; Sontay taken.
- 1884 Industrial crisis in Paris. Constitution revised. Trades-unions legalised. Tongking acquired by conquest; Annam a protectorate. Provisional peace with China; attack on Fuhchow.
- 1885 Ferry resigns; succeeded by Brisson. Peace with China. **Grévy** re-elected president (December 28th).
- 1886 Freycinet's new ministry includes Boulanger. Bourbon and Bonapartist families expelled from France. Secular education ordered. Comoro Islands a protectorate. The Goblet ministry.
- 1887 Crown jewels sold. Rouvier forms a moderate ministry, whereupon General Boulanger, ex-war minister, issues a monitory order to the army. Bourbon and Bonapartist manifesto. Boulanger arrested in connection with charges against General Caffarel. Suez Canal neutralised and New Hebrides evacuated. Grévy succeeded as president by **Carnot**. Tirard forms a ministry; attempt to murder Ferry. Somaliland delimited; Wallis archipelago a protectorate. Boulanger secretly allied with revolutionaries.
- 1888 Panama Lottery Act. General Boulanger deprived of his command for insubordination; Floquet succeeds Tirard, and Boulanger begins to form a party. Duel between Boulanger and Floquet; both wounded. Dispute with Italy as to Massowah. League of the Rose (monarchical) formed. Boulangist demonstrations; the League of Patriots. Leeward Islands annexed.
- 1889 Floquet resigns; Tirard forms a mixed ministry. The League of Patriots, becoming Boulangist, is suppressed. Boulanger flees to Brussels. Universal exhibition and Eiffel Tower opened. New military service law. Anniversary of the fall of the Bastille celebrated. Boulanger sentenced to deportation.
- 1890 Three Boulangist deputies expelled from the chamber. Duke of Orleans, offering to serve in the army, is arrested; afterwards pardoned and expelled from France. Freycinet succeeds Tirard. War with Dahomey; peace in October. Anglo-French agreement; recognition of the French protectorate over Madagascar, of the British over Zanzibar. Prelates declare their adhesion to the republic, with the papal approval. French Guinea detached from Senegal.
- 1891 Royalist demonstration. Empress Frederick visits Paris on behalf of the Berlin International Exhibition of Fine Arts. Protectionist tariff adopted. Collapse of the Panama Canal scheme. Navy visited by the czar at Kronstadt and by Queen Victoria at Portsmouth. Boulanger commits suicide.
- 1892 "Minimum" tariffs begin with England; "maximum" tariffs with Spain, Portugal, Italy, Rumania, and United States. Papal encyclical enjoining submission to the republic. Rouvier, Bourgeois, and Loubet successively form ministries. Expedition against Dahomey, which is later acquired. The Rochefoucauld declaration of submission to the pope in matters of faith, but not in matters of state. Centenary of the first republic celebrated. Panama Canal inquiry. De Lesseps and others prosecuted; the Loubet ministry reconstructed by Ribot.
- 1893 Tariff dispute with Swiss Republic. Panama disclosures; De Lesseps sentenced. Dupuy forms a new ministry. Siamese dispute and treaty. Expedition to Madagascar. Strike of 42,000 miners. Russian fleet visits Toulon. J. P. P. Casimir-Périer's cabinet. Anarchist outrages. Timbuktu occupied; collision with British troops.

- 1894 Corn duty increases. Colonial ministry created. Financial deficit, 130,000,000 francs, met by increased taxes, etc. Joan of Arc celebration. Dupuy forms new moderate cabinet. Assassination of President Carnot, June 24th. **Casimir-Périer** elected president (June 27th). Dreyfus arrested; convicted of treason.
- 1895 Dreyfus degraded. Dupuy and J. P. P. Casimir-Périer resign. **Félix Faure** elected president. Ribot forms a ministry. Amnesty: Rochefort returns after six years' exile. Madagascar placed under the colonial office. New radical cabinet under Bourgeois. Indo-China delimited.
- 1896 Queen Victoria visits the president. Ministry retain office against adverse vote of senate. Bourgeois resigns. Méline forms a moderate cabinet with Hanotaux, foreign minister. Prince Henry of Orleans returns from Abyssinia and is wounded in a duel by the count of Turin. Czar and czarina visit France. Government inquiry into Dreyfus case. Madagascar declared a colony. Captain Marchand starts on a second expedition to reach the Nile.
- 1897 Intervention between Turkey and Greece (May 11th). Bazaar fire, Paris (May 4th). President Faure visits the czar. Franco-Russian alliance confirmed. Dreyfus bordereau published. Debate on Dreyfus affair.
- 1898 New Panama Canal Company organised. Esterhazy tried for treason; acquitted. Zola's accusation in the Dreyfus case. Zola tried; sentenced for defamation. Prosecution annulled. Brisson forms a cabinet. Marchand reaches Fashoda; meets the sirdar Kitchener. Zola retried; found guilty. Commercial treaty and Niger convention with England. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry admits forgery of a Dreyfus document and commits suicide. Dreyfus case remitted to court of cassation. Dupuy's ministry of republican concentration. Fashoda evacuated.
- 1899 English agreement as to the Sudan. President Faure dies. **Loubet** succeeds as president. Dispute with sultan of Oman. France leaves Nile Valley; but gains in the Sudan. Marchand welcomed in Paris. New Dreyfus court-martial ordered. Waldeck-Rousseau ("cabinet of republican defence") succeeds Dupuy as premier. Dreyfus retried at Rennes; found guilty; pardoned. "Siege" of M. Guérin. Déroulède sentenced for conspiracy. Madame Curie discovers radium.
- 1900 Paris exhibition; 47,000,000 visitors. Annulment of all criminal cases arising out of the Dreyfus case. Allies (6,400 French troops) at Peking. The czar decorates the president. Extension of Farther India. Dreyfus amnesty paragraph passed.
- 1901 The Association Bill passed checking the educational activities of the religious orders. Russian sovereigns visit France, but do not go to Paris. Of 16,468 religious establishments, 8,800 apply for registration; many schools emigrate and the others are treated with progressive severity. Santos Dumont takes his balloon around the Eiffel Tower. Rupture with the Porte; French sailors seize custom-house at Mytilene; differences arranged. New loan of 265,000,000 francs subscribed for twenty-fold. Troubles in Algeria. Morocco frontier delimited.
- 1902 Loubet visits Russia. Waldeck-Rousseau resigns; Combes succeeds. Arbitration with Venezuela. Decrees against unauthorised religious communities. Deputies approve energetic enforcement of associations law.
- 1903 Refusal to authorise preaching orders. King Edward VII visits France. Arbitration treaties with England and Italy.
- 1904 Religious orders prohibited from teaching.
- 1905 Fall of the Combes ministry. Quarrel with Germany over Morocco. Law passed separating church and state.
- 1906 Election of **Clement Fallières** as president. International conference at Algceiras. Fall of the Rouvier ministry. New ministry under M. Jean Sarrien.
- 1907 Disturbances in Morocco. Revolt of the wine-growers. Entente with Japan. Dreyfus reinstated.



PART XVII

THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

EDMONDO DE AMICIS, A. DE BARANTE, J. BEKA, GUIDO BENTIVOGLIO, P. J. BLOK, P. BOR, GIRARD BRANDT, A. M. CERISIER, C. M. DAVIES, SIR JOHN FROISSART, R. FRUIN, L. P. GACHARD, T. C. GRATTAN, HUGO GROTIUS (or DE GROOT), P. C. HOOFT, TH. JUSTE, L. LECLÈRE, KERVIJN DE LETTENHOVE, E. VAN METEREN, JACOB DE MEYER, H. G. MOKE, JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, H. PIRENNE, C. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, GULIELMUS PROCURATOR, EVERHARD VAN REYD, A. G. B. SCHAYES, J. C. F. VON SCHILLER, MELIS STOKE, FAMIANUS STRADA, H. A. TAINE, H. TIEDEMANN, JAN WAGENAAR, K. TH. WENZELBURGER.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

BY JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY,

(From his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*)

THE LAND

THE northwestern corner of the vast plain which extends from the German Ocean to the Ural Mountains is occupied by the countries called the Netherlands. This small triangle, enclosed between France, Germany, and the sea, is divided by the modern kingdoms of Belgium and Holland into two nearly equal portions. Our earliest information concerning this territory is derived from the Romans. Julius Cæsar^c has saved from oblivion the heroic savages who fought against his legions in defence of their dismal homes with ferocious but unfortunate patriotism; and the great poet of England, learning from the conqueror's *Commentaries* the name of the boldest tribe, has kept the Nervii, after almost twenty centuries, still fresh and familiar in our ears.

Tacitus,^d too, has described with singular minuteness the struggle between the people of these regions and the power of Rome, overwhelming, although tottering to its fall; and has, moreover, devoted several chapters of his work upon Germany to a description of the most remarkable Teutonic tribes of the Netherlands.

Geographically and ethnographically, the Low Countries belong both to Gaul and to Germany. It is even doubtful to which of the two the Batavian island, which is the core of the whole country, was reckoned by the Romans. It is, however, most probable that all the land, with the exception of Friesland, was considered a part of Gaul. Three great rivers—the Rhine, the Maas, and the Schelde—had deposited their slime for ages among the dunes and sandbanks heaved up by the ocean around their mouths. A delta was thus formed, habitable at last for man.¹ It was by nature a wide morass, in which oozy islands and savage forests were interspersed among lagoons and shallows; a district lying partly below the level of the ocean at its higher tides, subject to constant overflow from the rivers, and to frequent and terrible inundations by the sea.

The Rhine, leaving at last the regions where its storied lapse, through so many ages, has been consecrated alike by nature and art —by poetry and eventful truth—flows reluctantly through the basalt portal of the Seven Mountains into the open fields which extend to the German Sea. After entering this vast meadow, the stream divides itself into two branches, becoming thus the two-horned Rhine of Virgil, and holds in these two arms the island of Batavia.

[¹ Napoleon, indeed, having conquered the Rhine, claimed its creature Holland as his "by right of devolution"—a different use of the word that Louis XIV employed in claiming the Spanish Netherlands for his queen. Of Napoleon's claim, Thorold Rogers^e says: "One may dispute the logic of the great captain, but his geology is incontestable."]

The Maas, taking its rise in the Vosges, pours itself through the Ardennes Wood, pierces the rocky ridges upon the southeastern frontier of the Low Countries, receives the Sambre in the midst of that picturesque anthracite basin where now stands the city of Namur, and then moves toward the north, through nearly the whole length of the country, till it mingles its waters with the Rhine.

The Schelde, almost exclusively a Belgian river, after leaving its fountains in Picardy, flows through the present provinces of Flanders and Hainault. In Cæsar's time it was suffocated before reaching the sea in quicksands and thickets, which long afforded protection to the savage inhabitants against the Roman arms, and which the slow process of nature and the untiring industry of man have since converted into the archipelago of Zealand and South Holland. These islands were unknown to the Romans.

Such were the rivers which, with their numerous tributaries, coursed through the spongy land. Their frequent overflow, when forced back upon their currents by the stormy sea, rendered the country almost uninhabitable. Here, within a half-submerged territory, a race of wretched ichthyophagi dwelt upon *terpen*, or mounds, which they had raised, like beavers, above the almost fluid soil. Here, at a later day, the same race chained the tyrant Ocean and his mighty streams into subserviency, forcing them to fertilize, to render commodious, to cover with a beneficent network of veins and arteries, and to bind by watery highways with the furthest ends of the world, a country disinherited by nature of its rights. A region, outcast of ocean and earth, wrested at last from both domains their richest treasures. A race, engaged for generations in stubborn conflict with the angry elements, was unconsciously educating itself for its great struggle with the still more savage despotism of man.

The whole territory of the Netherlands was girt with forests. An extensive belt of woodland skirted the seacoast, reaching beyond the mouths of the Rhine. Along the outer edge of this barrier, the dunes cast up by the sea were prevented by the close tangle of thickets from drifting further inward, and thus formed a breastwork which time and art were to strengthen. The groves of Haarlem and the Hague are relics of this ancient forest. The Badahuenna Wood, horrid with Druidic sacrifices, extended along the eastern line of the vanished Lake of Flevo. The vast Hercynian forest, nine days' journey in breadth, closed in the country on the German side, stretching from the banks of the Rhine to the remote regions of the Dacians, in such vague immensity (says the conqueror of the whole country, Cæsar), that no German, after travelling sixty days, had ever reached, or even heard of, its commencement. On the south, the famous groves of Ardennes, haunted by faun and satyr, embowered the country, and separated it from Celtic Gaul.

Thus inundated by mighty rivers, quaking beneath the level of the ocean, belted about by hirsute forests, this low land, nether land, hollow land, or Holland, seemed hardly deserving the arms of the all-accomplished Roman. Yet foreign tyranny, from the earliest ages, has coveted this meagre territory as lustfully as it has sought to wrest from their native possessors those lands with the fatal gift of beauty for their dower; while the genius of liberty has inspired as noble a resistance to oppression here as it ever aroused in Grecian or Italian breasts.

THE EARLY PEOPLES

It can never be satisfactorily ascertained who were the aboriginal inhabitants. The record does not reach beyond Cæsar's epoch, and he found the

territory on the left of the Rhine mainly tenanted by tribes of the Celtic family. That large division of the Indo-European group which had already overspread many portions of Asia Minor, Greece, Germany, the British Islands, France, and Spain, had been long settled in Belgic Gaul, and constituted the bulk of its population. Checked in its westward movement by the Atlantic, its current began to flow backwards towards its fountains, so that the Gallic portion of the Netherland population was derived from the original race in its earlier wanderings and from the later and reflux tide coming out of Celtic Gaul. The modern appellation of the Walloons points to the affinity of their ancestors with the Gallic, Welsh, and Gaelic family.¹ The Belgæ were in many respects a superior race to most of their blood-allies. They were, according to Cæsar's testimony, the bravest of all the Celts. This may be in part attributed to the presence of several German tribes, who, at this period, had already forced their way across the Rhine, mingled their qualities with the Belgic material, and lent an additional mettle to the Celtic blood. The heart of the country was thus inhabited by a Gallic race, but the frontiers had been taken possession of by Teutonic tribes.

When the Cimbri and their associates, about a century before our era, made their memorable onslaught upon Rome, the early inhabitants of the Rhine island of Batavia, who were probably Celts, joined in the expedition.² A recent and tremendous inundation had swept away their miserable homes, and even the trees of the forests, and had thus rendered them still more dissatisfied with their gloomy abodes. The island was deserted of its population. At about the same period a civil dissension among the Chatti—a powerful German race within the Hercynian forest—resulted in the expatriation of a portion of the people. The exiles sought a new home in the empty Rhine island, called it *Bet-auw*, or “good-meadow,” and were themselves called, thenceforward, Batavi, or Batavians.

These Batavians, according to Tacitus,³ were the bravest of all the Germans. The Chatti, of whom they formed a portion, were a pre-eminently warlike race. “Others go to battle,” says the historian, “these go to war.” Their bodies were more hardy, their minds more vigorous, than those of other tribes. Their young men cut neither hair nor beard till they had slain an enemy. On the field of battle, in the midst of carnage and plunder, they, for the first time, bared their faces. The cowardly and sluggish, only, remained unshorn. They wore an iron ring, too, or shackle upon their necks until they had performed the same achievement, a symbol which they then threw away, as the emblem of sloth. The Batavians were ever spoken of by the Romans with entire respect. They conquered the Belgians, they forced the free Frisians to pay tribute, but they called the Batavians their friends.³ The tax-gatherer never invaded their island. Honourable alliance united them with the Romans. It was, however, the alliance of the giant and the dwarf. The Roman gained glory and empire, the Batavian gained nothing but the hardest blows. The Batavian cavalry became famous throughout the republic and the empire. They were the favourite troops of Cæsar, and with

[¹ The remains found in the cairns, the Druidic altars of Walcheren, and names of places such as Walcheren, Nimuegen, etc., are further evidence.]

[² For fuller details of these and other Northern tribes, see the History of Rome, especially vol. V, chapters 7, 8, 16, 22 and vol. VII, book 2, chapter 3.]

[³ Zosimus indeed reckons Batavia as part of the Roman empire, but the testimony of a Greek, writing in the fifth century, cannot be put in competition with that of Tacitus,³ who expressly says that it was not tributary, and always speaks of it as an independent state. The Greek author probably drew the conclusion from the presence of Batavian cohorts in the imperial army. — DAVIES.^k]

reason, for it was their valour which turned the tide of battle at Pharsalia. From the death of Julius down to the times of Vespasian, the Batavian legion was the imperial body guard, the Batavian island the basis of operations in the Roman wars with Gaul, Germany, and Britain.

Beyond the Batavians, upon the north, dwelt the great Frisian family, occupying the regions between the Rhine and Ems. The Zuyder Zee and the Dollart, both caused by the terrific inundations of the thirteenth century, and not existing at this period, did not then interpose boundaries between kindred tribes. All formed a homogeneous nation of pure German origin.

Thus, the population of the country was partly Celtic, partly German. Of these two elements, dissimilar in their tendencies and always difficult to blend, the Netherland people has ever been compounded. A certain fatality of history has perpetually helped to separate still more widely these constituents, instead of detecting and stimulating the elective affinities which existed. Religion, too, upon all great historical occasions, has acted as the most powerful of dissolvents. Otherwise, had so many valuable and contrasted characteristics been early fused into a whole, it would be difficult to show a race more richly endowed by Nature for dominion and progress than the Belgo-Germanic people.

Physically the two races resembled each other. Both were of vast stature. The gigantic Gaul derided the Roman soldiers as a band of pigmies. The German excited astonishment by his huge body and muscular limbs. Both were fair, with fierce blue eyes, but the Celt had yellow hair floating over his shoulders, and the German long locks of fiery red, which he even dyed with woad to heighten the favourite colour, and wore twisted into a war-knot upon the top of his head.

"All the Gauls are of very high stature," says a soldier who fought under Julian (Ammianus Marcellinus *f*). "They are white, golden-haired, terrible in the fierceness of their eyes, greedy of quarrels, bragging and insolent. A band of strangers could not resist one of them in a brawl, assisted by his strong blue-eyed wife, especially when she begins, gnashing her teeth, her neck swollen, brandishing her vast and snowy arms, and kicking with her heels at the same time, to deliver her fisticuffs, like bolts from the twisted strings of a catapult. The voices of many are threatening and formidable. They are quick to anger, but quickly appeased. All are clean in their persons; nor among them is ever seen any man or woman, as elsewhere, squalid in ragged garments. At all ages they are apt for military service. The old man goes forth to the fight with equal strength of breast, with limbs as hardened by cold and assiduous labour, and as contemptuous of all dangers, as the young. Not one of them, as in Italy is often the case, was ever known to cut off his thumbs to avoid the service of Mars."

EARLY FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION

The polity of each race differed widely from that of the other. The government of both may be said to have been republican, but the Gallie tribes were aristocracies, in which the influence of clanship was a predominant feature; while the German system, although nominally regal, was in reality democratic. In Gaul were two orders, the nobility and the priesthood, while the people, says Caesar,^e were all slaves. The knights or nobles were all trained to arms. Each went forth to battle, followed by his dependents, while a chief of all the clans was appointed to take command during the war. The prince or chief governor was elected annually, but only by the nobles.

The people had no rights at all, and were glad to assign themselves as slaves to any noble who was strong enough to protect them. In peace the druids exercised the main functions of government. They decided all controversies, civil and criminal. To rebel against their decrees was punished by exclusion from the sacrifices—a most terrible excommunication, through which the criminal was cut off from all intercourse with his fellow creatures.

With the Germans the sovereignty resided in the great assembly of the people. There were slaves, indeed, but in small number, consisting either of prisoners of war or of those unfortunates who had forfeited their liberty in games of chance. Their chieftains, although called by the Romans princes and kings, were, in reality, generals chosen by universal suffrage. All state affairs were in the hands of this fierce democracy. The elected chieftains had rather authority to persuade than power to command.

The Gauls were an agricultural people. They were not without many arts of life. They had extensive flocks and herds, and they even exported salted provisions as far as Rome. The truculent German (*Ger-mann*, *Heer-mann*, "war-man,") considered carnage the only useful occupation, and despised agriculture as enervating and ignoble. It was base, in his opinion, to gain by sweat what was more easily acquired by blood. The Gauls built towns and villages. The German built his solitary hut where inclination prompted. Close neighborhood was not to his taste.

In their system of religion the two races were most widely contrasted. The Gauls were a priest-ridden race. Their druids¹ were a dominant caste, presiding even over civil affairs, while in religious matters their authority was despotic. What were the principles of their wild theology will never be thoroughly ascertained, but we know too much of its sanguinary rites. The imagination shudders to penetrate those shaggy forests, ringing with the death-shrieks of ten thousand human victims, and with the hideous hymns chanted by smoke and blood-stained priests to the savage gods whom they served.

The German, in his simplicity, had raised himself to a purer belief than that of the sensuous Roman or the superstitious Gaul. He believed in a single, supreme, almighty God, All-Vater or All-Father. This divinity was too sublime to be incarnated or imaged, too infinite to be enclosed in temples built with hands. Such is the Roman's testimony to the lofty conception of the German. The fantastic intermixture of Roman mythology with the gloomy but modified superstition of romanised Celts was not favourable to the simple character of German theology. Within that little river territory, amid those obscure morasses of the Rhine and Schelde, three great forms of religion—the sanguinary superstition of the druid, the sensuous polytheism of the Roman, the elevated but dimly groping creed of the German—stood for centuries, face to face, until, having mutually debased and destroyed each other, they all faded away in the pure light of Christianity.

[¹ The druids have been a source of much controversy. Their practice of human sacrifice has been debated. G. Dottin^o notes that "Sacrifices were, in their origin, human sacrifices." In 94 B.C. the Roman senate forbade them and by 19 B.C. they would seem to have disappeared. Alexander Bertrand^h says: "It is impossible to deny, after a well-digested study of the texts, that human sacrifices had been very popular before the Roman conquest and were in common use in many parts of Gaul and Germany. It is certain that the druids not only tolerated but authorised by their presence these sacrifices, though in Ireland, the most druidic country of all, liturgic human sacrifice was unknown." He claims that human sacrifice antedated the druids in Gaul and that they were not to blame for it. As for their functions Dottin does not credit them with civil authority, but sets them down as "soothsayers, priests, professors, magicians, and physicians." He doubts the frequently advanced theory that Celtic monasteries were an outgrowth of druidic communities.]

Thus contrasted were Gaul and German in religious and political systems. The difference was no less remarkable in their social characteristics. The Gaul was singularly unchaste. The marriage state was almost unknown. Many tribes lived in most revolting and incestuous concubinage; brethren, parents, and children having wives in common. The German was loyal as the Celt was dissolute. Alone among barbarians, he contented himself with a single wife, save that a few dignitaries, from motives of policy, were permitted a larger number. On the marriage day the German offered presents to his bride—not the bracelets and golden necklaces with which the Gaul adorned his fair-haired concubine, but oxen and a bridled horse, a sword, a shield, and a spear—symbols that thenceforward she was to share his labours and to become a portion of himself.

They differed, too, in the honours paid to the dead. The funerals of the Gauls were pompous. Both burned the corpse, but the Celt cast into the flames the favourite animals, and even the most cherished slaves and dependents of the master. Vast monuments of stone or piles of earth were raised above the ashes of the dead. Scattered relics of the Celtic age are yet visible throughout Europe, in these huge but unsightly memorials.

The German was not ambitious at the grave. He threw neither garments nor odours upon the funeral pyre, but the arms and the war-horse of the departed were burned and buried with him. The turf was his only sepulchre, the memory of his valour his only monument. Even tears were forbidden to the men. "It was esteemed honourable," says the historian, "for women to lament, for men to remember."

The parallel need be pursued no further. Thus much it was necessary to recall to the historical student concerning the prominent characteristics by which the two great races of the land were distinguished: characteristics which time has rather hardened than effaced. In the contrast and the separation lies the key to much of their history. Had providence permitted a fusion of the two races, it is possible, from their position, and from the geographical and historical link which they would have afforded to the dominant tribes of Europe, that a world-empire might have been the result, different in many respects from any which has ever arisen. Speculations upon what might have been are idle. It is well, however, to ponder the many misfortunes resulting from a mutual repulsion, which, under other circumstances and in other spheres, has been exchanged for mutual attraction and support.

RELATIONS WITH ROME

The earliest chapter in the history of the Netherlands was written by their conqueror. Celtic Gaul is already in the power of Rome; the Belgic tribes, alarmed at the approaching danger, arm against the universal tyrant. Inflammable, quick to strike, but too fickle to prevail against so powerful a foe, they hastily form a league of almost every clan. At the first blow of Cæsar's sword, the frail confederacy falls asunder like a rope of sand. The tribes scatter in all directions. Nearly all are soon defeated, and sue for mercy. The Nervii, true to the German blood in their veins, swear to die rather than surrender. They, at least, are worthy of their cause. Cæsar advances against them at the head of eight legions. Drawn up on the banks of the Sambre, they await the Roman's approach. Eight veteran Roman legions, with the world's victor at their head, are too much for the brave but undisciplined Nervii.¹

[¹ The full account of this battle in Cæsar's own words will be found in vol. V, chapter 22.]

They fought like men to whom life without liberty was a curse. They were not defeated, but exterminated. Of many thousand fighting men went home but five hundred. Upon reaching the place of refuge where they had bestowed their women and children, Cæsar found, after the battle, that there were but three of their senators left alive. So perished the Nervii. Cæsar commanded his legions to treat with respect the little remnant of the tribe which had just fallen to swell the empty echo of his glory, and then, with hardly a breathing pause, he proceeded to annihilate the Aduatici, the Menapii, and the Morini.

Gaul being thus pacified, as, with sublime irony, he expresses himself concerning a country some of whose tribes had been annihilated, some sold as slaves, and others hunted to their lairs like beasts of prey, the conqueror departed for Italy. Legations for peace from many German races to Rome were the consequence of these great achievements. Among others the Batavians formed an alliance with the masters of the world. Their position was always an honourable one. They were justly proud of paying no tribute, but it was, perhaps, because they had nothing to pay. They had few cattle, they could give no hides and horns like the Frisians, and they were therefore allowed to furnish only their blood. From this time forth their cavalry, which was the best of Germany, became renowned in the Roman army upon every battle-field of Europe.

It is melancholy, at a later moment, to find the brave Batavians distinguished in the memorable expedition of Germanicus to crush the liberties of their German kindred. They are forever associated with the sublime but misty image of the great Arminius (Hermann), the hero, educated in Rome, and aware of the colossal power of the empire, who yet, by his genius, valour, and political adroitness, preserved for Germany her nationality, her purer religion, and perhaps even that noble language which her late-flowering literature has rendered so illustrious—but they are associated as enemies, not as friends.

Galba, succeeding to the purple upon the suicide of Nero, dismissed the Batavian life-guards to whom he owed his elevation. He is murdered, Otho and Vitellius contend for the succession, while all eyes are turned upon the eight Batavian regiments. In their hands the scales of empire seem to rest. They declare for Vitellius, and the civil war begins. Otho is defeated; Vitellius acknowledged by senate and people. Fearing, like his predecessors, the imperious turbulence of the Batavian legions, he, too, sends them into Germany [70 A.D.]. It was the signal for a long and extensive revolt, which had well-nigh overturned the Roman power in Gaul and Lower Germany.

THE BATAVIAN HERO CIVILIS (70 A.D.)

Claudius Civilis was a Batavian of noble race, who had served twenty-five years in the Roman armies. His Teutonic name has perished, for, like most savages who become denizens of a civilised state, he had assumed an appellation in the tongue of his superiors. He was a soldier of fortune, and had fought wherever the Roman eagles flew. After a quarter of a century's service he was sent in chains to Rome, and his brother executed, both falsely charged with conspiracy. Such were the triumphs adjudged to Batavian auxiliaries. He escaped with life, and was disposed to consecrate what remained of it to a nobler cause. Civilis was no barbarian. Like the German hero Arminius, he had received a Roman education, and had learned the

degraded condition of Rome. He knew the infamous vices of her rulers; he retained an unconquerable love for liberty and for his own race.

By his courage, eloquence, and talent for political combinations, Civilis effected a general confederation of all the Netherland tribes, both Celtic and German. For a brief moment there was a united people, a Batavian commonwealth. The details of the revolt have been carefully preserved by Tacitus,ⁱ and form one of his grandest and most elaborate pictures. The battles, the sieges, the defeats, the indomitable spirit of Civilis, still flaming most brightly when the clouds were darkest around him, have been described by the great historian in his most powerful manner.

The struggle was an unsuccessful one. After many victories and many overthrows, Civilis was left alone. The Gallic tribes fell off, and sued for peace. Vespasian, victorious over Vitellius, proved too powerful for his old comrade. Even the Batavians became weary of the hopeless contest, while fortune, after much capricious hovering, settled at last upon the Roman side. The imperial commander Cerealis seized the moment when the cause of the Batavian hero was most desperate to send emissaries among his tribe. These intrigues had their effect. The fidelity of the people was sapped. But the Batavian was not a man to be crushed, nor had he lived so long in the Roman service to be outmatched in politics by the barbarous Germans. He was not to be sacrificed as a peace-offering to revengeful Rome. Watching from beyond the Rhine the progress of defection and the decay of national enthusiasm, he determined to be beforehand with those who were now his enemies. He accepted the offer of negotiation from Cerealis. The Roman general was eager to grant a full pardon, and to re-enlist so brave a soldier in the service of the empire.

A colloquy was agreed upon. The bridge across the Nabalia was broken asunder in the middle, and Cerealis and Civilis met upon the severed sides. The placid stream by which Roman enterprise had connected the waters of the Rhine with the Lake of Flevo, flowed between the imperial commander and the rebel chieftain.

Here the story abruptly terminates. The remainder of the Roman's narrative is lost, and upon that broken bridge the form of the Batavian hero disappears forever. His name fades from history: not a syllable is known of his subsequent career; everything is buried in the profound oblivion which now steals over the scene where he was the most imposing actor.

The soul of Civilis had proved insufficient to animate a whole people; yet it was rather owing to position than to any personal inferiority that his name did not become as illustrious as that of Arminius. The German patriot was neither braver nor wiser than the Batavian, but he had the infinite forests of his fatherland to protect him. Every legion which plunged into those unfathomable depths was forced to retreat disastrously, or to perish miserably. Civilis was hemmed in by the ocean; his country, long the basis of Roman military operations, was accessible by river and canal. The patriotic spirit which he had for a moment raised had abandoned him; his allies had deserted him; he stood alone and at bay, encompassed by the hunters, with death or surrender as his only alternative.

The contest of Civilis with Rome contains a remarkable foreshadowing of the future conflict with Spain, through which the Batavian republic, fifteen centuries later, was to be founded. The characters, the events, the amphibious battles, desperate sieges, slippery alliances, the traits of generosity, audacity, and cruelty, the generous confidence, the broken faith, seem so closely to repeat themselves that history appears to present the selfsame

drama played over and over again, with but a change of actors and of costume. There is more than a fanciful resemblance between Civilis and William the Silent, two heroes of ancient German stock, who had learned the arts of war and peace in the service of a foreign and haughty world-empire. Determination, concentration of purpose, constancy in calamity, elasticity almost preternatural, self-denial, consummate craft in political combinations, personal fortitude, and passionate patriotism were the heroic elements in both. The ambition of each was subordinate to the cause which he served. Both refused the crown, although each, perhaps, contemplated, in the sequel, a Batavian realm of which he would have been the inevitable chief. Both offered the throne to a Gallic prince, for Classicus was but the prototype of Anjou, as Brinno of Brederode, and neither was destined, in this world, to see his sacrifices crowned with success.

The characteristics of the two great races of the land portrayed themselves in the Roman and the Spanish struggle with much the same colours. The Southrons, inflammable, petulant, audacious, were the first to assault and to defy the imperial power in both revolts, while the inhabitants of the northern provinces, slower to be aroused, but of more enduring wrath, were less ardent at the commencement, but, alone, steadfast at the close of the contest. In both wars the southern Celts fell away from the league, their courageous but corrupt chieftains having been purchased with imperial gold to bring about the abject submission of their followers; while the German Netherlands, although eventually subjugated by Rome, after a desperate struggle, were successful in the great conflict with Spain, and trampled out of existence every vestige of her authority. The Batavian republic took its rank among the leading powers of the earth; the Belgic provinces remained Roman, Spanish, Austrian property.

FALL OF ROME AND RISE OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

Obscure but important movements in the regions of eternal twilight, revolutions, of which history has been silent, in the mysterious depths of Asia, outpourings of human rivers along the sides of the Altai Mountains, convulsions up-heaving remote realms and unknown dynasties, shock after shock throbbing throughout the barbarian world, and dying upon the edge of civilisation, vast throes which shake the earth as precursory pangs to the birth of a new empire—as dying symptoms of the proud but effete realm which called itself the world; scattered hordes of sanguinary, grotesque savages pushed from their own homes, and hovering with vague purposes upon the Roman frontier, constantly repelled and perpetually reappearing in ever-increasing swarms, guided thither by a fierce instinct, or by mysterious laws—such are the well-known phenomena which preceded the fall of western Rome. Stately, externally powerful, although undermined and putrescent at the core, the death-stricken empire still dashed back the assaults of its barbarous enemies.

During the long struggle intervening between the age of Vespasian and that of Odoacer, during all the preliminary ethnographical revolutions which preceded the great people's wandering, the Netherlands remained subject provinces. Their country was upon the high-road which led the Goths to Rome. Those low and barren tracts were the outlying marches of the empire. Upon that desolate beach broke the first surf from the rising ocean of German freedom which was soon to overwhelm Rome. Yet, although the ancient landmarks were soon well-nigh obliterated, the Netherlands still

remained faithful to the empire, Batavian blood was still poured out for its defence.

By the middle of the fourth century, the Franks and Alamanni (*Alle-männer*, "all-men"), a mass of united Germans, are defeated by the emperor Julian at Strasburg, the Batavian cavalry, as upon many other great occasions, saving the day for despotism. This achievement, one of the last in which the name appears upon historic record, was therefore as triumphant for the valour as it was humiliating to the true fame of the nation. Their individuality soon afterwards disappears, the race having been partly exhausted in the Roman service, partly merged in the Frank and Frisian tribes who occupy the domains of their forefathers.

For a century longer, Rome still retains its outward form, but the swarming nations are now in full career. The Netherlands are successively or simultaneously trampled by Franks, Vandals, Alani, Suevi, Saxons, Frisians, and even Slavs, as the great march of Germany to universal empire, which her prophets and bards had foretold, went majestically forward. The fountains of the frozen North were opened, the waters prevailed, but the ark of Christianity floated upon the flood. As the deluge assuaged, the earth had returned to chaos, the last pagan empire had been washed out of existence, but the faltering infancy of Christian Europe had begun.

After the wanderings had subsided, the Netherlands are found with much the same ethnological character. The Frank dominion has succeeded the Roman, the German stock preponderates over the Celtic, but the national ingredients, although in somewhat altered proportions, remain essentially as before. The old Belgæ, having become romanised in tongue and customs, accept the new empire of the Franks.¹ That people, however, pushed from its hold of the Rhine by thickly-thronging hordes of Gepidi, Quadi, Sarmatæ, Heruli, Saxons, Burgundiones, moves towards the south and west. As the empire falls before Odoacer, they occupy Celtic Gaul with the Belgian portion of the Netherlands, while the Frisians, into which ancient German tribe the old Batavian element has melted, not to be extinguished, but to renew its existence, the "free Frisians," whose name is synonymous with liberty, nearest blood relations of the Anglo-Saxon race, now occupy the northern portion, including the whole future European territory of the Dutch republic.

The history of the Franks becomes, therefore, the history of the Netherlands. The Frisians struggle, for several centuries, against their dominion, until eventually subjugated by Charlemagne. They even encroach upon the Franks in Belgic Gaul, who are determined not to yield their possessions. Moreover, the pious Merovingian *jeûnânts* desire to plant Christianity among the still pagan Frisians. Dagobert, son of the second Clotaire, advances against them as far as the Weser, takes possession of Utrecht, founds there the first Christian church in Friesland, and establishes a nominal dominion over the whole country.

Yet the feeble Merovingians would have been powerless against rugged Friesland, had not their dynasty already merged in that puissant family of Brabant, which long wielded their power before it assumed their crown. It was Pepin of Herstal, grandson of the Netherlander, Pepin of Landen, who conquered the Frisian Radbod (692 A.D.), and forced him to exchange his royal for the ducal title.

[¹ We find also Britons and Angles inhabiting Batavia, the former having probably taken refuge there from the hostility of the Picts and Scots; the latter may, perhaps, have accompanied the expedition of Hengist and Horsa to England, and remained there, instead of crossing the sea with their companions, according to Procopius.^k — DAVIES.^k]

It was Pepin's bastard, Charles the Hammer [Charles Martel], whose tremendous blows completed his father's work. The new mayor of the palace soon drove the Frisian chief into submission, and even into Christianity. A bishop's indiscretion, however, neutralised the apostolic blows of the mayor. The pagan Radbod had already immersed one of his royal legs in the baptismal font, when a thought struck him.

"Where are my dead forefathers at present?" he said, turning suddenly upon Bishop Wolfran. "In hell, with all other unbelievers," was the imprudent answer. "Mighty well," replied Radbod, removing his leg, "then will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden, than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in heaven."

Entreaties and threats were unavailing. The Frisian declined positively a rite which was to cause an eternal separation from his buried kindred, and he died, as he had lived, a heathen. His son, Poppo, succeeding to the nominal sovereignty, did not actively oppose the introduction of Christianity among his people, but himself refused to be converted. Rebelling against the Frank dominion, he was totally routed by Charles Martel in a great battle (750 A.D.), and perished with a vast number of Frisians.

The Christian dispensation, thus enforced, was now accepted by these northern pagans. The commencement of their conversion had been mainly the work of their brethren from Britain. The monk Wilfred was followed in a few years by the Anglo-Saxon Willibrod. It was he who destroyed the images of Woden in Walcheren, abolished his worship, and founded churches in North Holland. Charles Martel rewarded him with extensive domains about Utrecht, together with many slaves and other chattels. Soon afterwards he was consecrated bishop of all the Frisians. Thus rose the famous episcopate of Utrecht.

Another Anglo-Saxon, Winfred, or Boniface, had been equally active among his Frisian cousins. His crozier had gone hand in hand with the battle-axe. Boniface followed close upon the track of his orthodox coadjutor Charles. By the middle of the eighth century, some hundred thousand Frisians had been slaughtered, and as many more converted. The hammer which smote the Saracens at Tours was at last successful in beating the Netherlanders into Christianity. The labours of Boniface through Upper and Lower Germany were immense; but he, too, received great material rewards. He was created archbishop of Mainz, and, upon the death of Willibrod, bishop of Utrecht. Faithful to his mission, however, he met, heroically, a martyr's death at the hands of the refractory pagans at Dokkum [755 A.D.]. Thus was Christianity established in the Netherlands.

Under Charlemagne, the Frisians often rebelled, making common cause with the Saxons. In 785 A.D. they were, however, completely subjugated, and never rose again until the epoch of their entire separation from the Frank empire. Charlemagne left them their name of free Frisians, and the property in their own land. The feudal system never took root in their soil. "The Frisians," says their statute book, "shall be free, as long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands." They agreed, however, to obey the chiefs whom the Frank monarch should appoint to govern them, according to their own laws. Those laws were collected, and are still extant. The vernacular version of their Asega book contains their ancient customs, together with the Frank additions. The general statutes of Charlemagne were, of course, in vigour also; but that great legislator knew too well the importance attached by all mankind to local customs, to allow his imperial capitulars to interfere, unnecessarily, with the Frisian laws.

Thus again the Netherlands, for the first time since the fall of Rome, were united under one crown imperial. They had already been once united, in their slavery, to Rome. Eight centuries pass away, and they are again united, in subjection, to Charlemagne. The Netherlands, like the other provinces of the great monarch's dominion, were governed by crown-appointed functionaries, military and judicial. In the northeastern or Frisian portion, however, the grants of land were never in the form of revocable benefices or feuds. With this important exception, the whole country shared the fate and enjoyed general organisation of the empire.

But Charlemagne came an age too soon. The chaos which had brooded over Europe since the dissolution of the Roman world was still too absolute. It was not to be fashioned into permanent forms, even by his bold and constructive genius. When the great statesman died, his empire necessarily fell to pieces. Society had need of further disintegration before it could begin to reconstruct itself locally. A new civilisation was not to be improvised by a single mind. When did one man ever civilise a people? In the eighth and ninth centuries there was not even a people to be civilised.

Moreover, the Carlovingian race had been exhausted by producing a race of heroes like the Pepins and the Charleses. The realm was divided [in 843 A.D. by the Treaty of Verdun], subdivided, at times partially reunited, like a family farm, among monarchs incompetent alike to hold, to delegate, or to resign the inheritance of the great warrior and lawgiver.

Charles the Simple was the last Carlovingian who governed Lotharingia (or Lorraine), in which were comprised most of the Netherlands and Friesland. The German monarch, Henry the Fowler, at that period called king of the East Franks, as Charles of the West Franks, acquired Lorraine by the Treaty of Bonn, Charles reserving the sovereignty over the kingdom during his lifetime. In 925 A.D. however, the Simpleton having been imprisoned and deposed by his own subjects, the Fowler was recognised king of Lorraine.

Thus the Netherlands passed out of France into Germany, remaining, still, provinces of a loose, disjointed empire.

This is the epoch in which the various dukedoms, earldoms, and other petty sovereignties of the Netherlands became hereditary. It was in the year 922 that Charles the Simple presented to Count Dirk the territory of Holland, by letters patent.¹ This narrow hook of land, destined, in future ages, to be the cradle of a considerable empire, stretching through both hemispheres, was, thenceforth, the inheritance of Dirk's descendants. Historically, therefore, he is Dirk I, count of Holland.

Of this small sovereign and his successors, the most powerful foe, for centuries, was the bishop of Utrecht, the origin of whose greatness has been already indicated. Of the other Netherland provinces, now hereditary, the first in rank was Lorraine, once the kingdom of Lothair, now the dukedom of Lorraine. In 965 it was divided into Upper and Lower Lorraine, of which the lower duchy alone belonged to the Netherlands.

Two centuries later, the counts of Louvain, then occupying most of Brabant, obtained a permanent hold of Lower Lorraine, and began to call themselves dukes of Brabant. The same principle of local independence and isolation which created these dukes established the hereditary power of the counts and barons who formerly exercised jurisdiction under them and others. Thus arose sovereign counts of Namur, Hainault, Limburg, Zutphen, dukes of Luxemburg and Gelderland, barons of Mechlin, marquises of Antwerp, and

[¹ See vols. VII, XI and XV.]

others—all petty autocrats. The most important of all, after the house of Lorraine, were the earls of Flanders; for the bold foresters of Charles the Great had soon wrested the sovereignty of their little territory from his feeble descendants as easily as Baldwin, with the iron arm, had deprived the bald Charles of his daughter. Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overijssel, Groningen, Drenthe, and Friesland (all seven being portions of Friesland in a general sense), were crowded together upon a little desolate corner of Europe—an obscure fragment of Charlemagne's broken empire. They were afterwards to constitute the United States of the Netherlands, one of the most powerful republics of history. Meantime, for century after century, the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht were to exercise divided sway over the territory.

Thus the whole country was broken into many shreds and patches of sovereignty. The separate history of such half-organised morsels is tedious and petty. Trifling dynasties, where a family or two were everything, the people nothing, leave little worth recording. Even the most devout of genealogists might shudder to chronicle the long succession of so many illustrious obscure.

A glance, however, at the general features of the governmental system now established in the Netherlands, at this important epoch in the world's history, will show the transformations which the country, in common with other portions of the western world, had undergone.

GOVERNMENT AND CIVILISATION OF FEUDAL TIMES

In the tenth century the old Batavian and later Roman forms have faded away. An entirely new polity has succeeded. No great popular assembly asserts its sovereignty, as in the ancient German epoch; no generals and temporary kings are chosen by the nation. The elective power had been lost under the Romans, who, after conquest, had conferred the administrative authority over their subject provinces upon officials appointed by the metropolis. The Franks pursued the same course. In Charlemagne's time, the revolution is complete. Popular assemblies and popular election entirely vanish. Military, civil, and judicial officers—dukes, earls, marquises, and others—are all king's creatures (*knechten des konings, pueri regis*), and so remain, till they abjure the creative power, and set up their own. The principle of Charlemagne, that his officers should govern according to local custom, helps them to achieve their own independence, while it preserves all that is left of national liberty and law.

The counts, assisted by inferior judges, hold diets from time to time—thrice, perhaps, annually. They also summon assemblies in case of war. Thither are called the great vassals, who, in turn, call their lesser vassals, each armed with “a shield, a spear, a bow, twelve arrows, and a cuirass.” Such assemblies, convoked in the name of a distant sovereign, whose face his subjects had never seen, whose language they could hardly understand, were very different from those tumultuous mass-meetings, where boisterous freemen, armed with the weapons they loved the best, and arriving sooner or later, according to their pleasure, had been accustomed to elect their generals and magistrates and to raise them upon their shields. The people are now governed, their rulers appointed by an invisible hand. Edicts, issued by a power, as it were, supernatural, demand implicit obedience. The people, acquiescing in their own annihilation, abdicate not only their political but their personal rights. The sceptre, stretched over realms so wide, requires stronger hands than those of degenerate Carlovingians. It breaks asunder.

Functionaries become sovereigns, with hereditary, not delegated, right to own the people, to tax their roads and rivers, to take tithings of their blood and sweat, to harass them in all the relations of life. There is no longer a metropolis to protect them from official oppression. Power, the more subdivided, becomes the more tyrannical. The sword is the only symbol of law, the cross is a weapon of offence, the bishop is a consecrated pirate, and every petty baron a burglar; while the people, alternately the prey of duke, prelate, and seignor, shorn and butchered like sheep, esteem it happiness to sell themselves into slavery, or to huddle beneath the castle walls of some little potentate, for the sake of his wolfish protection. Here they build hovels, which they surround from time to time with palisades and muddy entrenchments; and here, in these squalid abodes of ignorance and misery, the genius of liberty, conducted by the spirit of commerce, descends at last to awaken mankind from its sloth and cowardly stupor. A longer night was to intervene, however, before the dawn of day.

The crown-appointed functionaries had been, of course, financial officers. They collected the revenue of the sovereign, one-third of which slipped through their fingers into their own coffers. Becoming sovereigns themselves, they retain these funds for their private emolument. Four principal sources yielded this revenue—royal domains, tolls and imposts, direct levies, and a peasantry called voluntary contributions or benevolences. In addition to these supplies were also the proceeds of fines. Taxation upon sin was, in those rude ages, a considerable branch of the revenue. The old Frisian laws consisted almost entirely of a discriminating tariff upon crimes. Nearly all the misdeeds which man is prone to commit were punished by a money-bote only. Murder, larceny, arson, rape—all offences against the person were commuted for a definite price. There were a few exceptions, such as parricide, which was followed by loss of inheritance; sacrilege and the murder of a master by a slave, which were punished with death. It is a natural inference that, as the royal treasury was enriched by these imposts, the sovereign would hardly attempt to check the annual harvest of iniquity by which his revenue was increased. Still, although the moral sense is shocked by a system which makes the ruler's interest identical with the wickedness of his people and holds out a comparative immunity in evil doing for the rich, it was better that crime should be punished by money rather than not be punished at all.

Five centuries of isolation succeed. In the Netherlands, as throughout Europe, a thousand obscure and slender rills are slowly preparing the great stream of universal culture. Five dismal centuries of feudalism—during which period there is little talk of human right, little obedience to divine reason. Rights there are none, only forces; and, in brief, three great forces, gradually arising, developing themselves, acting upon each other, and upon the general movement of society.

The sword—the first, for a time the only force: the force of iron. The “land's master,” having acquired the property in the territory and in the people who feed thereon, distributes to his subalterns, often but a shade beneath him in power, portions of his estate, getting the use of their faithful swords in return. Vavasours subdivide again to vassals, exchanging land and cattle, human or other, against fealty, and so the iron chain of a military hierarchy, forged of mutually interdependent links, is stretched over each little province. Impregnable castles, here more numerous than in any other part of Christendom, dot the level surface of the country. Mail-clad knights, with their followers, encamp permanently upon the soil. The fortunate fable of

divine right is invented to sanction the system; superstition and ignorance give currency to the delusion.

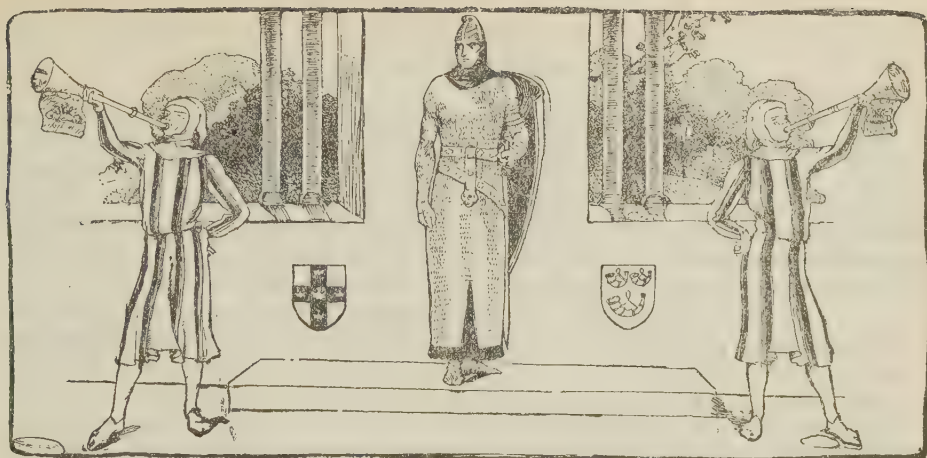
Thus the grace of God, having conferred the property in a vast portion of Europe upon a certain idiot in France, makes him competent to sell large fragments of his estate, and to give a divine, and, therefore, most satisfactory title along with them—a great convenience to a man who had neither power, wit, nor will to keep the property in his own hands. So the Dirks of Holland get a deed from Charles the Simple, and, although the grace of God does not prevent the royal grantor himself from dying a miserable, discrowned captive, the conveyance to Dirk is none the less hallowed by almighty fiat. So the Roberts and Guys, the Johns and Baldwins, become sovereigns in Hainault, Brabant, Flanders, and other little districts, affecting supernatural sanction for the authority which their good swords have won and are ever ready to maintain. Thus organised, the force of iron asserts and exerts itself. Duke, count, seignor and vassal, knight and squire, master and man swarm and struggle amain. A wild, chaotic, sanguinary scene. Here, bishop and baron contend, centuries long, murdering human creatures by ten thousands for an acre or two of swampy pasture; there, doughty families, hugging old musty quarrels to their heart, buffet each other from generation to generation; and thus they go on, raging and wrestling among themselves, with all the world, shrieking insane war-cries which no human soul ever understood—red caps and black, white hoods and gray, Hooks and Cods, dealing destruction, building castles and burning them, tilting at tourneys, stealing bullocks, roasting Jews, robbing the highways, crusading—now upon Syrian sands against Paynim dogs, now in Frisian quagmires against Albigenses, Stedingers, and other heretics—plunging about in blood and fire, repenting, at idle times, and paying their passage through purgatory with large slices of ill-gotten gains placed in the ever-extended dead-hand of the church; acting, on the whole, according to their kind, and so getting themselves civilised or exterminated, it matters little which. Thus they play their part, those energetic men-at-arms; and thus one great force, the force of iron, spins and expands itself, century after century, helping on, as it whirls, the great progress of society towards its goal, wherever that may be.

Another force—the force clerical—the power of clerks, arises; the might of educated mind measuring itself against brute violence; a force embodied, as often before, as priestcraft—the strength of priests: craft meaning simply strength, in our old mother-tongue. This great force, too, develops itself variously, being sometimes beneficent, sometimes malignant. Priesthood works out its task, age after age: now smoothing penitent death-beds, consecrating graves, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, incarnating the Christian precepts, in an age of rapine and homicide, doing a thousand deeds of love and charity among the obscure and forsaken—deeds of which there shall never be human chronicle, but a leaf or two, perhaps, in the recording angel's book; hiving precious honey from the few flowers of gentle art which bloom upon a howling wilderness; holding up the light of science over a stormy sea; treasuring in convents and crypts the few fossils of antique learning which become visible, as the extinct *Megatherium* of an elder world reappears after the Gothic deluge; and now, careering in helm and hauberk with the other ruffians, bandying blows in the thickest of the fight, blasting with bell, book, and candle its trembling enemies, while sovereigns, at the head of armies, grovel in the dust and offer abject submission for the kiss of peace; exercising the same conjury over ignorant baron and cowardly hind, making the fiction of apostolic authority to bind and loose, as prolific in acres

as the other divine right to have and hold; thus the force of cultivated intellect, wielded by a chosen few and sanctioned by supernatural authority, becomes as potent as the sword.

A third force, developing itself more slowly, becomes even more potent than the rest—the power of gold. Even iron yields to the more ductile metal. The importance of municipalities, enriched by trade, begins to be felt. Commerce, the mother of Netherland freedom, and, eventually, its destroyer—even, as in all human history the vivifying becomes afterwards the dissolving principle—commerce changes insensibly and miraculously the aspect of society. Clusters of hovels become towered cities; the green and gilded Hansa of commercial republicanism coils itself around the decaying trunk of feudal despotism. Cities leagued with cities throughout and beyond Christendom—empire within empire—bind themselves closer and closer in the electric chain of human sympathy and grow stronger and stronger by mutual support. Fishermen and river raftsmen become ocean adventurers and merchant princes. Commerce plucks up half-drowned Holland by the locks and pours gold into her lap. Gold wrests power from iron. Needy Flemish weavers become mighty manufacturers. Armies of workmen, fifty thousand strong, tramp through the swarming streets. Silk-makers, clothiers, brewers become the gossips of kings, lend their royal gossips vast sums, and burn the royal notes of hand in fires of cinnamon wood. Wealth brings strength, strength confidence. Learning to handle cross-bow and dagger, the burghers fear less the baronial sword, finding that their own will cut as well, seeing that great armies—flowers of chivalry—can ride away before them fast enough at battles of spurs and other encounters. Sudden riches beget insolence, tumults, civic broils. Internecine quarrels, horrible tumults stain the streets with blood, but education lifts the citizens more and more out of the original slough. They learn to tremble as little at priestcraft as at swordcraft, having acquired something of each. Gold in the end, unsanctioned by right divine, weighs up the other forces, supernatural as they are. And so, struggling along their appointed path, making cloth, making money, making treaties with great kingdoms, making war by land and sea, ringing great bells, waving great banners, they, too—these insolent, boisterous burghers—accomplish their work.

Thus, the mighty power of the purse develops itself, and municipal liberty becomes a substantial fact—a fact, not a principle; for the old theorem of sovereignty remains undisputed as ever. Neither the nation, in mass, nor the citizens, in class, lay claim to human rights. All upper attributes—legislative, judicial, administrative—remain in the land-master's breast alone. It is an absurdity, therefore, to argue with Grotius^m concerning the unknown antiquity of the Batavian republic. The republic never existed at all till the sixteenth century, and was only born after long years of agony.^b



CHAPTER I

THE FIRST COUNTS OF HOLLAND

[843-1299 A.D.]

As the seven united provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Gelderland formed in the early ages of their history four distinct and separate states, to follow out minutely the annals of each would cause the thread of the subject to be perpetually broken off, and by diverting the attention into so many channels deprive it of any interest it might otherwise possess; and would moreover swell the work to such a magnitude as to render it unavailable to the general reader. This is the less necessary, as, with some difference of detail, the general features of the constitution and governments of the Netherland states bear so strong a similarity to each other that a perfect acquaintance with one will give a tolerably clear insight into all. We shall therefore confine our observations principally to Holland and Zealand, which, during the period now under consideration, formed a state or county of itself; the prince-bishop of Utrecht held that province, together with Groningen and Overijssel, as a fief of the German Empire, acknowledging the sovereignty of the archbishop of Cologne in spiritual matters. Friesland will often present itself to our notice as a subject of contention between the bishops of Utrecht and the counts of Holland, and retaining its independence against both, under a *podeslate* of its own choosing.

Gelderland formed a part of the empire of Germany until the year 1002, when the emperor Henry II made it a separate county, feudatory to the empire; Otto, the first count, coming into possession of Zutphen also, by his marriage with Sophia, heiress of that county. Gelderland was raised to a duchy in 1337 by Louis VII of Bavaria, emperor of Germany.

THE PERIODS OF DUTCH HISTORY

The history of Holland thus divides itself into four periods:¹ the first extending from the end of the ninth century, the time of its erection into a separate county, to the year 1428, when it became annexed to a great portion of the other states of the Netherlands, under Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy: the government of the princes of the house of Burgundy and Austria will form the second period, ending in 1579, when the Union of Utrecht laid the foundation of the republic of the Seven United Provinces.

It is here that the history of Holland has been generally considered to begin; and from this epoch it is supposed her birth as a free and commercial country is to be dated. No idea, however, can be more erroneous; Holland was no Pallas among nations, starting at once into vigour and maturity, exempt from the errors and trials of youth; it was not the mere act of revolt from Spain that made her a nation of heroes, statesmen, legislators, and merchants, such as we then find her. She had been formed by long years of experience, by long ages of endurance. The strength which enabled her to cope with a power so infinitely superior to her own had been infused by continued enjoyment of equal laws, constitutional rights, and prescriptive franchises. It was not to enforce the fanciful theory of a constitution, not to create new rights, new laws, new liberties, that the Dutch threw off their allegiance to their sovereign; but to preserve those which they had been constantly asserting, and jealously defending, since the accession of the house of Burgundy, more than a hundred years before; and the war of independence was the end, not the beginning of the contest—the desperate extremity to which they were unwillingly driven by the obstinacy and cruelty of Philip II, not a scheme devised for their own aggrandisement. The separation of Holland from Spain involved but a slight change in her internal government, the essential principles of which had already existed for centuries; and though the extension of liberty obtained by this event did undoubtedly tend to the vast improvement of her commerce, yet it is equally certain that, after the decay of the Italian republics, Holland excelled all the rest of the world except Flanders and Brabant, as well in commerce and navigation as in agriculture and manufactures.

The union of Utrecht may therefore be properly considered as the commencement of the third period, which extends to the year 1747, when a radical change was effected in the constitution of Holland, then rendered monarchical in fact, though not in name, by the creation of a *stadholderate*, hereditary in the male and female line.

The fourth short and mournful era is comprised between 1747 and 1795, when the provinces were subjugated by the arms of the French Republic. During this time, but feeble and evanescent scintillations of the ancient Dutch spirit appear. The whole nation, divided into two factions, the orange and republican, sacrificed with one accord the welfare of the commonwealth to the rage of party spirit.

Thus enfeebled and tottering, Holland required no seer to foretell that

[¹ Blok divides the history of the Dutch people into seven periods: 1st, the period of the most ancient times, ending with the complete development of the feudal states in the fourteenth century; 2nd, the period of Burgundian power, ending in the last half of the sixteenth century; 3rd, the period of the Eighty Years' War, ending in 1648; 4th, the period of the republic, which fell in 1795; 5th, the transition period of French influence until 1815; 6th, the period of the kingdom of the United Netherlands until 1830; 7th, the period of the history of Holland after the separation from Belgium.]

[843-922 A.D.]

her Ides were come. Prussia, England, and France each struck a death-blow at her heart; but she covered herself with her robe as she fell—science, the arts, and the venerable relics of her ancient institutions veiled from human eyes the extremity of her degradation. The civilised world, her jealous rivals themselves, mourned over her fate. Mocked with the name of an independent republic, deluded with the shadow of a free constitution, Holland found her treasury drained by French extortion, her commerce made subservient to French interests, and her government framed and changed according to the fanciful models of French politicians. With the invasion of the year 1795, therefore, her history closes, since she appears no more on the theatre of Europe as a free commonwealth.

Her regeneration, as a limited monarchy, in 1813, is the beginning of a new era.

HOLLAND AS A GERMAN FIEF

Before the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne had finally united the whole kingdom of Friesland to the Christian church. The last king, Gundebold, grandson of Radbod, was slain in the famous expedition of this monarch against the Saracens in Spain; and from that time Friesland was governed by counts and dukes appointed by the emperor, and afterwards by his son Louis the Pious. On the division of the empire in 843 made after the death of Louis, between his three sons, Lothair, Ludwig the German, and Charles, surnamed the Bald, Ludwig received that portion of the Netherlands which lies on the right of the Rhine, while the provinces between that river and the Maas and Schelde were allotted to the emperor Lothair.

The situation of these countries rendered them peculiarly open to the incursions of the Danes or Normans, for three centuries the terror and scourge of Europe; and it was probably with the view of erecting a barrier against their assaults that Ludwig the German granted to Dirk,¹ one of the counts in Friesland, and to his heirs, the forest of Wasda. The Danes, however, continued to harass Friesland as before, sometimes plundering the country, and levying heavy contributions on the inhabitants; sometimes making transient settlements there, and forcing the sovereigns to surrender to them possession of different portions of it. Charles III of France, surnamed the Fat, having become master of the whole of the empire of Charlemagne, found himself obliged to purchase their absence from Germany by the gift of a large sum of money, and the cession of the whole of Friesland to Godfrey, their king (883), by which act Gerulf, the son of Count Dirk, became a subject of the Dane. The death of Godfrey, who was treacherously assassinated, two years after, by order of Charles, restored Gerulf to his allegiance under the emperor of Germany, and he received from Arnulf, successor to the empire, after the deposition of Charles the Fat, the lands lying between the Rhine and Zuithardershage.

Gerulf was the father of that Dirk whom the Hollanders reckon as their first count, probably because he was the first who possessed the monastery of Egmond, whence nearly all the documents relating to their early history are drawn. From him, the line of succession and the thread of history continue unbroken.

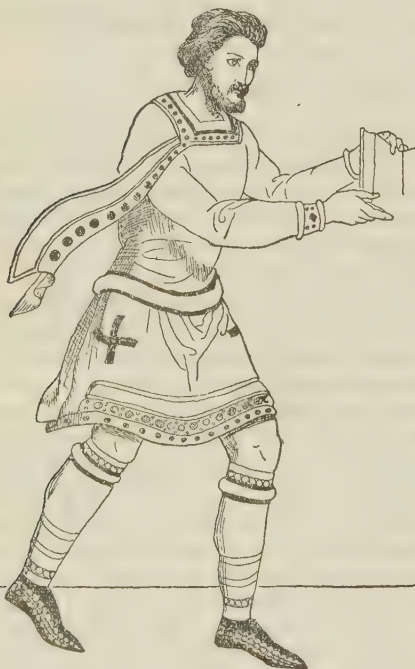
The time of the foundation of the county of Holland is involved in great obscurity, and we will not enter into the tedious discussion as to whether it should be fixed in 863, or in the year 922. For the former date we have the

[¹ The name is also given as Dietrich, Theoderic, and Theodore.]

authority of Melis Stoke,^b Beka,^d Barlandus,^e Meyer,^f and numerous others; while Buchelius,^g the annotator of the *Chronicle of Beka*, and Wagenaar^h insist upon the latter.

THE FIRST DIRKS, I-IV (912-1049)

To the lands which Count Dirk already held, Charles IV of France, surnamed the Simple, added the abbey of Egmond, with its dependencies, from Zuithardershage to Kinnem. By the cession which this prince made to the



COUNT DIRK II

(From a manuscript at Egmond)

emperor Henry I of the whole kingdom of Lorraine, those lands, as well as the remainder which Count Dirk possessed, became a fief of Germany in 974. Nothing further is known of Dirk than that he built a church of wood at Egmond, dedicated to St. Adelbert, and founded there a convent of nuns. The time of his death is uncertain, but it is generally supposed to have occurred in the year 923.

Hardly had Dirk II established himself in the government after the death of his father, when he was obliged to march against his rebellious subjects in West Friesland, whom he overcame, and forced to return to obedience. He had by his wife, Hildegarde, two sons, of whom the younger, Egbert, became archbishop of Treves, and the elder, Arnold, married Luitgarde, sister of Theophano, the wife of Otto II, emperor of Germany (983). The empress Theophano, after the death of her husband, and during the minority of her son, Otto III, enjoyed a large share in the adminis-

tration of the empire; and her alliance with the family of the count of Holland induced her to use her influence over the mind of the young emperor, to obtain for Dirk a grant of all those states as an hereditary fief which he had hitherto enjoyed in usufruct only. Dirk II died in 988.

The grant of Otto III rendered it unnecessary that Arnold should obtain the emperor's confirmation of his authority, and the succession henceforward passed in the regular line, without any intervention of the imperial sovereignty, nor did the emperors ever interfere in the slightest degree in the internal government of the county; in process of time, indeed, the counts of Holland so far freed themselves from the ties of feudal allegiance that it became at length a matter of dispute whether or not Holland owed fealty to the empire at all. Arnold's short reign of five years was spent in continual warfare with his rebellious subjects of West Friesland, by whom he was slain in a battle fought near the village of Winkel (993). He left two sons, of

[993-1039 A.D.]

whom the younger, Siward, or Sigefrid, is said to have been the founder of the noble and illustrious house of Brederode.

Dirk III succeeded his father when only twelve years of age, the government being administered during his minority by his mother Luitgarde. In the year 1010 the Normans again made an irruption into Friesland, defeated the Hollanders who opposed their passage, and advanced as far as Utrecht. This is the last time we hear of any invasion by the Normans of either Holland or Friesland.

WARS WITH UTRECHT, FLANDERS, AND THE EMPIRE

In the year 937 the emperor Otto I of Germany had granted to Baldric, then bishop of Utrecht, the privilege of coining money. By Ansfrid, the domain of Utrecht had been brought close to the territories of the counts of Holland, over the whole of which, likewise, the church of Utrecht had a spiritual jurisdiction; and this furnished the bishops with a pretext for laying claim to the temporal sovereignty of the county. Hence arose disputes of a nature easily exasperated into hostilities.

In order to provide a barrier against the encroachments of this restless neighbour, Dirk built and fortified the celebrated town of Dordrecht, in 1015, which became, and long remained, the capital of the county, and ever afterwards held the first rank in the assembly of the states. Here he levied tolls upon all vessels passing up or down the Waal.

The emperor commanded Gottfried, duke of Lorraine, to assist the bishop in expelling Dirk from the fortress of Dordrecht. Gottfried, in obedience to his orders, assembled a large body of troops, accompanied by the bishops of Cologne, Cambray, Liège, and Utrecht, with their forces. In the engagement which ensued in 1018 an event, singular as unexpected, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the Hollanders, and saved the infant state from the destruction which appeared inevitable: the battle was at the hottest, and the Hollanders were defending themselves bravely, but almost hopelessly, against superior numbers, when suddenly a voice was heard crying, "Fly, fly." None could tell from whence the sound proceeded, and it was therefore interpreted by the troops of Lorraine as a warning from heaven: their rout was instantaneous and complete. Dirk concluded his long and troubled reign of thirty-four years by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; he died 1039, soon after his return, and was buried in the church of Egmond, leaving behind him a high reputation for valour and ability.

In the reign of Dirk IV began the first of a long series of dissensions between the counts of Holland and Flanders concerning the possession of Walcheren, and the other islands of Zealand, west of the Schelde. The Flemings claimed these territories in virtue of a grant (1007) made by the emperor Henry II to Baldwin IV, surnamed Longbeard, count of Flanders, while the Hollanders insisted on a prior right, conferred by the gift of Ludwig the German, in the year 868, to Dirk, the first count of Holland. Baldwin, fifth son and successor of Baldwin Longbeard, undertook a hostile expedition into Friesland and returned victorious. The bishop of Utrecht, taking advantage of the embarrassment, induced the emperor Henry III to lend him his assistance in regaining possession of those lands about the Merwe and Rhine, of which he maintained that Count Dirk III had unjustly deprived his predecessor.

The emperor, at the head of a numerous army, sailed down the river to Dordrecht, which he forced to surrender, as well as other towns. He was

not able long to retain these places, Dirk having formed an alliance with Gottfried of Lorraine.

The emperor was obliged to retreat to Utrecht, pursued by Dirk and a small band of troops, who so harassed the rear of his army that Henry with difficulty succeeded in reaching the city in safety. His departure left Dirk at liberty to regain possession of all the territory he had lost, which, however, he was not destined to enjoy long in peace. While passing unguardedly through a narrow street, he received a wound from a poisoned arrow, shot by an unknown hand, and died within three days in January, 1049. Dirk died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother.

FLORIS I TO IV (1049-1235)

The reign of Floris [or Florence], like that of his predecessors, was rendered turbulent and unhappy by the restless jealousy and enmity of the bishop of Utrecht. In the year 1058, William I, who then filled this see, formed a confederacy against Floris, and the united armies, accompanied by some troops of the empire, invaded the county of Holland. Floris, despairing of being able to withstand so overwhelming a force, had recourse to stratagem, much in use in the warfare of early ages. In a field near Dordrecht, where his forces were drawn up to await the attack, he caused pits to be dug and lightly covered with turf, into which several of the enemies' horse, when advancing briskly, as if to certain victory, suddenly fell, and being unable to extricate themselves, the whole army was thrown into the utmost confusion; at this moment Count Floris led forward his troops, and as they met with scarcely any resistance, the issue of the battle was decisive in their favour; sixty thousand of the allied troops were slain, and the governor of Gelderland, the count of Louvain, and the bishop of Liège made prisoners.

A like success attended the arms of the count in a second invasion, by the archbishop of Cologne, the markgraf of Brandenburg, and the lord of Cuyek, whom he defeated and put to flight in an obstinate and murderous battle, fought near the village of lower Hemert. Wearied with the combat, Count Floris fell asleep under a tree, not far from the scene of action, when the lord of Cuyek, having reassembled his scattered soldiers, returned, and surprising him thus defenceless, put him to death with a great number of his followers. He did not, however, venture to attack the main body of the army, which retired in safety.

Dirk V, being a child of tender years at the time of his father's death, was placed under the guardianship of his mother, Gertrude of Saxony. She had conducted the administration scarcely two years, when she contracted a second marriage with Robert, the younger son of Baldwin V, of Flanders (surnamed from this alliance the Frisian), and in conjunction with the nobles conferred on him the government of the county during the minority of her son.

In May, 1064, a grant was made to the bishop of Utrecht in the name of the emperor of the whole of the county west of the Vlie, and about the Rhine, with the abbey of Egmond, besides Bodegrave, from which Dirk III had expelled Dirk Bavo [the vassal of the bishop of Utrecht].

The bishop, having gained Gottfried, duke of Lorraine, to his alliance, by promising him the government of Holland, as a fief of the bishopric, Robert attempted in vain to make a stand against his enemies. Being defeated in a severe battle, he was forced to take refuge in Ghent. Holland

[1071-1125 A.D.]

and Friesland submitted to Gottfried. He founded the city of Delft, where, after having governed the country for about four years with great harshness and severity, he was assassinated.

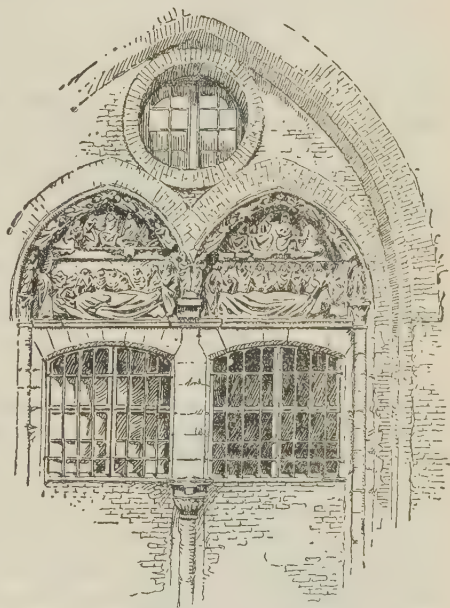
His death was followed in the same year, 1075, by that of William, bishop of Utrecht. Conrad, successor to the see, assumed, likewise, the government of Holland. The Hollanders, unable to endure with patience the episcopal yoke, earnestly desired the restoration of their lawful sovereign, and Robert the Frisian, being in tranquil possession of Flanders, found himself at liberty to assist his adopted son in the enterprise he now formed for this purpose. William the Conqueror, then king of England, who had married Matilda, sister of Robert the Frisian, sent some vessels to their assistance. The whole of the bishop's fleet was either captured or dispersed, and the bishop renounced all claim to the states of the count of Holland, and restored all the conquests made by himself or his predecessors. The inhabitants joyfully took the oath of allegiance to Count Dirk V. He died in 1091, having governed the county fifteen years after his restoration, leaving only one son.

In the reign of Floris II, surnamed the Fat, the whole of Europe was inflamed with the desire of rescuing the tomb of the Redeemer from the hands of the infidels. The effects of the Crusades on Holland were, for some time at least, comparatively slight; for though we find the names of several of her nobility numbered in the ranks of the crusaders, and among them those of Arkel and Brederode, the most powerful and illustrious in the state, yet, whether that the mercantile habits

of the people rendered them unwilling to engage in war, except some tangible advantage were to be gained by it, or that their constant hostilities with the bishops of Utrecht had placed the church in such an unfavourable point of view, certain it is that the enthusiasm was neither so highly wrought nor so widely diffused as among the other peoples of Europe, and particularly the neighbouring county of Flanders.

Floris the Fat ended his tranquil reign of thirty years in the spring of 1121.

Dirk VI, being too young at the time of his father's death to undertake the management of affairs, his mother, Petronella, was appointed governess during his minority—a woman of extraordinary courage, sagacity, and ambition. She took up arms in the cause of her brother, Lothair of Saxony, against the emperor Henry V, with whom he was at war; and Henry, although he invaded Holland with a powerful army, found considerable difficulty in forcing her to acknowledge feudal allegiance to him. The election of Lothair to the throne of Germany at length put an end to the enmity between the emperors and the counts of Holland, which had now subsisted, with the inter-



ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL

(Thirteenth century)

mission only of the short alliance between Floris the Fat and Henry V, for more than a century.

In this reign, Holland was already sufficiently populous to admit of the removal of a large colony of its inhabitants to the borders of the Elbe and Havel. The Hollanders (so strong is the power of habit on the human mind) fixed themselves, by choice, on the low and marshy lands. Notwithstanding the difficulties they had to contend with, both from the nature of the soil and the frequent incursions of the Slavi, these patient and industrious colonists built towns and churches in their new settlement, and in a short time rendered it incredibly rich and flourishing. Dirk VI died in the autumn of 1157.

Floris III finding, on his accession to the government, that the Flemish merchants evaded the payment of the tolls at Dordrecht, by passing down the Maas, obtained permission of the emperor to establish a toll. Count Philip of Flanders equipped a number of ships sufficient to keep the Holland navy in check, while with his land forces he made himself master of the Waasland, after which, having enriched his troops with considerable booty, he retired to Flanders. Count Floris put to sea a large fleet of ships, but he was defeated in a severe naval battle, wounded and carried prisoner to Bruges. Philip consented to release Floris, after an imprisonment of two years, and to reinstate him in the territories he held of Flanders.

The West Frieslanders had not let slip the favourable opportunity for rebellion, and Floris was never able, during the whole of his reign, to reduce his rebellious subjects in that quarter to entire obedience.

The crusade preached in 1187 by Pope Clement III drew a considerable number of the princes of Europe to the army of Frederick I or Barbarossa, emperor of Germany: among these was the count of Holland, who had assumed the cross three years before. He was among the immense number of those who fell victims to a pestilence. He was buried near the grave of the emperor Frederick in St. Peter's church, at Antioch. This count is said to be the first who obtained from the emperor the privilege of coining money stamped with the arms of Holland.

Floris III left four sons, Dirk VII, his successor to the county; William, who remained in the Holy Land for nearly five years after the death of his father; Floris, archdeacon of Utrecht; Robert, governor of Kennemerland, and four daughters.

William of Holland perceiving, shortly after his return from the Holy Land, that some enemies at court had found means to excite suspicion and jealousy in the mind of his brother towards him, retired to West Friesland, where the disaffected were always sure to find companions ready for revolt. Hostilities were begun on the side of William, when Dirk sent one part of his army to Friesland, under the conduct of his wife Adelaide (daughter of the count of Cleves), while he himself advanced with the remainder to expel the Flemings from Walcheren. The issue of both expeditions proved fortunate. Towards the end of the same year the brothers were reconciled and Dirk consented to bestow on William all his possessions in Friesland, to be held as a fief of Holland. The good fortune of Count Dirk at length deserted him, and the event of a war, in which he was afterwards engaged with Utrecht, was disastrous in the extreme both to himself and the state. The bishop betook himself for protection to Henry, duke of Brabant,¹ or Lower Lor-

¹ The duchy of Brabant took its rise in the year 1106, when the emperor, Henry V, divided the ancient kingdom, or duchy of Lorraine, into two parts, called Upper and Lower Lorraine, and bestowed the latter on Godfrey the Bearded, count of Louvain, who assumed the title of duke of Brabant and Lorraine. Henry III, duke of Brabant, dropped the title of duke of Lorraine, and styled himself duke of Brabant only. See Guicciardini² and Johan. à Leid.³

[1202-1224 A.D.]

rairie. Dirk's troops were entirely defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner. He was released within the year upon payment of 2,000 marks of silver; but by the treaty then made with the duke he was obliged to surrender Breda, and bound himself and his successors to do homage to the dukes of Brabant for Dordrecht and all the lands lying between Stryen, Walwyk, and Brabant, and to assist them against all their enemies, except the emperor. Thus the ancient capital of the county became a fief of Brabant, and so continued until the year 1283, when John I, duke of Brabant, released the count of Holland from his fealty. Dirk died in 1203, the government falling into the hands of a girl of tender years, guided by a mother sufficiently shrewd, indeed, and courageous, but intriguing and ambitious.

The last wish of Count Dirk, that the guardianship of his daughter, Ada, and her states should be confided to his brother William, was frustrated by the intrigues of the countess-dowager, Adelaide of Cleves, who, in order to debar him from all share in the administration, had determined upon marrying her daughter to Louis, count of Loon. Within a very short time, however, symptoms of discontent at the prospect of being governed by a female, and a stranger, began to manifest themselves among some of the nobility. The disaffected brought William disguised to the island of Schouwen. Here he was received with every demonstration of joy, and shortly after was proclaimed as lawful governor. The countess Ada was sent prisoner to the Texel, and subsequently to the court of John, king of England.



COUNTESS HILDEGARDE

(From a manuscript at Egmond)

The termination of the war between France and England left Count William free to accompany the crusade undertaken at this time (May, 1217); and he accordingly set sail from the Maas, with twelve large ships, which, uniting with a great number of smaller vessels from Friesland, arrived after some delays at the port of Lisbon. Immediately upon their landing, a message was sent by the Portuguese nobles to the crusaders, beseeching their assistance against the king of Morocco, who had wrested the fortress of Aleacer-do-Sal from the king of Portugal, and obliged the inhabitants of that country to deliver into his hands a hundred Christian slaves every year. The greater part of the Frieslanders refused to delay their journey to the Holy Land, but the Hollanders under Count William besieged and took Aleacer-do-Sal, and continued the remainder of the year in Portugal. In 1218 William joined the fleet of the crusaders at Acre.

Soon after the conclusion of the siege of Damietta, he returned to Holland, which he governed in peace for about four years. He died on the 4th of February, 1224.

An Early Charter

In this reign was granted a charter of privileges (nearly the oldest known in the county of Holland¹) to the city of Middelburg, in Zeeland, in the joint names of Joanna, countess of Flanders, and William of Holland. By this charter, certain fines were fixed for fighting, maiming, striking, or railing, for resisting the authority of the magistrates, and other delinquencies of minor importance, under the jurisdiction of the schout and sheriffs. A Middelburger, choosing another lord than the count of Holland, must pay ten pounds Flemish (5*l.*) to the count, and ten shillings to the town;² the count reserving to himself the judgment in such cases.

The charters of the other cities of Holland and Zeeland bear more or less resemblance to this, which, ancient as it is, appears, nevertheless, to have been rather a confirmation of prescriptive customs than a new code of regulations, though there is no earlier instance on record of the counts binding themselves by oath to the observance of them.

Floris IV was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his father in 1224, but it is not known with certainty who administered the affairs of the county during his minority, or under whose direction it was that the young count conferred on the towns of Domburg and West Kappel, in Walcheren, charters of privileges.

Floris was the first and last of the counts of Holland who, in obedience to the injunctions of the holy see, bore a part in one of those crusades against Christian heretics, which had, unhappily, become so much the mode during this century. The Stedingers, a people inhabiting the small tract of country bordering on the Weser, having refused to acknowledge the temporal jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bremen, were, for this reason, accused by him of heresy, before Pope Gregory IX, who preached a general crusade against them. The duke of Brabant, therefore, with the count of Cleves and the count of Holland, who sailed to the Weser in a fleet of three hundred ships, led their united forces into the country of the Stedingers. In an obstinate and bloody battle (1234), four thousand of them were slain, and they submitted at length to the archbishop.

The fame of Count Floris' beauty, valour, and skill in all knightly accomplishments being widely spread abroad, produced such an eager desire in the breast of the young countess de Clermont to see so bright a pattern of chivalry that she induced her aged husband to proclaim a tournament at Corbie (1235), where she knew the young count would not fail to be present. The apparently innocent curiosity of his wife aroused such furious jealousy in the bosom of the old man that, at the head of a number of horsemen, he rushed suddenly upon Count Floris, dragged him from his horse, and slew him, before his attendants had time to assemble for his defence. His death, however, was instantly avenged by Theodore, count of Cleves, who killed the count de Clermont on the spot. Thus perished Count Floris in the bloom of youth and beauty, leaving his states to his son William II, an infant under seven years of age.

¹ That of Geertruydenberg is somewhat older, being dated 1213, but much mutilated. [In Flanders, however, such charters had been granted a century earlier. See the Historical Introduction and also Chapter II.]

² From this it would appear that the subject had a right to withdraw his allegiance from his lord, a custom which, though it might be the occasion of some disorders, must yet, by providing a remedy against oppression and tyranny on the part of the lord, have tended much to soften the rigour of feudal government.

[1235-1252 A.D.]

COUNT WILLIAM II, EMPEROR OF GERMANY (1235-1256)

The government of the county, during the minority of the young prince, was entrusted to Otto III, bishop of Utrecht, brother of the late count. William had just entered his twentieth year, was still "beardless and blushing," and not yet knighted, when he was elected emperor of Germany. In the year 1245 Pope Innocent IV had pronounced sentence of excommunication against Frederick II. In order to give effect to the decree of the council, Innocent spared neither pains nor money to procure the election of another emperor. William hastened to Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen], to receive the imperial crown, but found this city entirely devoted to the interests of Frederick, and it cost him a long and expensive siege before he could effect his entrance. He was obliged, in order to raise funds for carrying it on, to mortgage Nimeguen, a free city of the empire, to the duke of Gelderland, for the sum of 16,000 marks of silver.

The new emperor's coronation was performed by Conrad, archbishop of Cologne (1248); but William was never able, even after the death of Frederick II (1250), to insure general obedience to his authority; while the measures he took for this purpose raised up a troublesome and dangerous enemy in his hereditary states. According to an ancient custom of Germany, those vassals who neglected to do homage to a new emperor within a year and a day after his coronation lost irrecoverably the fiefs which they held of the empire. The emperor, therefore, in a diet held 1252 at Frankfort, declared all those fiefs escheated, the possessors of which had not received investiture from him within a year and a day after his coronation at Aix. Among the number of these was Margaret, countess of Flanders, familiarly termed "Black Margaret," daughter of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople. She had omitted to do homage for the five islands west of the Schelde, for which reason William deprived her of these territories, and bestowed them on John of Avennes, the husband of his sister Adelaide. John was the son of Margaret, by her first husband, Bosschaert [or Burchard], lord of Avennes, from whom she had been divorced in 1214, on the plea of too near a relationship between the parties, and that Bosschaert had entered into holy orders, and was a deacon at the time of their marriage. She was afterwards married to William de Dampierre, a Burgundian nobleman, by whom she had three sons, William, Guy, and John; and upon her succession to the county, after her union with William, she declared her intention of leaving the whole of her states to the children of her second husband, alleging that, the marriage with Bosschaert of Avennes having been declared null by the pope, the issue of it must be illegitimate.

The stigma thus cast on his birth, coupled with the fear of losing his inheritance, provoked John of Avennes to declare open war against his mother; but on the mediation of Louis IX of France, a treaty was made, whereby John, after his mother's death, should inherit Hainault, and William de Dampierre, Flanders. Matters stood thus, when William made the transfer above mentioned, of the fiefs held by Flanders, under the empire, in favour of John of Avennes. This intelligence no sooner reached the ears of Margaret, than she assembled a powerful army, with the design of invading Zealand; and when her troops were in readiness to march, sent to demand homage of the emperor, as Count of Holland, for the five islands of the Schelde.

The emperor, flushed with the pride of his high station, haughtily answered that "he would be no servant where he was master, nor vassal where he was lord." The rage of Black Margaret at this contemptuous reply knew no

bounds; and while she sought to amuse William by affecting to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed by Henry, duke of Brabant, she despatched her son, Guy de Dampierre, at the head of her army, into Zealand. The troops landed at West Kappel, where they sustained a signal defeat, in an engagement with the Hollanders, under Floris, brother of the emperor; and Guy and his brother, John de Dampierre, were taken prisoners. Black Margaret was now amenable to terms of peace which she had before haughtily and angrily refused.

In 1255 William found it necessary to repair in person, with a powerful army, to West Friesland, in order to reduce it to obedience. From Alkmaar, he advanced in the depth of winter to Vroone, a considerable village of Friesland; before him lay the Heer Huygenward, a large drained lake, now entirely frozen over. The Frieslanders purposely retreating to where the ice was weakest, he galloped on in heedless pursuit of them, leaving his troops at some distance behind. The ice broke. Three or four of the Frieslanders immediately rushed upon him; and, deaf to his prayers for mercy and offers of ransom, cruelly slaughtered him. His body was secretly buried at Hoogt-woude; and his army, after the death of their leader, retreated in disorder and with heavy loss to Holland.

The numerous and expensive undertakings in which William II was engaged, during nearly the whole period of his government, rendered necessary to him the support and assistance of the towns of Alkmaar, Haarlem, and Delft, which he purchased by the grant or confirmation of privileges so important that in course of time they rendered them, as towns, integral and influential portions of the nation. As it was about this time that the constitution and administration of Holland began to assume a regular and permanent form, it may be permitted to make a short digression, for the purpose of giving such an idea of its composition, before the union of 1579, as the notices scattered here and there through the different histories and descriptions of the country will enable us to form.

THE CONSTITUTION OF HOLLAND

The towns of Holland were not, as in other nations, merely portions of the state, but the state itself was rather an aggregate of towns, each of which formed a commonwealth within itself, providing for its own defence, governed by its own laws, holding separate courts of justice, and administering its own finances; the legislative sovereignty of the whole nation being vested in the towns, forming in their collective capacity the assembly of the states.

The government of every town was administered by a senate (*wethouder-schap*), formed of two, three, or four burgomasters, and a certain number of sheriffs (*schepenen*), generally seven; a few of the towns, as Dordrecht, had only one burgomaster. The duties of the senate were to provide for the public safety by keeping the city walls and fortifications in repair, to call out and muster the burgher guards in case of invasion or civil tumult, to administer the finances, to provide for the expenses of the town by levying excises on different articles of consumption, and to affix the portion of county taxes to be paid by each individual. To the burgomasters was committed

¹ After the battle of West Kappel, according to Matthew Paris,² John of Avennes sent ambassadors to his mother, entreating her to listen to terms of accommodation, if not for his sake, for the sake of her sons, who were his prisoners. "My sons are in your hands," answered the fierce old virago; "but not for that will I bend to your will: slay them, butcher! and devour one seasoned with pepper, and the other with salt and garlic!" Such language in the mouth of a woman, and a princess, would give us no very advantageous opinion of the manners of these times.

the care of the police and the ammunition, of the public peace, and of cleansing and victualling the town. The senate generally appointed two treasurers to receive and disburse the city funds under their inspection, and an advocate, or pensionary, whose office (similar to that of recorder in English municipal corporations) was to keep the charters and records, and to advise them upon points of law. The count had a representative in each town, in the person of the schout, an officer whom he himself appointed, sometimes out of a triple number named by the senate. It was the business of the schout,¹ besides watching over the interests of the count, to seize on all suspected persons and bring them to trial before the *vierschaar*, or judicial court of the town. This court was composed of the sheriffs, and had jurisdiction over all civil causes, and over minor offences,² except in some towns, such as Leyden, Dordrecht, etc., where the power of trying capital crimes was specially given to them in the charters granted by the counts: the schout was also bound to see the judgments of the *vierschaar* carried into execution.

Besides the senate there was, in every town, a council of the citizens, called the "great council" (*vroedschap*),³ which was summoned in early times when any matter of special importance was to be decided upon; but afterwards their functions, in many of the towns, became restricted to the nomination of the burgomasters and sheriffs for the senate. In Hoorn, where the government was on a more popular basis than in most of the other towns of Holland, this council comprised all the inhabitants possessing a capital of two hundred and fifty nobles, and from this circumstance was called the *rykdom*, or wealth.

In Dordrecht, the most confined and aristocratic of the municipal governments of Holland, the great council consisted of forty members, whose office was for life, and who filled up the vacancies as they occurred, by election among themselves. The senate of this town was composed of one burgomaster, whose office was annual, nine sheriffs, and five councillors (*raden*); four sheriffs and three councillors went out of office one year, five sheriffs and two councillors the next, and so on alternately; their places were filled up by the count, or the schout on his behalf, out of a double number nominated by the council of forty. The only representatives of the people in the government were the so-named "eight good men" (*goede lieden van achte*), and their functions were limited to choosing the burgomaster in conjunction with those senators whose term of office had expired; if they were unanimous, their votes reckoned for twelve, but the burgomaster chosen must always be one of the ex-senators.

Constitution of the Guilds

The inhabitants of the towns, being generally merchants and traders, were divided into guilds⁴ of the different trades; at the head of each guild was placed a deacon (*dekken*), to regulate its affairs and protect its interests; and as the towns obtained their charters of privileges from the counts, so did the guilds look to the municipal governments for encouragement and support, and for the immunities they were permitted to enjoy. Each guild

¹ We have no English term for this office: that of county sheriff (including the duties he usually performs by deputy) is analogous to it in some respects; the word *schout* is an abbreviation of *schouddrechter*, a judge of crimes.

² The power of trying offences which were not capital was termed the "low jurisdiction."

³ Literally "council of wise men."

⁴ For further treatment of the guilds, see in the next chapter the history of the Belgian communes. In Holland the earliest guild was that of the cloth merchants at Dordrecht, dating from 1200; the guilds came into prominence about 1350, but never attained the power they reached in Flanders.]

inhabited for the most part a separate quarter of the town, and over every quarter two officers, called *Wykmeesters*, were appointed by the burgomasters, whose duty it was to keep a list of all the men in their district capable of bearing arms, to see that their arms were sufficient and ready for use, and to assemble them at the order of the magistrates, or upon the ringing of the town bell: the citizens, on their part, were bound to obey the summons without delay, at any hour of the day or night. Over all the *wykmeesters* were placed two, three, or four superior officers, called *hoofdmannen*, or captains of the burgher guards.

The guilds, when called out to service within the town, assembled, and acted each under their own banners; but in defence of the state they were accustomed to march together under the standard of the town, and dressed in the city livery. As every member of a guild was expected to have his arms always ready for use, and the burgher guards (*schutterij*) were frequently mustered, and drilled under the inspection of the burgomasters and sheriffs, the towns were able to man their walls, and put themselves into a state of defence in an incredibly short space of time.

In this manner each town formed, as we have remarked, a species of republic, containing within itself the elements of civil government and military force. The burgher, for the most part, considered his town as his nation, with whose happiness and prosperity his own was inseparably linked, not only as regarded his public but also his private interests; since his person was liable to be seized for the debts which its government contracted, and the government, on the other hand, if he were too poor to pay the county taxes, stepped in to his relief, and not unfrequently discharged them for him. This separate existence (if we may so term it) of the towns, a source of national strength inasmuch as, by developing to its fullest extent the social activity of the people and giving to each individual a place in the political scale, it formed, as it were, a heart in every one of the extremities of the body politic, was yet a cause of weakness by the disunion, jealousy, and opposition of interests which it occasioned; the patriotism of the Dutchman was but too often confined within the walls of his native city; and we shall have occasion more than once to remark, in the course of Dutch history, that the towns, pursuing each their own private views, totally lose sight, for a while at least, of the interests of the nation in general, and even of their own as members of it.

The Nobility

The municipal government and privileges of the towns extended over a certain space without the walls, which the burghers enlarged as they found occasion by grants obtained from the counts, whether by favour or purchase. The portion of the county not included within these limits, and commonly called the "open country," either formed the domains of the nobles or abbeys, or were governed by bailiffs, whose office was analogous to that of the schout in the towns, and who were, like them, appointed by the count. Both nobles and abbots exercised the low jurisdiction in their states, and sometimes the high jurisdiction also: the nobility had the power of levying taxes on the subjects within their own domains, and exercised the right of private warfare among themselves; of the latter privilege they were always extremely jealous, and the efforts of the counts to abolish or modify it were for many centuries unavailing: in fact, it fell into disuse in Germany and Holland later than in the other countries of Europe.

The nobles were exempt from the taxes of the state, being bound in respect

of their fiefs to serve with their vassals in the wars of the country; and if from any cause they were unable to attend in person, they were obliged either to find a substitute or to pay a scutage (*ruytergeld*) in lieu of their services, in the same manner as other vassals of the count: such, however, was only the case when the war was carried on within the boundaries of the county, or had been undertaken by their advice and consent; otherwise the service they rendered depended solely on their own will and pleasure.

The chief of the nobility were appointed by the count to form the council of state, or supreme court of Holland: the council of state assisted the count in the administration of public affairs, guaranteed all treaties of peace and alliance made with foreign nations; and in its judicial capacity took cognizance of capital offences, both in the towns (unless otherwise provided by their charters) and in the open country. To this court, where the count generally presided in person, lay an appeal in civil causes from all the inferior courts in the state.



A NOBLEWOMAN OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In after times, as the towns increased in wealth and importance, and the more prolonged and expensive wars in which the counts were engaged rendered their pecuniary support necessary, they, likewise, became parties to the ratification of treaties,¹ and were consulted upon matters relating to war or foreign alliances. It was probably the custom of summoning together deputies from the towns for these purposes which gave rise to the assembly of the estates, as historians are unable to fix the exact time of its origin. It has been generally supposed that, before the middle of the sixteenth century, the six "good towns" only, that is, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Gouda, enjoyed the right of sending deputies to the estates. This, however, is not altogether the fact. It is true that treaties of peace and alliance were usually guaranteed by the great towns only, and that affairs relating both to domestic and foreign policy were frequently transacted by them in conjunction with the deputies of the nobles, the smaller towns (unwilling to incur the expense of sending deputies to the estates) being content to abide by their decision. But until about 1545 the small towns were constantly summoned to give their votes upon all questions of supply, nor did the deputies of the great towns consider themselves authorised to grant or anticipate the payment of any subsidies without their concurrence. The small towns were likewise accustomed to send deputies to the estates

¹ The first treaty which appears guaranteed by the towns was made with Edward I of England in 1281.

when a measure was to be discussed which peculiarly regarded their own welfare.

The Estates

The deputies to the estates were nominated by the senates of the several towns, each town possessing but one voice in the assembly, whatever number of deputies it might send; the whole body of the nobility likewise enjoyed but one vote, though it was often represented by several, never by less than three deputies. The estates were generally summoned by the counts to the Hague, or to any other place where they might happen to be residing. The more usual practice was to petition either the count or the council of Holland to issue the summons. The deputies of the nobles and towns deliberated separately, and afterwards met together to give their votes, when the nobles voted first, and then the towns, the ancient city of Dordrecht having the precedence. No measure could be carried, if either the nobles or any one of the towns refused to give their vote in its favour.

The principal officers employed by the assembly of the estates were a registrar or keeper of the records, who acted likewise as secretary, and an advocate called the pensionary of Holland, whose business it was to propose all subjects for the deliberation of the estates, to declare the votes, and report the decisions of the assembly to the count, or council of state; although this officer did not possess the right of voting, he was accustomed to take a share in the debates, and generally enjoyed great influence both in the assembly of the estates and the whole country: the nobles, likewise, chose a pensionary, nearly always in the person of the same individual. The constitution of the estates of Zealand differed from that of Holland, inasmuch as the clergy in the latter did not form a separate estate, nor were they represented in the assembly; whereas in Zealand, the abbot of St. Nicholas in Middelburg enjoyed the right of giving the first vote as representative of the ecclesiastical estate.

Taxation

It is impossible at this time to define exactly the powers formerly possessed by the estates, since during the reign of feeble princes, or minors, they naturally sought to extend them, and often succeeded in so doing; while, on the other hand, they were considerably abridged by the more powerful and arbitrary counts, particularly those of the house of Burgundy. The most essential, however, that of levying taxes, none of the sovereigns of Holland before Philip II of Spain ever ventured to dispute; and the old feudal principle, that the nation could not be taxed without its own consent, wholly abandoned in France, and evaded in England by the practice of extorting benevolences, was in Holland, except in some rare and single instances, constantly and firmly adhered to.¹ The counts, on all occasions of extraordinary expense, were obliged to apply for funds to the assembly of the states, and these applications were called "petitions" (*beden*), a word in itself denoting that the subsidy was asked as a favour, not claimed as a right. If the "petition" of the count were granted by the estates, a certain portion of the sum required was adjudged to each town, and to the open country (which

¹ The imposts levied by the nobles on their domains are to be considered rather in the light of lords' rents than taxes, since the lands of the vassals were supposed to belong to the lords, and they were not levied on such as held their lands by military service; but as they were unlimited in amount, and almost every article of raw produce was liable to them, they were the cause of grievous oppression.

in this respect was represented by the deputies of the nobility), and raised by an assessment on houses (*schildtal*), and a land-tax (*morgental*). This tax was levied in the towns, not by any receiver or officer on the part of the count, but by the senate, which was answerable for the payment of the quotas that the towns had bound themselves to furnish: the custom of levying the taxes on the county in general was first introduced under the government of the house of Burgundy.

The authority of the count, however, was not so limited as it would at first appear. His ordinary revenues were so ample as to preclude the necessity of making petitions to the states, except in cases of unusual expenditure; in addition to extensive private domains, and the profits of reliefs and of the fiefs which escheated to him as lord, he was entitled to the eleventh part of the produce of the land in West Friesland; and he had moreover the right of levying tolls on ships passing up and down the rivers; and customs upon all foreign wares imported into the country. Besides these sources of revenue, he received considerable sums for such privileges as he granted to the towns; which were also accustomed to give gratuities when he was summoned to the court of the emperor; when his son, or brother, was made a knight; and upon the marriage of himself, his son, brother, sister, or daughter.

The important right also possessed by the towns of rejecting any measure proposed in the estates, by a single dissentient voice, was considerably modified in practice, in consequence of the influence which the count obtained over them by granting or withholding privileges at his pleasure. He likewise exercised, on many occasions, the power of changing the governments of the towns, out of the due course, but this was always considered as an act of arbitrary violence on his part, and seldom failed to excite vehement remonstrance, as well from the estates as from the town which suffered it.

Thus the constitution of Holland was, as we may gather from the preceding observations, rather aristocratic than republican, being exempt indeed from the slightest leaven of democracy in any of its institutions. Nevertheless, it was in many respects essentially popular in its spirit: although the government of the towns was lodged in the hands of but few individuals, yet as they were generally men engaged in manufactures and commerce, or (in later times) gentry closely connected with them, their wants, interests, and prejudices were identified with those of the people whom they governed; while the short duration of their authority prevented the growth of any exclusive spirit amongst them.

Special regulations also were adopted in every town, by which no two members of the government could be within a certain degree of relationship to each other; thus preventing the whole authority from being absorbed by one or more wealthy and powerful families, as was the case in the Italian republics, especially those of Florence and Genoa. The guilds, although they possessed no share in the administration of affairs, yet exercised considerable influence in the towns, from their numbers and wealth; the members also, being all armed and organised for the public defence, were equally ready to assemble at a moment's notice for the purpose of obtaining the removal of any grievance, or the redress of any injury which they might conceive themselves, or the inhabitants in general, to have sustained.

The fundamental principles of the government, as recognised by the best authorities, were these: that the sovereign shall not marry without the consent of the states; that the public offices of the county shall be conferred on natives only; the estates have a right to assemble when and where they judge expedient, without permission from the count; it is not lawful for the count

to undertake any war, whether offensive or defensive, without the consent of the estates; all decrees and edicts shall be published in the Dutch language; the count shall neither coin nor change the value of money, without the advice of the estates; he shall not alienate any part of his dominions; the estates shall not be summoned out of the limits of the county; the count shall demand "petitions" of the estates in person, and not by deputy, nor shall he exact payment of any greater sum than is granted by the states; no jurisdiction shall be exercised except by the regular magistrates; the ancient customs and laws of the state are sacred, and if the count make any decree contrary to them, no man shall be bound to obey it.

It is not meant to be affirmed that these principles were always adhered to; on the contrary, they were frequently violated; and under the powerful princes of the house of Burgundy, almost wholly neglected; but the Dutch constantly looked to them as the sheet-anchor of their political existence, and seldom failed to recur to and enforce them whenever an opportunity offered itself for so doing.

FLORIS V (1256-1296)

Floris V was born during the time that the emperor, his father, was besieging Charles of Anjou in Valenciennes, and was consequently scarcely two years old at the time of his father's death; he was, nevertheless, immediately acknowledged by the nobles, and the government of the county, during his minority, was confided to his uncle Floris. Equally inclined with his brother to favour the increase and advancement of the towns, the governor granted charters of privileges to nearly all those of Zealand which did not yet enjoy them. He likewise concluded the treaty of peace with Flanders, begun in the last year: it was agreed that the counts of Holland should continue to hold the five islands as a fief of Flanders; that the count of Flanders should receive ten thousand pounds (Flemish) from Holland; and that either Floris, or the young count, when he came of age, should marry Beatrice, daughter of Guy de Dampierre: Guy, and his brother John, were released from their imprisonment upon payment of heavy ransoms. The county did not long enjoy the pacific government of Floris the Elder, since he was killed in a tournament at Antwerp, little more than two years after his accession. Upon his death, in 1258, Adelaide, countess-dowager of Hainault, the widow of John of Avennes, assumed the guardianship of the young count, and the administration of affairs, under the title of Governess of Holland; but the nobles, disdaining to submit to female rule, invited Otto of Gelderland, cousin of Adelaide, to undertake the government of the county.

During the administration of Otto, a dangerous revolt broke out among the people of Kennemerland, who, uniting with those of Friesland and Waterland, declared their determination to expel all the nobles from the country, and raze their castles to the ground.¹ They first took possession of Amsterdam, the lord of which, Gilbert van Amstel, either unable to make resistance against the insurgents, or desirous of employing them to avenge a private quarrel he had with the bishop of Utrecht, consented to become their leader and immediately conducted them to the siege of that city.

A parley ensued, when one of the Kennemerlanders vehemently exhorted the besieged to banish all the nobles from Utrecht, and divide their wealth among the poor. Fired by his oration, the people quitted the walls, seized

[¹ This was a genuine peasant insurrection, and according to Beka^a the leaders had an ambition to form a popular democracy, a "*vulgaris communitas*."]

[1271-1291 A.D.]

upon the magistrates, whom they forced to resign their offices, drove them, with all the nobles, out of the town, and admitting the besiegers within the gates made a league of eternal amity with them. After remaining a short time at Utrecht, the insurgents laid siege to Haarlem, but a considerable number were slain, and the remainder dispersed. Utrecht shortly after submitted to the authority of the bishop. The cause of this insurrection appears to have been the extortion practised upon the people by the nobles, most of whom, as we have observed, exercised the right of levying taxes in their own domains.

On the death of the count of Gelderland (1271), Floris being then seventeen, took the conduct of affairs into his own hands, and about the same time completed his marriage with Beatrice of Flanders, as agreed upon by the treaty of 1256. Early in the next year he made preparations for an expedition into West Friesland, for the purpose of avenging his father's death. He carried on the war for years, with varying success. In 1282 he effected a landing at Wydenesse: the Frieslanders were totally defeated.

The trade carried on by the Hollanders with England was now become highly valuable to both nations; the former giving a high price for the English wools for their cloth manufactures, while they procured thence (chiefly, perhaps, from Cornwall) their silver for the purpose of coinage.

Marriage was agreed upon between John, the count's infant son, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, of England. The friendship cemented by this alliance was highly advantageous to the commerce of Holland: the staple of English wool was fixed at Dordrecht,¹ a town of extensive trade in wines, grain, salt, iron, wood, and cloths; and the subjects of the count were permitted to fish, without restriction, on the English coast at Yarmouth. This is the first grant we find of a privilege, which the Dutch continued to enjoy, with little interruption, until the time of Cromwell.

The Great Flood

After the departure of the army of Holland from West Friesland, the inhabitants renewed their hostilities, and made several unsuccessful attacks upon a fort which the count had built at Wydenesse; but a dreadful storm, which this year laid the whole of the country on both sides the Zuyder Zee entirely under water,² proved the means of enabling Count Floris to effect their complete subjugation. The floods rose to such a height that every part of the province was accessible to a numerous fleet of small vessels called cogs, well manned, and placed under the command of Dirk, lord of Brederode; the inhabitants of the several towns, being unprovided with a sufficient number of boats to oppose those of the count, found their communication with each other wholly cut off; and thus reduced to a state of blockade, and unable to render the slightest mutual assistance, they severally acknowledged the authority of Count Floris.

Count Floris undertook a journey to England, for the purpose of advancing his pretensions to the throne of Scotland, vacant by the death of Margaret, commonly called the Maid of Norway, grand-daughter and heiress of Alexander III. Floris was descended in a direct line from Ada, daughter of Henry, eldest son of David I, king of Scotland, who married, in the year 1162, Floris III, count of Holland. On this ground he appeared, in 1291, among

¹ The chronicler Melis Stoke^b observes that "this did not last long, for it was an English Contract."

² The flood overwhelmed fifteen islands in Zealand, and destroyed fifteen thousand persons.

the numerous competitors for the crown, who, at the conferences held at Norham, submitted their claims to Edward I of England; and, however remote his pretensions, the native historians inform us that his renunciation of them was purchased by the successful candidate with a considerable sum of money, and the contemporary chronicler, Melis Stoke,^b reprobates, in no very measured terms the advice that persuaded him thus, like another Esau, to sell his birthright.

The amity between the two courts was in a very few years broken, on the occasion of a war between Holland and Flanders. Guy made a sudden irruption into the island of South Beveland in 1295. Floris solicited in vain succours from the king of England, who evaded his request under various pretexts, and whose interests now prompted him to court the alliance of Guy of Flanders, in preference to that of Holland. He proposed a marriage between his eldest son and Philippa, daughter of Count Guy; bestowed on him the sum of 300,000 livres in payment of the auxiliaries he should furnish during the war, and removed the staple of English wool from Dordrecht to Bruges and Mechlin, to the great detriment of the trade and manufactures of Holland.

Finding that Edward had thus made a league with his enemy, Floris determined to accept the offers of friendship made him by Philip of France.

THE KIDNAPPING OF FLORIS

The news of the alliance between Holland and France excited to a high degree the wrath of the king of England: he wrote to the emperor, complaining of the ingratitude of his vassal, the count of Holland, and declared that he would detain John, his son, in prison, unless the alliance were immediately dissolved; and it is supposed that at this time he first formed the design of seizing the person of Floris and conveying him to imprisonment, either in England or Flanders — a scheme which he was not long in finding instruments able and willing to execute, though the event was probably more fatal than he had anticipated.

Besides the causes of dissatisfaction which were common to the whole body of nobles, the count had aroused in the breasts of many individuals among them feelings of personal hatred and revenge. Gerard van Velsen first imparted to Hermann van Woerden a design of seizing the count's person, and placing him in confinement. Several other nobles readily entered into the conspiracy, the lord of Cuyck promising them the support and assistance of the duke of Brabant, the count of Flanders, and the king of England. Since the strong attachment of the citizens and people towards their count rendered the execution of any treasonable enterprise difficult and even dangerous in Holland, the conspirators waited until Floris should go to Utrecht, where he had appointed to be on a certain day in June, 1296, to make a reconciliation between the lords of Amstel and Woerden, and the relatives of the lord of Zuylen, whom they had slain. After the reconciliation, Floris, unsuspecting of evil, gave a magnificent entertainment, at which all the conspirators were present, Amstel early the next morning, inviting the count to accompany himself and the other nobles on a hawking excursion. Floris, before his departure, asked Amstel to drink a stirrup-cup to St. Gertrude. The traitor took the cup from his master's hand, saying, "God protect you; I will ride forward," and draining its contents, galloped off. Fearful of losing any part of the sport, the count quickly followed, leaving behind all his attendants, except a couple of pages. About two miles distant from

[1296 A.D.]

Utrecht, he was surrounded by Amstel, Woerden, Velsen, and several others, whom he greeted in a friendly manner. Woerden then seized the bridle of his horse, saying to him, "My master, your high flights are ended — you shall drive us no longer — you are now our prisoner, whether you will or no." He attempted to draw his sword, but was prevented by Velsen, who threatened "to cleave his head in two," if he made the least movement. One of the pages, attempting to defend his master, received a severe wound, but was able to escape with the other to Utrecht.

No sooner had the rumour of the count's imprisonment been noised abroad than the West Frieslanders rose in a body, and uniting themselves to the people of Kennemerland and Waterland speedily manned a number of vessels, and presented themselves before Muyden. But as they were without a leader, and had neither ammunition nor materials for a siege, they were unable to effect the release of their sovereign, and could only prevent his being carried to England. Finding this scheme, therefore, impracticable, the conspirators determined upon conveying him by land to Brabant or Flanders; gagged and disguised, with his feet and hands bound, and mounted on a sorry horse, they conducted their unhappy prisoner, on the fifth day of his confinement, towards Naarden. Hardly had they advanced half way to Naarden, when Velsen, who rode forward to reconnoitre, encountered a large body of the inhabitants of that city. The nobles, unable to resist so numerous a force, attempted to avoid them by flight; but in leaping a ditch, the count's feeble horse fell with his rider into the mire, and finding it impossible to extricate him before the arrival of his deliverers, who were close behind, they murdered their helpless victim with more than twenty wounds.

The personal character of Floris, as well as the state of affairs in the county, rendered his death a cause of deep lamentation to the Hollanders.¹ Just, liberal, and magnanimous, he was a firm and constant protector of his people against the oppression of the nobles.

Of the conspirators, Woerden and Amstel fled their country, and died in exile; van Velsen was tried at Dordrecht, severely tortured, and, together with William van Zoenden, one of his accomplices, broken on the wheel.

The aristocratic power in Holland never afterwards recovered the shock it underwent on this occasion; besides those of the nobles who were openly convicted of a share in the assassination of Count Floris, many others were suspected of a secret participation in this crime, and the contempt and detestation they incurred extended in some degree to the whole body of the nobility, whose moral influence was thus nearly annihilated, while its actual strength was enfeebled by the death or banishment of many of its most powerful members. This occurred, too, at a juncture when the towns, favoured by the privileges which Floris and his immediate predecessors had bestowed on them, and increasing in wealth and importance, were enabled to secure that political influence in the state which the nobles daily lost, and which, in other countries, was obtained by the sovereign, on the decay of the feudal aristocracy.

The condition in which the death of Floris V left Holland was deplorable in the extreme — engaged in hostilities with Flanders, her nobility discontented and rebellious, her people alarmed and suspicious, and her young

[¹ Holland's greatest poet, Vondel, whose *Lucifer* is often spoken of as the inspiration of Milton's "Paradise Lost," opened the first public theatre in Amsterdam with a tragedy on this subject, called "*Grijsbrecht van Amstel*." The abduction and death of Count Floris is a favourite subject of Dutch legend and art, and according to Blok "no event of those barbarous centuries is better known to the Dutch people."]

prince John, a minor, in the hands of the English monarch, who had given but too many proofs of his unscrupulous ambition, while to these difficulties was added that of a divided regency. Although John of Avennes was next of kin to the young count, yet Louis of Cleves, count of Hulkerode, related in a more distant degree, assumed to himself the administration of affairs, his supporters being principally found among the friends of those who had conspired against Count Floris. Upon the arrival of John of Avennes in Holland, Louis of Cleves was forced to retire into his own territory. The enemies of Holland were not backward in taking advantage of the embarrassments she was now labouring under.

JOHN I, THE LAST OF THE COUNTS (1296-1299)

At the instigation of the bishop of Utrecht, and relying on his promises of assistance, the West Frieslanders once more took up arms, mastered and destroyed all the castles Count Floris had built, except Medemblik, which they blockaded.

Meanwhile, the king of England, anxious to secure an influence in the court of his intended son-in-law, sent ambassadors to Holland, requiring the attendance of three nobles out of each of the provinces, and two deputies from each of the "good towns,"¹ at the marriage of the count John with the princess Elizabeth, and at the confirmation of the treaty. The marriage was celebrated with great splendour, and the ambassadors, laden with rich presents, returned with the young bride and bridegroom in a well-equipped fleet to Holland. The conditions imposed by Edward in the treaty made on this occasion rendered the young count little more than a nominal sovereign in his own states; he was obliged to appoint two Englishmen, Ferrers and Havering, members of his privy council, and to engage that he would do nothing contrary to their advice, or without the consent of his father-in-law. The disputes between Flanders and Brabant on the one side, and Holland on the other, were to be referred to the mediation of Edward. On the return of John of Avennes from the war in Friesland, he found that the count John had landed in Zealand, and knowing he had nothing but hostility to expect from Wolfart van Borselen, who had obtained possession of the young prince's person, and was devoted to the interests of England and Flanders, he deemed it advisable to retire without delay into Hainault. His departure left Borselen without a rival, and he immediately assumed the title of governor of Holland, and guardian of the minor.

The Frieslanders still refusing to acknowledge John as the son of Count Floris [an idea to which the fact of his long residence in England had given rise], the first step of Borselen was to march with the young count into that province, at the head of an army. With so powerful a force, it was a matter of no great difficulty to subdue the West Frieslanders, and it was done so effectually that this was the last time the counts of Holland were obliged to carry war into their country.

His successes so increased the influence of Wolfart van Borselen that his authority in the state became almost absolute. He thought fit to venture upon the hazardous measure of debasing the coin, a stretch of power which the Dutch, a nation depending for their existence upon trade and commerce,

¹ This is the first time we observe the towns participating in political affairs: it coincides nearly with the summoning of borough members to parliament in England (1295) and the assembly of the states in France (1302).

[1298-1299 A.D.]

have never been able to endure, even from their most arbitrary sovereigns. The murmurs of the citizens then became loud and general; and the popular hatred appeared already to threaten the ruin of the court favourite, when a quarrel in which he involved himself with the town of Dordrecht, concerning its immunities, brought matters to a crisis. Four *hoofdmannen*, or captains of burgher guards, were appointed, and letters despatched by the senate to all the "good towns" of Holland and Zealand, intreating them to consider the cause of Dordrecht as their common cause. Their preparations were not made in vain, as no long time elapsed before the town was invested.

Borselen determined to raise a general levy both in Holland and Zealand against the Dordrechtters: but being unable to carry his purpose into effect, from the discontents which had spread over the whole county, deemed himself no longer safe at the Hague, and, leaving the court by night, carried the young count with all expedition to Schiedam, whence he took ship to Zealand (1299).

On the discovery of the abduction of Count John, the court and village of the Hague were in uproar; numbers hurried to Vlaardingen, where, finding that the ship in which Borselen had sailed lay becalmed, they manned all the boats in the port with stout rowers, and quickly reached the count's vessel, whom they found very willing to return with them. Borselen was conducted a prisoner to Delft. Hardly had the populace there heard of his arrest when they assembled before the doors of the gaol, demanding with loud cries that "the traitor" should be delivered up to them. Those within, struck with terror, thrust him, stripped of his armour, out at the door, when he was massacred in an instant.

As John was still too young to conduct the business of government alone, he invited to his assistance his cousin, John of Avennes, and appointed him guardian over himself and the county for the space of four years. The death of Borselen, and the accession of John of Avennes to the government, entirely deprived the English party of their influence in Holland, since Avennes had been constantly attached, both from inclination and policy, to the interest of the French court. Soon after, determined on entering into a close alliance with France, he set out on a journey to that court, leaving Count John at Haarlem, sick of the ague and flux, which terminated his existence on the 10th of November, 1299. Suspicions of poison were soon afloat, and Avennes has been accused of this crime; but as the charge is flatly denied by Melis Stoke,^b and the nature of John's disease is expressly stated by another contemporary and credible historian, Wilhelm Procurator,ⁱ its being adopted by Meyer,^j a Flemish author writing two centuries later, is hardly sufficient to affix so deep a stain on the character of John of Avennes. As Count John died without children, the county was transferred, by the succession of John of Avennes, the nearest heir, to the family of Hainault. Thus ended this noble and heroic race of princes, having now governed the county for a period of four hundred years; of whom it may be remarked, that not one has been handed down to us by historians as weak, vicious, or debauched.^k



CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF BELGIUM AND FLANDERS

[51 B.C.—1384 A.D.]

THÉODORE JUSTE ON BELGIUM'S PLACE IN HISTORY

Placed in the central part of Europe between nations which have long disputed with one another for supremacy, Belgium has endured varying fortunes. In remote times she was extolled by Cæsar^b and Tacitus^c as the seat of force and courage; she was the home of the Carlovingians, after having been the cradle of the descendants of Merovæus; she reigned in Jerusalem when Godfrey de Bouillon had opened to Christianity the gates of the holy city; she reigned in Constantinople when Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault donned the diadem of the Cæsars at St. Sophia; she equalled — perhaps, according to the testimony of Dante and Petrarch, she even eclipsed — Italy herself by the opulence and the indomitable energy of her communes; she was the home of western civilisation which shone resplendent in the cities of Flanders when the neighbouring countries were scarcely emerging from the darkness of barbarism; she was the rampart of popular liberties throughout the Middle Ages; she afterwards became the rival of the French monarchy under the last dukes of Burgundy.

All this greatness did not last. After having placed the imperial crown on the head of Charles V, and consolidated with the blood of her warriors the preponderance of the Spanish monarchy, Belgium felt the wounds of foreign dominion. Then she lost her wealth, her commerce, her industry, even her vigour, in that long revolution which brought forth the republic of the United Provinces, heiress of the force, the opulence, the prestige of the southern Netherlands.

Belgium seemed destined to expiate, if we may so express it, the prodigious elevation of the Austro-Spanish house whose cradle she had been. She had feared and hated Philip II; she despised the incapacity of his successors, who, not content with sacrificing her to the political and commercial exigencies of the United Provinces, handed over entire provinces to France. All the efforts of Louis XIV were directed against the existence of Spanish Belgium, which, situated a few marches from Paris, seemed to him an indispensable and easy acquisition. But Europe placed herself between him and these provinces, that she might dispute with him for the fragments.

Belgium, without a national dynasty, was thus the principal cause, the determining cause, of the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, marked by so many upheavals, so many catastrophes. During a hundred and fifty years the armies of most of the nations of Europe came to fight in the plains of Belgium, to besiege her towns, to devastate her country districts; thousands of men perished on this everlastingly disputed soil: the gravestones of Walcourt, Fleurus, Seneffe, Rocoux, Neerwinden, Ramillies, Malplaquet, Lawfeld, Fontenoy are the monuments of these sanguinary struggles.

France, whose finances the genius of Colbert had tripled, exhausted herself in order to extend her frontiers to the Rhine and the mouth of the Schelde. The republic of the United Provinces, England, Germany, in like manner exhausted themselves to prevent this aggrandisement which would have destroyed the equilibrium of Europe, and surrounded with constant perils the states bordering on the Belgian provinces. Victorious, the adversaries of Louis XIV came to an understanding in 1715 in order to secure the success of a scheme which made of the Belgian provinces, now handed over to the German branch of the house of Austria, the barrier of the United Provinces and the *lêve-de-pont* of the English on the continent. But, if the Barrier Treaty was a check to French ambition, the Belgians could not consider as a reparation the act which subordinated them to the Dutch republic and which legalised the abuse of force. In fact, far from restoring the territory which had been torn from them, Europe recognised the successive dismemberments effected since 1648. The country was obliged to resign itself, for it was powerless.

All these disasters had annihilated the ancient power of Belgium but had not destroyed the inalienable sentiment of nationality which was religiously transmitted from generation to generation, even when ten different flags floated on the walls of her conquered cities.

Regarded without prejudice and in its true aspect, the history of the Belgians presents a rare and imposing spectacle. Here it is not absolute monarchy which raises itself on the ruins of other powers and constantly absorbs the attention of posterity; on the contrary, we see the nation acting. Preserving the full enjoyment of provincial and municipal life, the nation really figures on the scene: it is the nation which we follow through the centuries, triumphant or vanquished, free or oppressed, but bearing all vicissitudes to preserve its original and distinctive character. From the dissolution of the Carolingian empire down to the fifteenth century, the various Belgian provinces were in the possession of different dynasties. Yet, in default of political unity, there was between them community of origin, of manners, of religious ideas, of patriotism. Belgium did not so far degenerate as to lose herself in the foreign dominion. She kept her fundamental laws, her usages, her traditions, her manners: she remained Belgian.^a

PRIMITIVE HISTORY

It would be neither possible nor desirable here to take up in detail the history of the various provinces and factions that make up the early Netherlands. From the tangle of town and family wars, the extraction of the single threads entire would be an endless task. To each family or town its own career was intensely important, and many of the events are picturesque enough to be of general interest, but their value in the world-chronicles is of the slightest.

It is well, however, before proceeding with the account of the Netherlands as a whole, to give some account of the principal divisions in order that the unities may be the better understood when the final separation of Belgium from Holland is accomplished. Of the land and the original peoples, mention has already been made in the introduction by Motley, but a brief account of the Roman influence in Belgium proper will not be amiss.^a

Under the Romans

Belgium, as we have said, was the cradle of both the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, and it was in this country also that the Frank nation prepared itself to carry out its brilliant destiny. The northern extremity of Gaul, which corresponds to modern Belgium and the Netherlands, was never conquered by the Barbarians as was the Celtic or Roman portion of the land — it is rather from here that conquerors set out. The original Belgians belonged to the great Germanic family, like all the Franks, and they took, in the exploits and settlements of the race in foreign lands, a part as large as it was glorious. It is true that the oldest inhabitants of Belgium were Celts, but history also teaches us that the Germans had invaded that part of Gaul and expelled the Celts long before Cæsar's time. The people found there at the time of the Roman conquest were all Germans; Cæsar^b himself affirms this.

When the Romans organised the administration of the southern portion of Gaul, they divided it into provinces. Under Augustus the Treviri, Nervii, and Menapii found themselves the sole occupants of the province of Belgium. Later, under Diocletian or Constantine, the province of Belgium created by Augustus was divided into the First and Second Belgic Provinces, and at the same time Upper and Lower Germany became the First and Second German Provinces. No portion of modern Belgium entered into the composition of the First Germanic Province, whose capital was Mainz, but to the Second belonged the territory of the Toxandri and Tungri. Cologne was its metropolis and Tongres its second largest town.

The Romans occupied Belgium for several centuries and founded numerous establishments, military colonies, and permanent camps, of which a small number developed into towns.

It is in the land of the Treviri, comprising a large portion of modern Luxemburg, that one finds the most remains of Roman occupation. Treves (Colonia Augusta Trevirorum) a military colony in the beginning, became one of the principal cities of the empire. We know it was the residence of the prefect of Gaul and that several emperors, among them Constantine, held court there. There were at Treves a famous school of literature, a mint, several manufactories of arms and cloth, and a workshop where women made military equipments. Ammianus Marcellinus,^c citing Cologne and

Tongres as the two cities of the Second Germanic Province, says that they were large and populous. But civilisation was able to exercise its influence only in the large centres of population, such as Treves, Bavay, Tongres, Cologne, and perhaps among the inhabitants of the east and south, neighbours of the stations and fortified posts. "Elsewhere," says Schayes,^f "in the north, centre, and west of Belgium, the manners, customs, language, and religions of the natives underwent little or no modification during the whole period of Roman dominion."

Christianity seems to have had considerable vogue in Treves, but was not introduced until later into the more or less romanised towns and villages. We know positively that there was a bishop at Tongres in the middle of the fourth century. But the Christian establishments disappeared entirely from the country immediately after the expulsion of the Romans.

It was both at Treves and on the banks of the Moselle that the Latin language made most progress; the Romans imposed their tongue upon the conquered nations as they imposed the yoke of their dominion. It is somewhat astonishing, after this, that the dwellers on the banks of the Moselle should not have adopted, like those of the Maas, a Roman dialect. Perhaps also the use of the Roman-Walloon in some provinces of Belgium does not date from the time of Roman dominion but from that when Christianity returned to the land after the conversion of the Franks and the establishment of religious houses whose inmates spoke a rustic Latin.^g

Under the Franks and the Dukes

"Dark is the fate of Western Europe, of the Netherlands especially, in the century of misfortune in which Rome finally ceased to be mistress of the West," says Blok.^h The Franks were ruthless conquerors, and the history of the Netherlands is for hundreds of years the story of the rise of their empire to the glory of a Charlemagne and the weakness of its quick disintegration in 843. The realm to which Lothair II succeeded was called Lotharingia, whence Lorraine — the mediæval name for the Low Countries except Flanders, which fell to Charles the Bald and suffered heavily from the Norse invasions.

The division into duchies, counties, and free cities was complex. Among the chief were the duchies, Brabant, Limburg, and Luxemburg; and the counties, Flanders, Hainault, and Namur. Liège was a bishopric. Hainault is described in the next chapter.

BRABANT

Brabant, once second to Flanders in importance and long honourable in the history of the arts, is now divided between Belgium and Holland; its first count was Godfrey the Bearded. His great-grandson, Henry I the Warrior (1190-1235), took the title of duke. At the important battle of Woeringen June 5th, 1288, the duke John I defeated an alliance of the archbishop of Cologne with the counts of Luxemburg, and Gelderland; he killed Henry of Luxemburg with his own sword and permanently added Limburg to Brabant. John II enlarged his people's privileges by a grant of the Charter of Cortenbergⁱ and the Statute of the Common Weal. John III provoked

[ⁱ The charter of Cortenberg, granted by John II on the 27th of September, 1312, acquaints us with the concessions by which the duke paid for the services of his subjects. It institutes a life-council of forty persons, recruited from amongst the nobility and the towns and whose mission it was to see that the privileges and customs of the duchy were observed. This council was to assemble every three weeks and its decisions were to be sovereign. If the duke

a rebellion in which Brussels and Louvain had allies, but he crushed the uprising (1340). After his death the count of Flanders claimed Brabant, but was appeased by the gift of Antwerp. In 1404, however, all Brabant went over to Flanders. In 1430 it belonged to Burgundy, and from 1440 was ruled by the Austrian House. Brabant enjoyed a constitution known as the *Blyde Inkomet* or *La Joyeuse Entrée* — that is, “the Joyous Entrance” — because it was granted by John III in 1356 at the time when his daughter Joanna married Wenzel of Luxemburg and the two entered Brussels in state as prince and princess. It was this Joanna who, after Wenzel’s death in 1383, found support from Burgundy in resisting the demands of the cities. In 1389 duchess Joanna mortgaged certain of these cities to Philip of Burgundy. The next year she revoked the deed which gave Brabant to Luxemburg and made the duke and duchess of Burgundy her heirs. This deed was of the utmost importance to the destiny of the whole Netherlands.

LUXEMBURG AND LIÈGE

Luxemburg was originally called Ardenne, but the chief city gradually displaced the name of the county. It became a duchy in 1354 and kept its independence till 1451, when Philip of Burgundy seized it. It later fell into the hands of Austria; from 1659 its cities were frequently under French sway. Its possession was matter for frequent dispute as late as the nineteenth century, when a large part of it was incorporated in the Belgian kingdom, the rest being established as a neutral grand duchy under the protection of the crown of Holland.

Liège was chosen in 720 as the seat of the bishops of Tongres. In the tenth century it became the bishopric of Liège. Four centuries later, its bishops were made princes of the empire. They were usually despotic and the citizens were frequently wrought to bloody revolt, obtaining a substantial recognition of their rights only after a bitter civil war ended in June, 1315, by the Peace of Fexhe, a treaty of the greatest importance in the history of human liberties, and long taken as a model for the abridgement of the power of rulers and the precise limitations of all public functions and functionaries.¹

FLANDERS: ITS EARLY HISTORY

Flanders, to-day, has lost its national identity and simply makes up two of the provinces of the minor kingdom of Belgium. But for centuries it was in the very forefront of European politics and commerce, far overshadowing the England of that day, and rivalling France and the empire. Compared with Ghent, London was a third-rate town. England was then merely an agricultural district of small population, furnishing raw material for the great industries of the Flemings, whose trade was the envy of the world, whose rich men and women provoked the jealousy of kings and queens, and whose art, music, and letters glittered over the whole continent.

refused to observe them the country was absolved from all obedience to him so long as he persisted in this resistance. The charter of Cortenberg strongly resembles the Peace of Fexhe, to which it is anterior by only four years. At the same time it is distinguished from it by numerous traits. In the first place it was not, like that peace, the consequence of civil war; it is a concession granted by a prince as the result of a contract, or, better, of a concordat. Its object is not to cut short a long quarrel on the exercise of sovereignty itself. It confines itself to simply stipulating the conditions of that exercise. — PIRENNE.²]

[¹ Pirenneⁱ credits the equalitarian constitution of Liège to the absence of predominant trades, rather than to any special Walloon democratic sentiment “as alleged by some historians.”]

[864-1168 A.D.]

Its old counts were wont to trace their line back to Priam of Troy; but the first ruler of certain character is Baldwin Forester, the Iron Arm, who eloped with a daughter of Charles the Bald, and was finally acknowledged by his father-in-law as governor of the countship of Flanders, from 864 A.D. to his death in 878. His son was Baldwin the Bald, who strove against the Normans, and married the daughter of Alfred the Great of England. His son Arnold (918-989) had difficulties with both the Normans and the emperor Otto I. In this reign the first weavers and fullers of Ghent were established. His son Baldwin IV, the Comely Beard, defeated both the king of France and the emperor Henry II, adding to his realm Valenciennes, Walcheren, and the islands of Zeeland. His son, Baldwin V (1036-1067) the Debonair, was also a remarkable ruler. His daughter Matilda was the wife of William the Conqueror; his son married the countess of Hainault and brought it into the control of Flanders; while another son, Robert the Frisian, was by marriage the ruler of the countship of Holland and Friesland. But the sons quarrelled, and a long and bitter feud broke out. Robert II (1093-1119) was a crusader and earned the name of "the Lance and Sword of Christendom." His death and the death of his son Baldwin VII "with the Axe" ended the old line of Flemish counts in 1119.

The power fell to Charles the Good, of Denmark; he was the son of King Canute, who had married the daughter of Robert the Frisian. Charles was assassinated by the merchants, because he threw open all the granaries at Bruges during a famine in 1127, thus breaking their monopoly. The people rose in horror, besieged the wealthy conspirators in Bruges, and taking them at length, tortured them to death. Charles left no heir, and six claimants demanded the throne. In the words of Moke,ⁱ "this contest offers the most precious picture of the political condition of the country."

The king of France proposed for the throne, William of Normandy. The nobility elected him at once. The people were promised the abolition of certain taxes if they would consent. They did so, but William, after making most solemn promises, hastened to violate the independence of the bourgeois, whom his feudal training had unfitted him to understand. His exactions provoked risings in various cities, whose leaders chose for Count, Thierry or Theodoric of Alsace, the nearest relative of Charles the Good. After some fighting he was besieged in Alost, by William, who was, however, killed in a skirmish. Thierry was acknowledged in 1128 and was a liberal ruler as well as a crusader. His son's war with Floris III of Holland, whom he captured in 1157, has already been described, in the previous chapter. His rule is important in the history of Belgium on account of the development of the communes.^a

In the words of Baron Kervijn van Lettenhove, "The era of communes begins July 27th, 1128, and ends November 27th, 1382. Nicaise Borluut opens it at the siege of Alost. Philip van Artevelde closes it on the battlefield of Roosebeke. This epoch, signalised by numerous triumphs and by efforts the most noble and persevering, is that wherein Flanders, marching by rapid strides along the path of social progress, presents to all the nations the inviolable refuge of industry and liberty."^k

RISE OF THE BELGIAN COMMUNES

The first urban agglomerations were, in the full force of the term, colonies of tradesmen and artisans, and the municipal constitutions were elaborated in the midst of a population of immigrants, met from all quarters and stran-

gers to one another. But these immigrants, if they were the ancestors of the bourgeoisie, were not the oldest inhabitants of the towns. The colonies of traders, in fact, did not come into existence on a virgin soil. They everywhere grouped themselves at the foot of the walls of a monastery, a castle, or an episcopal residence (*civitas, castrum, municipium*). The new arrivals found, at the place where they had come to settle, an older population, composed of serfs, of *ministeriales*, or of clerics.

Thus two groups of men were everywhere to be found in presence of one another, but without interpenetrating. It was only very slowly that the fusion was accomplished and that the trading colony, increasing from year to year, becoming always richer, more exuberant, and more vigorous, finally absorbed all the foreign elements and imposed its law and institutions on the whole of the town. It took three hundred years to arrive at this. The evolution was accomplished only in the thirteenth century.



FLEMISH WARRIOR OF THE
FOURTEENTH
CENTURY

(From an old
statue)

The Roman municipality had not perished with the empire of the west; it was still to be found during the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh centuries in the cities of southern Gaul. But in Belgium, as in the other parts of northern Gaul, its influence scarcely made itself felt: here the communal privileges derived their origin from the ancient Germanic freedom combined with the *gild* or fraternal association of Scandinavia.

Under the empire of the Germanic institutions maintained by Charlemagne, the towns were subject to the power of the courts and governed as simple cantons. Now the freemen of the cantons had the right to join the courts in pronouncing judgments in criminal matters and decrees in affairs of civil and local interest. In 803 Charlemagne, desiring to regulate the exercise of this right which had become burdensome, organised the institution of the *scabini* (*schepenen* or sheriffs); they were to be chosen by courts and it required at least seven to pass a decree. After the triumph of feudalism the office of sheriff became in the country districts generally that of a simple official appointed by the seigneurs. In localities important by reason of their population and their wealth, this cantonal magistracy became the patrimony of the principal families, who

preserved and extended their ancient jurisdiction; in the cities, notably in Brussels and Louvain, these privileged families took the generic name of *lignages*. This patrician and land-owning bourgeoisie, whose privilege was hereditarily transmitted, was a first step towards the commune.

The true commune, the glory of Belgium, was constituted during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the alliance of artisans, organised in guilds or fraternities, with the bourgeoisie properly so called.

There are, then, two periods in the history of the communes; the first witnessed the growth of a single class, the bourgeoisie proper; whilst in the course of the second a part of the power and the privilege became the conquest of the people. The lower classes would no longer content themselves with the sheriff's jurisdiction, which emanated from the privileged bourgeoisie. In order to defend their private rights they instituted a magistracy composed of *jurés* or *consaux*. In the towns where German or Flemish was spoken the two chiefs of the *jurés*, annually chosen by them, took the title of masters of the citizens or the city (*burgermeister*). The sheriff's jurisdiction, which belongs to the first period, offered civil guarantees; in the second

epoch (thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries), the jurisdiction of the trades, combined with the civil jurisdiction, consecrated political rights.

In Belgium communal emancipation was less dramatic than in France, although more fruitful in its results. Since the eleventh century charters of franchise, liberty, immunity, friendship, *bourgage*, and the like had paved the way for charters of commune or *poorteryn*, for towns "with laws" (*à lois*) or gilded (*gildæ*). There was, as a rule, no necessity for the towns of Flanders to have recourse to arms to win for themselves free sheriffs and the other privileges attached to the commune. For, far from following the example of the German emperors and the kings of France, the counts of Flanders favoured communal emancipation; not only did they know how to respect the acquired rights of their subjects, but, more than this, they spontaneously accorded liberties to the towns which were still without them.

In Flanders, the laws of each city, granted or confirmed by the count, were called *keuren*. It would, however, be a mistake to regard these *keuren* as being all charters of communes, or charters instituting communes. "The *keure*," says Warnkönig,¹ "proceeded both from the territorial seigneur and the inhabitants; thus that which formed the fundamental law of a town was the common work of the count and the sheriffs who represented it. In the early days it was generally granted by the seigneur and accepted tacitly, or even under oath, by the citizens. But, in imitation of the count, the sheriffs and town councillors also formed *keuren* for their subordinates, so that this name was soon extended to every police ordinance, every municipal decree."

Several precious and characteristic rights were connected with the commune. The inhabitants enrolled in the registers of the privileged town were authorised to form a confederation; and all engaged by an oath to defend their own interests as well as those of the prince. The members of the commune possessed a college of sheriffs with jurisdiction, a common treasury and a town hall, called in several localities the house of peace (*maison de paix*); besides this they might employ a special seal and own a belfry, a lofty tower enclosing a sonorous bell. The belfry of Ghent was erected in 1183; that of Tournay was begun in 1190, that of Bruges in 1291. It was by the sound of the belfry bell that the inhabitants were summoned to a deliberative assembly. Here decisions were made on all affairs outside the province of the administration; here also the accounts of the towns were discussed. As to the cities which had no belfry, they could only convoke the people by *hui et cri*, or to the sound of the horn or trumpet.

The towns also enjoyed certain financial privileges; amongst these must be distinguished the market right, either of a simple weekly market, which was held on a fixed day of the week, or of fairs, or annual markets, which lasted for one or several weeks and served foreign merchants as a meeting place; these fairs were generally held in vast buildings called guild halls (*Gild-hallen*). From the twelfth century the citizens of most of the communes were declared exempt from the judicial combat and the tests by fire.

In exchange for these privileges certain charges were laid on the *bourgeoisies*; but most of those obligations resembled those in force in our own day: such were the impositions known by the name of *tailles* or excise, military service, etc. As to the dues which owed their origin to the state of servitude, they had been for the most part suppressed in favour of the municipal communities; the humiliating prestations (such as the right of *mortemain*, or *meilleur cathel*) had become the portion of the rustics.¹

¹ The *meilleur cathel*, *cathel*, or *catheu* was the most valuable piece of furniture. Custom, founded on servitude, accorded it to the seigneur on the death of each of his vassals.

From reasons of policy the counts of Flanders tolerated, favoured, and sanctioned the communal laws derived from the guild. Always obliged to keep a watchful eye on the French suzerainty or to combat it, they needed to keep in good humour not only the great property owners of the towns, but also the industrial class, whose importance daily increased. The concessions granted by Philip of Alsace have justly won for him the surname of the Legislator of Flanders. He abolished in several places the *main-morte* and the odious right of "half-have";¹ he also freed the still servile populations of Alost and Courtrai.

The cities which possessed no guarantee against the encroachments of power received *keuren* or statutes; those which already enjoyed some privileges obtained fresh ones. Orchies, Damme, Biervliet, Dunkirk, Nieuport, Hulst, and the castellany of Bruges, henceforth called the free (*le Franc*), were successively raised to the rank of municipalities. The privileges enjoyed by more ancient towns such as Ghent, Bruges, St. Omer, Oudenarde, Grammont, were either confirmed or extended. The town of Aire became a model commune; the charter of friendship (*Lex amicitiae*), granted by Philip of Alsace in 1188, instituted a veritable evangelical community. This charter laid down that in the confederation called *l'amitié* there should always be twelve chosen judges, who were to engage by oath to make no distinction between a poor man and a rich one, between a noble and a villein, between a relative and a stranger. All the members of the confederacy promised to aid one another like brothers² in all that was useful and honest; if one committed any wrong against another by word or action the injured party would not take vengeance, by himself or through his followers,³ but he would lodge a complaint and the culprit would repair the wrong according to the arbitration of the twelve elected judges.

The enfranchisement of the towns and boroughs of Flanders continued during the thirteenth century. In 1281 Bruges received a new *keure* from Count Guy de Dampierre. Alost passed to the state of a commune in 1281, Douai in 1286, Valenciennes in 1291, Messines in 1293, Bailleul in 1295, Sluys in 1328, Roulers in 1377.^d

FLANDERS *versus* FRANCE

Having thus sketched the methods in which town liberties were evolved, we may take up again the course of political events, where we left them — at the reign of Thierry.

Thierry died in 1168, leaving a son, Philip of Alsace, who was a notable warrior and also a crusader. He is known as Flanders' greatest lawgiver, and he increased the liberties of the people, especially of Alost and Courtrai. But he had no children, and his brother-in-law Baldwin of Hainault succeeded

¹ The *main-morte*, in the sense in which it was understood in the Middle Ages, was the state of vassals attached to the soil in perpetuity, and denied the power of disposing of their property. "Half-have" was a special right of servitude which accorded to the counts of Flanders on the death of each male serf three deniers and the half of all his movable property. For a female serf this right was only one denier. Even the nobles and freemen were subjected to this exaction; on their death two Flanders marks were paid to the count, who claimed, in addition, the half of their property.

² Not only were the members called "guild brothers," but the employee was called the "younger brother" (*jongere broeder*) of his employer. Blok^h says that "the Flemish workmen of that time plainly enjoyed far better conditions than the Belgian workmen of to-day."

³ The reader is aware that the manners and customs of this period permitted every man to pursue his vengeance openly. Certain days of the week only were excepted, and this time of respite was called the Truce of God (*Treuga Dei*).

[1191-1294 A.D.]

in 1191. The French opposed him, and he was forced to yield various cities and a large part of Flanders to France. On his death in 1195 his son Baldwin IX became count, but later founded the Latin empire at Constantinople. His career and death in 1206 have been recounted in Volume VII, chapter 9. He left two young daughters at home and in his absence the government was given to his brother Philip. In 1214, at the famous battle of Bouvines, the French defeated the allied forces of England, the emperor, Holland, Brabant, and Flanders. In 1279, owing to the failure of heirs, Hainault went to John of Avennes, son of Baldwin's daughter Margaret who had married Bosschaert of Avennes. Flanders went to Guy de Dampierre, whose father Margaret had taken for her second husband after Bosschaert's death.^a

During the two centuries which elapsed between the death of Godfrey de Bouillon [1100] and the battle of Woeringen [1288], the Belgian provinces had taken on practically the form and the character in which they were to continue. Flanders, stripped of her Gallican seigneuries (the county of Artois), found herself restored to her natural limits. Brabant, enlarged by the conquest of Limburg, ruled from the Schelde to the right bank of the Maas. The other states which had been built up from the débris of the ancient duchy of Lorraine had consolidated their independence and established their frontiers. Thus was the provincial formation accomplished.

But the internal organisation was far from evidencing the same stability, and the period to follow was to be signalised by the struggle of the commons against all other powers. Warnings of the imminence of the danger had been already sounded; it was in the fourteenth century that the storm burst in all its fury. The spectacle of this age is the most remarkable in Belgian history: all the great cities preparing one after another to struggle and to reign; the populace bursting the chains of country and breaking the yoke of law; fearful convulsions, ruthless wars, irreparable losses: but, as well, magnificent examples of energy and patriotism; of heroic efforts followed sometimes by glorious success — the very sufferings of the country revealing the grandeur of the national character.

Flanders was the principal theatre of the strife during this epoch. The rulers of this beautiful province had lost their power at Bouvines. Since that fatal day France, who held them in her grasp, made them feel all the weight of the humiliating conditions of the Treaty of Melun, and reduced them to an obscure vassalage.

Personal considerations seem to have dictated to Dampierre a timid and peaceful policy. Poor in the midst of riches, he never neglected an opportunity to levy contributions upon his communes. Yet the beginning of his reign had seemed happy enough: he had braved with impunity the emperors of Germany, in refusing them the homage for imperial Flanders; and he succeeded in establishing brilliantly some of his children — the duke of Brabant and the counts of Holland and Jülich [or Juliers] were his sons-in-law, and one of his sons occupied the bishopric of Liège. But, faithful to the hatred which reigned between his house and that of Avennes, he mortally offended the count of Hainault, his nephew, in supporting against him the revolted commune of Valenciennes (1292). Soon after this he won the dislike of the proud Philip the Fair — or rather he afforded a pretext for the latter's projects of spoliation — by engaging in marriage his daughter Philippine with the son of Edward I of England (1294). Upon his invitation, the count repaired with his daughter to the château of Corbeil, where the court of France was assembled. But he had scarcely arrived when with all his retinue he was arrested and carried off to the tower of the Louvre, where he was

kept in close captivity, the king accusing him of alliance with the enemies of France and holding him for judgment by his court of peers. It found him innocent; but upon liberating him the king refused to render up his daughter: she was retained as hostage, and some years after she succumbed, the victim of misfortune.

Guy de Dampierre was wise enough at first to hide his resentment; but when it was perceived that he was making preparations for war on pretext of defending the people of Valenciennes, who had ended by giving themselves up to him, a royal edict forbade the communes of Flanders to follow his banner (1296). In revenge, the count assembled all his allies at Grammont (December 25th); and to this rendezvous came Edward of England, the emperor Adolphus of Nassau, the archduke Albert of Austria, Duke John II of Brabant, the counts of Holland, Jülich, and Bar, who all united to march against France. Guy then sent to Philip the Fair to declare that he no longer recognised him as sovereign; the king on his side ordered the confiscation of Flanders (January, 1297).

The cities did not fancy being obliged to take up arms in Guy's quarrel. Already a septuagenarian, he was unable to lead his troops to battle, and he confided them to his eldest son, Robert of Béthune. The French king entered Flanders at the head of ten thousand cavalry and a numerous infantry. A number of Flemish gentlemen openly embraced "the party of the lilies"¹ as were denominated those who desired the king's domination. Moreover, the English monarch had arrived in Flanders with so small an army that he dared not remain in Bruges, whose inhabitants inclined towards France. Guy, now deserted by all his allies, consented finally to put himself at the king's mercy, together with his eldest sons, Robert and William, and fifty of his principal barons. Upon his arrival in Paris he and all his following were imprisoned by order of the inflexible monarch; and nothing that Charles, who had promised Guy his liberty, was able to do, sufficed to prevent his brother from breaking the promise given in his name.

Flanders was confiscated. Philip governed it through his officers, and in May, 1301, went to visit his conquest, accompanied by his wife, Joan of Navarre, who appeared offended at observing so much wealth among a commercial people. "I thought myself sole queen here," she remarked at Bruges, "but I find a thousand others round me." Everywhere the partisans of France received the sovereign with extravagant demonstrations of joy; but already the people began to feel that they no longer had a country, and to fear that they were destined to fall heir to the fate of "those French provinces whose inhabitants were treated as serfs." These bitter thoughts gave rise among the bourgeoisie of the large towns to a sombre attitude which developed shortly into direct menace. Discontent fermented; the reaction had begun: it burst forth at the first signal. A month after the king's departure defiance looked forth at Bruges.ⁱ

The "Bruges Matins" (1302)

At first thirty heads of trades waited on the French governor, Châtillon, and complained that payment was not made for the works ordered by the king. The great lord, accustomed to the rights of *corvée* and purveyance, considered remonstrance insolent, and had them arrested. The people took up arms, and rescued them, to the great dismay of the rich, who declared

[¹ The Flemish called them the *Leliearts*, and the popular or nationalist party opposed to them, the *Clauwaerts*.]

[1302 A.D.]

for the king's men. The affair was brought up before the parliament. Here was the parliament of Paris, sitting in judgment on Flanders, as just before it had done by the king of England.

The parliament decided that the heads of trades should go back to prison. Among these heads were two men beloved by the people, the deans of the butchers and of the weavers. The latter, Peter de Conync¹ was a poor and mean-looking man, small, and wanting an eye, but a man of capacity and a bold street orator. Inflaming the passions of the artisans by his eloquence, he hurried them out of Bruges, and made them massacre all the French in the neighbouring towns and castles. They then returned by night. Chains were stretched across the streets, "to prevent the French from running about the town"; each townsman undertook to steal the saddle and bridle of the horseman who lodged with him. On May 19, 1302, all the people began to beat their kettles; a butcher struck first, and the French were everywhere attacked and massacred.² The women were the most furiously active in flinging them out of the windows, or else they were taken to the shambles, where their throats were cut. The massacre lasted three days; twelve hundred cavaliers, and two thousand foot sergeants perished.^m

At once the greater part of Flanders raised the old standard of the lion. Lille and Ghent, with several fortified castles, alone remained in foreign hands.

Leaders were not lacking among the people. Peter de Conync and John Breydel, head men of the weavers and butchers, had directed the revolt of the Brugcois. The army which they gathered counted nearly sixty thousand men.

Robert of Artois, brother-in-law to the king of France, marched against them with apparently superior forces. He had nearly an equal number of foot; and his cavalry, composed of the cream of the French nobility, counted not less than ten thousand combatants. Upon arriving at Lille he was joined by the knights of Brabant and Hainault, the former led by Godfrey of Brabant, uncle to their duke, the latter by John the Merciless, count of Hainault. He set out at once for Courtrai, burning and ravaging all in his path.

The two armies met on the 11th of July, 1302. The Flemings awaited the enemy on the plain of Groeninghe, east of Courtrai. About them stretched the marshy prairies, crossed by brooks; in their rear flowed the Lys, preventing retreat; but they were determined to conquer or to die. The arrival of a body of militia from Namur and of a troop from Ghent commanded by Simon Borluut had redoubled their confidence.^l

The Battle of the Spurs (1302)

These artisans, who had hardly ever seen service in the open field, perhaps would have been glad to retreat, but the attempt would have been too hazardous in a great plain, and in presence of so large a body of cavalry. They waited, therefore, bravely, every man with his *goeden Tag* ("good day to you"), or iron-shod stake planted in the ground before him. Their motto was a fine one: *Scilt und Vriendt*, "shield and friend." They wished to take the communion together, and had mass read to them; but as they

[¹ This name, like most Flemish names and indeed English and other names of this period, is variously spelt as Koenig, Koninck, Conync and Deconing.]

[² The early morning massacre, resembling the "Sicilian Vespers" of the year 1282 in which the French garrison was similarly butchered, has been called the "Bruges Matins."]

could not all receive the host, each, according to Villani,ⁿ stooped down, picked up some earth and put it in his mouth. The knights who were with them, in order to encourage them, sent away their horses; and whilst they thus made infantry of themselves they made knights of the heads of the trades. All knew that they had no mercy to expect. It was told that Châtillon brought with him casks full of ropes to strangle them. The queen, it was said, had laid her injunctions on the French that when they were killing the Flemish pigs they should not forget the Flemish sows.¹

The constable Raoul de Nesle proposed to turn the flank of the Flemings and cut them off from Courtrai, but the king's cousin, Robert of Artois, said rudely to him: "Are you afraid of these rabbits, or have you indeed some of their fur on you?" The constable, who had married a daughter of the count of Flanders, felt the insult, and answered proudly: "Sir, you will ride far ahead if you keep up with me!" So saying, he made a headlong charge followed by his knights, in the thick dust of a July day. Everyone followed him impetuously, each eager to be up with the front, and the hindmost pressing upon the foremost riders, who, when they came up near the Flemings, found in their way, what is to be found everywhere in a country so intersected by canals and ditches—a trench five fathoms wide. They fell into it in heaps, without the possibility of escaping up the sides, the trench being of the half-moon construction. The whole chivalry of France found its grave there, besides the chancellor [Peter Flotte], who, doubtless, had not reckoned on falling in such glorious company.

The Flemings killed the unhorsed cavaliers at their ease, leisurely selecting their victims in the trench. When the cuirasses resisted their blades, they despatched the knights with leaden or iron mallets. Among them there were numbers of working monks, who conscientiously wrought at this bloody job. One of these monks asserted that with his own hand he had killed forty cavaliers, and fourteen hundred foot soldiers; but it is plain he bragged too much. Four thousand gilt spurs (another account says seven hundred) were hung up in the cathedral of Courtrai, unlucky spoils that brought mischief on the town: eighty years afterwards, Charles VI saw these spurs and caused the inhabitants to be massacred.

This terrible defeat exterminated all the vanguard of France—that is to say, the majority of the great lords.^m The total number of slain was estimated at 20,000.

Last Years of Guy's Reign

After the battle the French garrisons in the neighbouring towns were only too glad to capitulate. After a few small engagements a peace was concluded in the spring of the following year, to be immediately confirmed. The king even allowed the old count Guy de Dampierre to emerge from the fortress where he had been detained, in order that he might assist in the peace negotiations; but the old man, after passing several months among his sons, re-entered his prison rather than betray the interests of Flanders. The quarrel was to be settled by force of arms.

Never had the Flemings taken so determined a stand, and never had their hopes been more firmly fixed. Unfortunately the old hatred between the houses of Dampierre and Avennes was not yet assuaged, and this was yet to cause fresh disasters.

¹ *Vasa vinaria portare restibus plena, ut plebeios strangularet. Ut apros quidem, hoc est viros, hastis, sed sues verutis confoderent, infesta admodum mulieribus, quas sues vocabat, ob fastum illum femineum visum a se Brugis.* — MEYER.^o

[1304-1315 A.D.]

The account of the war between Holland and Flanders (in which the first Flemish triumphs provoked a general uprising of the Hollanders and ended in defeats for the Flemish on sea and land) will be found in the next chapter.^a

At sea, on the 10th of August, 1304, Guy of Namur sustained a bloody defeat opposite Zieriksee. His fleet was destroyed, himself taken prisoner, and the coast left defenceless. Eight days later the land army gave battle to the French at Mons-en-Pévèle (between Douai and Orchies). It was commanded by Philip de Thiette (or Teano), a son of Guy de Dampierre. The enemy's cavalry, instead of accepting combat, attempted to wear out the Flemings by skirmishes, and succeeded in capturing the provision and baggage wagons. This accident forced the communes to quit the field of battle, and towards night the greater part left for Lille. William of Jülich had perished in this attack.

The king increased his forces and besieged Lille with a most formidable equipment. The terrified inhabitants promised to surrender, if help had not arrived, on the 1st of October; but, two days before, the reunited Flemings arrived before the place, and John of Namur, their leader, sent forth a defiance to the king. The whole country was in arms; the factories were closed, the cities deserted; and the troops had vowed to conquer or obtain an honourable peace. The king, spying upon their outposts, was struck with the number of their tents: "One would think," he exclaimed, "that it had been raining Flemings!" He charged the duke of Brabant and the count of Savoy to treat in his name with the leaders.

The Flemings demanded and obtained the restoration of all their former privileges, authority to fortify their cities, and the liberty of their prisoners; as well as the restitution of those portions of Flanders still occupied by the French. They consented to raise a fine of not more than 800,000 livres (the value of the currency had been considerably depreciated by Philip's alteration of the denominations), and to leave in the hands of the king until payment of that sum the cities of Lille and Douai (October 1st, 1304).

Thus the fatal war seemed to have ended; but the negotiations were prolonged during several months, and, before harmony was completely established, Guy de Dampierre died, a prisoner in the castle of Compiègne, March 7th, 1305.

ROBERT OF BÉTHUNE (1305-1328)

Robert of Béthune, eldest son of Guy de Dampierre, was still a prisoner in France when his father died, both having given themselves up to the king at the same time. Philip released him only after having obliged him to sign to new conditions, much more severe than those stipulated before Lille. These outrageous demands had for result the rekindling of the indignation of Flanders. The infuriated people even accused of treason the lords charged to negotiate with the king, and a part of the nobility came under the suspicion of the communes.¹ A temporary understanding concluded with France in 1309 was followed in 1315 by a fresh rupture; and Louis the Quarrelsome (*Hutin*), who had succeeded Philip the Fair, failed completely in an expedition directed towards Courtrai and Cassel.

Still the war dragged on; and the Flemings, whose successes brought no results, drifted into new discords. The citizens of Ghent ended by declaring in favour of peace, and refused to support the count. He was obliged, by

[¹ Blok ^h says that the Flemish counts were from this time little more than the lieutenants of the French monarch, claiming his aid against their own cities.]

reason of this defection, to sign the treaty concluded at Paris in 1320. Lille, Douai, and Orchies remained in the hands of Philip the Tall (*le Long*), the reigning monarch, and his daughter was wedded to the grandson of the Flemish prince.

The end of Robert's reign presents a bloody and mysterious spectacle, which history has not yet succeeded in explaining. His eldest son, Louis of Nevers, it seems, nourished a profound resentment against the court of France, while the younger allowed himself to drift into its service. The latter accused his brother of a parricidal plot, and the unhappy Louis, dragged from one prison to another, ended by dying in exile at Paris in 1328. A few months after, the old count's flame flickered out; he had attained the age of eighty-two.

LOUIS OF NEVERS AT WAR WITH THE PEOPLE

The longevity of the later sovereigns of Flanders had singularly contributed to weaken the government. Guy de Dampierre had achieved the throne at an advanced age, and Robert of Béthune was sixty-four at his succession. Both were infirm old men before ceasing to reign, and the energy of the people was greater than that of the ruler. Out of this grew the rapid propagation in certain parts of the country of a spirit of local independence and an animosity towards the higher classes. Since the battle of Courtrai a number of the nobles had lived shut up in their castles, avoiding participation in public affairs; while the tradespeople and the craftsmen ruled the towns. Ghent almost alone possessed a powerful aristocracy, composed of patrician families, which, with the support of the wealthy middle class, kept the people within bounds. At Bruges, on the contrary, the ranks of the wealthy were swelled by artisans and the lesser bourgeoisie. The death of Robert of Béthune rendered an outburst inevitable.

His grandson, Louis of Nevers, or as he is often called Louis of Crécy, was only eighteen years old and had been brought up in France, where he possessed the counties of Nevers and Rhétel. Scarcely was he invested with the county by Philip the Tall, his father-in-law (who had begun by imprisoning him in the Louvre until he renounced all pretension to Lille and Douai), when he presented the lordship of the port of Sluys to his great-uncle, John of Namur. Thereupon the Brugeois, all of whose vessels entered this port, indignant at being exposed to taxation by that prince, attacked the castle of Sluys, carried it, and imprisoned John himself. This riot was followed by two others. Louis, ignorant both of the country and of his own forces, thrice sold to the city a complete pardon, profiting by the intervals of tranquillity to retire to his county of Rhétel. Thither the contempt of the people followed him, and the factions thereafter recognised no further restraint.

The Communes Defeated at Cassel (August 28th, 1328)

In 1324 two corps of the army of the bourgeoisie departed from Bruges to attack the castles of the nobles of maritime Flanders. These latter prepared to defend themselves; but of the two places wherein they sought refuge (Ghistelles and Ardenbourg), the one was taken and the other rigorously blockaded. Shortly all the country as far as Dunkirk fell into the hands of the popular army, whose leader was an exile from Furnes, by name Nicholas Zannekin. The pillaging and burning of castles attested to the irritation of the victors; on the other hand, a number of bourgeois who fell

[1324-1335 A.D.]

into the clutches of Robert of Cassel, uncle to the young count, ended on the gallows. As in all civil war, the hatred was mutual and the violence equal.

Louis of Nevers then returned to Flanders; and, supported by the men of Ghent, he at first obtained some advantages over the troops of the people. But having marched upon Courtrai with a body of about four hundred cavalry to assure himself of that town, it was not long before he was attacked by five thousand Brugeois. Infuriated because, in self-defence, he had set fire to the suburbs, the inhabitants fell upon him, massacred a number of his nobles, took him prisoner and delivered him over to the Brugeois (June 22nd, 1325). These latter carried him off to their city and kept him captive there until the end of the year. They only released him when a legate of the holy see launched an interdict against Flanders, and when the men of Ghent, led by Hector Vilain, had been victorious in some slight encounters.

Louis demanded help of King Philip of Valois, complaining that he was count of Flanders in name only. As his vassal, the monarch owed him assistance: he raised an army, which was joined by the nobles of Flanders and of Hainault, and marched upon Cassel, where was found the principal body of the bourgeois militia, under the command of Zannekin. Twelve thousand artisans, or peasants, formed these troops, which had been seasoned to war by the struggles of preceding years.

Far from refusing to give battle, they awaited the French, and, when these had arrived at the foot of the mountain of Cassel, so intrepid Zannekin fell upon their camp. The attack was so sudden and so impetuous that the king was nearly captured and his army was thrown at first into the greatest disorder; but inferiority of numbers prevented the Flemings from following up their advantage. They soon found themselves surrounded on all sides; and after fighting with a courage amounting almost to frenzy, they all perished — not one among them endeavouring to escape.

This defeat discouraged the people. The cities which had taken part in the war surrendered. Heavy penalties were imposed upon them; and Louis, as terrible in his vengeance as he had been weak in his government, executed the leaders of the vanquished together with several hundreds of those who had fought under their banners. This bloody reaction led, if not to tranquillity, at least to the end of the civil war.

Unfortunately, the Flemish provinces were dragged anew into a European war (1335). The English monarch, Edward III, had already claimed the crown of France, but his pretensions had been set aside and Philip of Valois put upon the throne. Edward finally resolved to attack his enemy upon the continent; and he sought the support of the Belgian princes. But the count of Flanders evidenced so great a devotion for Philip and for France that it seemed impossible to alienate him from his lord.

Disputes having arisen between the sailors of the two countries, these served Edward as a pretext to interdict the exportation from England of the wool necessary to the drapers of Flanders in the manufacture of their cloths. The Flemish cities thus saw their principal industries threatened, and alarm became general. Persuaded by their entreaties, Louis made advances for the re-establishment of trade; Edward responded by an offer of a close alliance on condition that he should abandon France. Trapped thus between the interests of his subjects and his own political inclinations, the count could not bring himself to change sides. He looked upon himself always as a subject of Philip of Valois; and, far from being willing to abandon him, he would not even consent to hold a neutral position between the two kings. Commerce thus remained at a standstill, factories were closed, and

a large part of the population found itself without bread. When matters were at their worst, Louis assembled his vassals "in parliament" to consult as to what should be done for the people; but the only remedy was to treat with England, and that Louis would not allow mentioned. He even went so far, some time afterwards, as to have arrested and beheaded Sohier le Courtroisin, sire de Tronchiennes, who had proposed the opening of negotiations with Edward. The assembly dissolved without having been able to come to a conclusion.

The English, however, disembarked on the island of Cadsand and cut to pieces the troops of the seigneurs who guarded the coast (this in November). Thereupon the men of Ghent began to murmur openly, and Jacob van Artevelde,¹ grandson of Sohier and one of the wisest among the leaders of the bourgeoisie, put himself at the head of the people and demanded the absolute neutrality of Flanders.

VAN ARTEVELDE APPEARS

The efforts of the count to overturn the national resolution proved useless. Artevelde, nominated Captain of Ghent, soon drew over the other cities to his party; and, displaying as much capacity as vigour, he everywhere checked the advances of the prince and of the partisans of France.

In vain did Philip of Valois send troops; in vain did he bribe the Flemings with offers of reimbursement for their losses through extended commercial privileges with France. They braved his soldiers, they scorned his offers; and Louis, urged thereto by his subjects, himself signed a provisory treaty with England. After this, the count might seek in vain to re-establish his influence over his subjects; everywhere he found the bourgeoisie intractable; at times, menacing. The Brugeois even attempted to take him prisoner at Dixmude, and he had scarcely time to flee to St. Omer.

The Flemings were beginning to wake up. It was understood that force alone could lead to recognition of the rights of Flanders; and negotiations were opened with Edward, who was then at Antwerp. These negotiations were not restricted to an alliance with England: the first and most remarkable treaty was concluded with John III, duke of Brabant, an ally of the English king. It was a confederation between Flanders and Brabant founded upon the common interests of the two states, and having for object their re-union into a single body. The greatest solemnity was observed in drawing up this act of alliance signed by seven cities and forty seigneurs.

It proved more difficult to force upon the Flemings the alliance with Edward, half of the nation raising scruples against taking up arms against France. They had vowed fidelity to the king, and even the pope had imposed upon them the fulfilment of this promise — relying upon Philip's vow to undertake a new crusade. To conquer their repugnance, Van Artevelde made Edward take the title of king of France,² he having, as we have seen, a certain right to it. Then the people hesitated no longer. Sixty thousand foot began action in the spring (1340), forced the French out of Hainault,

[¹ He was a man of good family, his father had been sheriff and he was himself a wealthy member of the clothmakers' guild. Froissart calls him a brewer; the fact being that he went to the brewers' guild later.]

[² Pirenne points out that in 1328 William de Deken, burgomaster of Bruges, anticipating Artevelde, had already offered to recognise Edward III as king of France if he would lend support to the popular party. He thinks equally local motives must have dictated the later English alliances of Flemish cities under Artevelde. He explains Artevelde's motive in alliance as a bold stroke to secure for Ghent a supremacy over Flanders, as a little later Bern won the predominance over the other Swiss cantons.]

[1340-1345 A.D.]

and at once returned to protect their coasts, threatened by the enemy's fleet. Soon afterwards this fleet attacked that of England. The English prince, who had accepted combat with inferior forces, owed his victory in part to the assistance of the Flemish marines. The French navy was destroyed, and Edward entered triumphant into the port of Sluys on the 24th of June, 1340.

The confederates having immediately undertaken the siege of Tournay, which was long protracted by the vigorous resistance of the inhabitants and the garrison, Philip sent his sister, Joan of Valois, to negotiate a truce; and she concluded it abruptly in the month of September. The conditions of this truce were advantageous to the Flemings. Philip proclaimed pardon for the past and remitted all sums due since previous treaties, then representing more than thirty millions. The original deeds were delivered to Jacob van Artevelde, who destroyed them publicly amid cries of joy from the crowd.

The remainder of this famous man's career offers a picture perhaps less brilliant, though not less remarkable. After having conquered for his country a glorious and firm position, the captain attempted to consolidate the popular government. The three principal cities, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, exercised the sovereignty in the name of the country. The trades dominated in the last two and openly supported Artevelde; but he met with more opposition in his own district, where the wealthy class exercised a powerful influence. Nearly overthrown by this class, he was only saved by the devotion of the people, who took up arms for him.

Following this revolution he organised upon a new basis the magistracy of Ghent, giving the preponderance of power to the guilds over the wealthy citizens. His authority then seemed without limit; but it was merely that of the head of a party. He boasted of ruling all by persuasion; nevertheless, he was not able to abstain from the use of arms, nor to enchain the violence of popular passions. Each trade formed an independent body in the city, as each city formed an independent body in the country. At Bruges the weavers massacred the brokers; in West Flanders the inhabitants of Ypres plundered Poperinghe. At Ghent the weavers and the fullers gave combat upon the occasion, and in the place of the Friday marketing five hundred corpses were left on the scene.

The captain, upon encountering these obstacles, experienced that secret irritation which tends to push beyond their real end most authors of political commotions. Weary of the continual struggle with Count Louis, whose authority, however despised, was still legal, he ended by attempting to dethrone him and to put a son of Edward in his place. This proceeding, however, was repugnant to the moral sense of the bourgeoisie of Ghent. They could not bring themselves to consent to it until it became obvious that the count absolutely refused to detach himself from the French cause. A sovereign was necessary to the country and Artevelde saw no other alternative than to propose to the people this change of princes. It proved his death. The idea of substituting a foreign family for the descendants of the old counts offended even the most discontented. Artevelde's enemies profited by it to accuse him of treason. A journey of some days' duration to Bruges and to Ypres prevented his perceiving the storm gathering against him at Ghent.ⁱ

The account of Artevelde's personality and of his death is most vividly given by Sir John Froissart, who was his contemporary and also a native of the Low Countries; it must be remembered, however, that Froissart was an

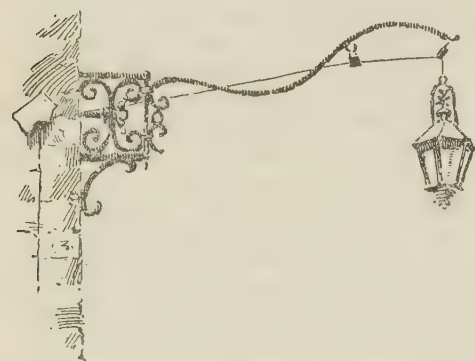
aristocrat thoroughly out of sympathy with the creed and partisans of this shrewd burgher whom his people had been wont to call *le saige homme*.^a

FROISSART'S ACCOUNT OF ARTEVELDE AND HIS DEATH

There was in Ghent a man that had formerly been a brewer of metheglin, called Jacob van Artevelde, who had gained so much popular favour and power over the Flemings that everything was done according to his will. He commanded in all Flanders, from one end to the other, with such authority that no one dared to contradict his orders. Whenever he went out into the city of Ghent, he was attended by three or four score armed men on foot, among whom were two or three that were in his secrets; if he met any man whom he hated or suspected, he was instantly killed; for he had ordered those who were in his confidence to remark whenever he should make a particular sign on meeting any person, and to murder him directly without fail, or waiting further orders, of whatever rank he might be. This

happened very frequently; so that many principal men were killed; and he was so dreaded that no one dared to speak against his actions, or scarce to contradict him, but all were forced to entertain him handsomely.

He had also in every town and castlewick through Flanders sergeants and soldiers in his pay, to execute his orders, and serve him as spies, to find out if any were inclined to rebel against him, and to give him information. The instant he knew of any such being in a town, he was banished or killed without



ANCIENT STREET LAMP OF ANTWERP

delay, and none were so great as to be exempted, for so early did he take such measures to guard himself. At the same time he banished all the most powerful knights and esquires from Flanders, and such citizens from the principal towns as he thought were in the least favourable to the count, seized one-half of their rents, giving the other moiety for the dower of their wives and support of their children.

To speak the truth, there never was in Flanders, or in any other country, count, duke, or prince who had such perfect command as Jacob van Artevelde.

When, on his return, he came to Ghent, about mid-day [May 2nd, 1345], the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street that he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, "Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne." With this they had also spread a rumour through the town that Jacob van Artevelde had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more; that he had usurped the government without rendering an account, for he did not allow any of the rents to pass to the count of Flanders, but kept them securely to maintain his own state, and had, during the time above mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures: of this great treasure he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage; and, as he

[1345 A.D.]

was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully now turned their backs, and went into their houses. He began, therefore, to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hotel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened.

Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, attacked and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many; but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob van Artevelde saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fine language, saying:

"My good people, what aileth you? Why are you so enraged against me? By what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, and I will conform myself entirely to your wills." Those who had heard him made answer, as with one voice, "We want to have an account of the great treasures you have made away with, without any title of reason."

Artevelde replied in a soft tone: "Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken anything from the treasures of Flanders; and if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give so good an account of them, that you must reasonably be satisfied." But they cried out, "No, no, we must have it directly, you shall not thus escape from us; for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it to England,¹ without our knowledge: you therefore shall suffer death."

When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said: "Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: recollect former times, and consider how many favours and kindnesses I have conferred upon you. You wish to give me a sorry recompense for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you in so peaceable a manner that under my administration you had all things according to your wishes — corn, oats, riches, and all sorts of merchandise which have made you so wealthy." They began to bawl out, "Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height; for we will have an account and statement of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed too long without rendering any account; and it is not proper for an officer to receive the rents of a lord, or of a country, without accounting for them."

When Jacob van Artevelde saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hotel was already broke into on that side, and upwards of four hundred were there calling out for him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy; his death-stroke was given him by a saddler, called Thomas Denys. In this manner did Jacob van Artevelde end his days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him.²

[¹ Blok, ² who calls Artevelde "the greatest Fleming of all times," says that this charge was "absurd."]

KERVIN DE LETTENHOVE'S ESTIMATE OF VAN ARTEVELDE

The power of Jacob van Artevelde lasted less than ten years, and yet in our memories it seems to fill the history of the Middle Ages; this is because his genius stirred more ideas, excited more hopes, conceived more profound designs than the men who had preceded him during several centuries. After having dared to dream of the reconciliation of Europe by peace and liberty; after contriving to unite in a single confederation all the neighbouring provinces of Flanders, he died at last, struck down by the arms he had endeavoured to break, by the resentment of the private hatreds and jealousies he had attempted to stifle in the unity of the development of human civilisation. He had thought that one lever was sufficient to raise the world, but the mission he had imposed on himself did not conduct him to triumph; he is but its martyr.

If Jacob van Artevelde had lived a few years longer, if he had been able by his own counsels to re-establish on a national basis the authority of the young prince who was born at Male, what might not have been his influence on the vast movement which broke out under King John? Did not a remarkable symptom of a pacific and industrial union already exist in the manifestation of those common sympathies for the traditions of the reign of Louis IX?

England, at least, preserved some traces of the bonds which existed between one of her princes and "the wise citizen of Ghent." Edward III, on becoming his ally, had subjected his own greatness and renown to the authority of van Artevelde's prudence.¹ It is to the period of Jacob van Artevelde that the foundation of the constitutional rule belongs, as it exists to this day in England, with the triple direction of the government by king, peers, and commons.

The voice of Artevelde had also resounded beyond the Alps, as far as the banks of the Tiber, which he had once visited when still young and unknown; the echo of the ruins of Rome answered to that of his tomb. A poet, who, in the silence of the nights, held sublime dialogues with the heroes of ancient times, had traversed all Flanders, enriched by the industry of her weavers, and the city of Ghent, so proud of being able to attribute its origin and its name to the conquests of Cæsar. Returning to his country and struck with shame at sight of the ancient queen of the world humiliated and enslaved, he welcomed with joy those accents of liberty which mounted from the banks of the Schelde to the summit of the Capitol, where his brow had been encircled with the laurel of Virgil.

"Hear this sound which comes to us from the West; the future is still veiled by clouds. Flanders, who seems never to cease fighting, allies herself with the peoples of England and Germany; from the Alps to the ocean all is in agitation. Ah, that we might find here the signal of our deliverance! Italy, unhappy country, doomed to eternal sorrows, once it was thou alone who disturbed the peace of the nations with thine arms, and behold thou art silent to-day while the fate of the universe is decided."

Petrarch remembered Jacob van Artevelde when he addressed his famous "admonitory epistle concerning the struggle for liberty" to Cola di Rienzi.

[¹ It is said that Artevelde first suggested the quartering of the lilies of France in the English king's arms; and that Edward III addressed him as *cher compère* and *grand ami*. In spite of this royal favour, however, Artevelde worked chiefly for the neutrality and independence of his country.]

[1346-1348 A.D.]

After Artevelde's death the blood-stained robe of Cæsar stirred the spirit of the people more forcibly than all the splendour of his genius. Scarcely had the men of Ghent learned that Louis of Nevers, congratulating himself on the success of the most odious treason, was sending his knights to occupy Hulst and Axel, when they ran to arms to repel him. Axel was at once taken by assault and Hulst shared the same fate. The militia of Ghent, supported by those of Bruges and Ypres, resolved to pursue their expedition in the direction of Dendermonde. Their number and courage, the enthusiasm which animated them, their ardour to avenge the death of Jacob van Artevelde on the men whom they accused of having prepared it, rendered their power irresistible. The count of Flanders hastened to flee to France, whilst the duke of Brabant hurried to the camp of the Flemish communes to renew his oaths of alliance and interpose his mediation.^k

THE REIGN OF LOUIS OF MALE (1346-1384)

Dendermonde was pillaged by the people of Ghent in punishment for having manufactured certain kinds of cloth, the monopoly of which Ghent reserved to itself. Thus the communes arrogated to themselves even that right of vengeance and of private quarrel which the nobles had lost little by little through the influence of civilisation. The chaotic condition of Flanders served only to gain for her the hostility of the neighbouring princes; in her state of anarchy the death of Count Louis, who survived only a short time Jacob van Artevelde, was perhaps a blessing. Faithful always to France, he had gone to join Philip's army, threatened anew by Edward. He found death (1346) on the bloody field of Crécy, whence the king of England went his way victorious.

He had left a son, bearing the name of his father, and only sixteen years of age. This young prince was then in France, where he had won his spurs against the English at Crécy; but Flanders did not hesitate to recognise him as her sovereign. The three principal cities, however, retained the direction of public affairs during his minority. They vigorously preserved their union with the king of England, and a project was formed to marry the count to the daughter of Edward. But the young prince obstinately refused to ally himself with the family of his father's enemy. In fear of being constrained thereto he escaped from Flanders directly after the betrothal ceremonies, and fled into France. Shortly afterwards he married Margaret of Brabant, second daughter of Duke John III, who had abandoned Edward to ally himself with France.

But the Flemings, irritated at this marriage, sustained only the more ardently the cause of the English king. They ravaged the frontiers of Artois, and a great body of the militia of Ghent, commanded by Captain Gilles de Rypergheste, a weaver, completely put to rout the French troops sent to besiege Cassel. Meanwhile Edward blockaded the city of Calais, to whose surrender he attached the greatest importance; Philip of Valois collected an army to march against him, but was obliged to retreat, having accomplished nothing. A treaty between the two kings suspended hostilities for a time.

The Brugeois began to be divided, and the wealthy classes to grow weary of the domination of the artisans. Count Louis was wise enough to profit by these divisions to attach the town to his party. He had been born near Bruges (in the castle of Male, whence his surname), and he promised to take up his residence there. Differences thus came up among the confederates, and all maritime Flanders having embraced the cause of the count, Ghent and Ypres were obliged to join him (1348). Louis, with an address and

firmness beyond his years, seized every occasion to re-establish the power weakened in previous reigns. He made himself feared without shedding over much blood, and had the wisdom to adopt a policy conformable to the needs of the country, declaring himself neutral between France and England.

His resolution was manifested upon the death of Philip of Valois (1351), when he refused to do homage to King John unless he restored to the Flemings those cities lost to them during long years. Negotiations begun with this end in view led to no result. Charles the Wise, who succeeded to the throne of France, comprehended the advisability of rendering justice to a people and to a prince whose resentments had not decreased with time. Lille, Douai, Béthune, Hesdin, Orchies, and other less important places were ceded to the count in 1369; and for this price his only daughter Margaret became the wife of Philip of Burgundy, one of the king's brothers. The duke of Brabant, Louis' brother-in-law, with whom he had had sharp disputes followed by open war, was forced in 1357 to cede to him Antwerp.

But in the midst of prosperity the count was poor. It was the state of most of the princes of that period: the greater part of their revenues accrued from taxes and dues. They thus fell into dependence on the communes, and therein lay perhaps the principal cause of the weakness of their government. Twice Louis went bankrupt, and the people paid his debts. A third demand for subsidies brought forth murmurs from the citizens of Ghent. The "White Caps" (such was the name they went by) let slip no occasion to foment strife; and the count having granted permission to the town of Bruges to open up a canal to the Lys, they attacked the workmen and dispersed them. All effort on the part of the influential middle classes to prevent a civil war proved futile.

Attacked upon all sides the nobles took up arms in their own defence; but their numbers proved too small to hold the country and the majority of them sought refuge in the city of Oudenarde, which became their headquarters. Besieged there by sixty thousand soldiers of the communes, they defended themselves vigorously until the duke of Burgundy came to interfere between the count and the people. A temporary reconciliation was effected, but the white caps having taken Oudenarde by surprise after the departure of the nobles, the quarrel broke out anew. Bruges thereupon withdrew from the alliance with Ghent and opened its gates to Louis of Male, though not without internal dissension and new massacres (1380).

Over the whole country, combat, attack, and siege shed patriotic blood. In the meanwhile the citizens of Ghent, whose animosity bade fair to eternalise the war, were beginning to pay dearly for the blood they had caused to flow; they lost a battle at Nevele (1381), and were abandoned by all the other communes. The count's soldiers succeeded in blockading the city in the midst of a conquered province: soon provisions gave out; indecision and discouragement crept in among the hitherto haughty population.

PHILIP VAN ARTEVELDE CHOSEN AS LEADER (1381)

It was then that the leaders offered the command to Philip van Artevelde, son of him whose name was still dear to Flanders. But the new captain, a stranger to the profession of arms and finding affairs in such a desperate state, seemed himself overcome with terror by the fate which menaced the inhabitants. He counselled them to surrender to the count and went himself to plead for them, consenting to every sacrifice on condition that no blood should be shed.

[1381-1382 A.D.]

Louis demanded that the citizens should surrender to him unconditionally and that they should come to him outside their walls, barefoot and with cords around their necks.

Philip van Artevelde, although educated to inaction, had from the first day of his command proved his character to be not without vigour: the extremity in which he found himself gave birth to an unaccustomed courage and energy. He returned to Ghent, assembled the people, "of whom a large part had no longer any bread," and having reported the result of the conference to the count he interrupted the wailings of the crowd by exhorting them to choose between death, submission, and a desperate attack; their choice was soon determined upon, their pride and resentment blinding them to the inferiority of their numbers. Of all Ghent's valiant defenders, five thousand alone remained; these set out with the young leader to attack Louis of Male within the walls of Bruges; the citizens closed the gates, resolved to burn their city and bury themselves in its ruins, if their comrades failed of victory.

It was on the 3rd of May, during the procession of the Eucharist at Bruges, at which the count and nearly all his nobles assisted, that the last army of Ghent approached the rival city.

Louis and his knights, transported with indignation at the news of the approach, hurried out of the city, followed by a number of the people, and precipitated themselves upon their adversaries. The latter, calm and resolute, easily sustained the shock of so confused and disorderly a multitude. A gay way before them, and after a short combat Artevelde entered triumphant into the gates of Bruges, where the smaller guilds came to join him. The fugitive count with difficulty found refuge in the house of a poor widow, and the next morning succeeded in escaping from the town.

THE BATTLE OF ROOSEBEKE, AND FALL OF THE GUILDS (1382)

For the moment this prodigious success seemed to have re-established the superiority of Ghent, and nearly all Flanders took up anew the cause of this powerful commune new-risen in all its might despite numerous reverses; but already a new storm was gathering in the distance. Louis, who had taken refuge in Paris, had found the young king, Charles VI, disposed to espouse his cause, and that very year the French army advanced along the Lys, led by the monarch himself. The leaders of Ghent marched to meet him with forty thousand men — all that the exhaustion of the city and the ill-will of a certain section of the country would permit him to gather. He camped at Roosebeke, near Roulers.

The two armies remained several days in their positions without giving battle, but Artevelde's impetuous character could not brook delay. On the 27th of November he left his trenches to attack the royal troops. The first shock gained him some advantage; the Breton infantry were repulsed and their banner fell into the hands of the Flemings. Soon, however, a body of cavalry reached their rear, while fresh forces were brought into play in advance. After a furious battle, which lasted much longer than they could have foreseen, Artevelde and half of his forces perished before the French nobles,¹ and from that day the count's standard was raised anew in Bruges and throughout maritime Flanders.

[¹ "There is an important difference between the two great leaders from the race of Artevelde. But though the father perished miserably at the hands of a mob, while the son fell in honourable conflict against a foreign foe, the sympathy of posterity has gone out towards the father." — BLOK.^h]

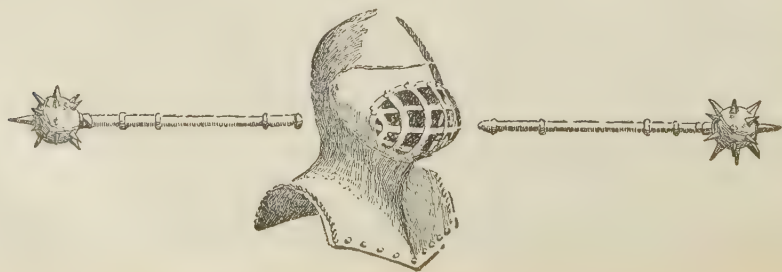
The war seemed ended, since the defeat at Roosebeke had dispersed the army of Ghent. But the indomitable courage of which that city had given so many proofs did not desert her on this terrible occasion. Abandoned, defeated, without leaders and without resources, the tradesmen of Ghent still harboured no thought of submission. They gave the command of their troops to Francis Ackerman, a capable and intrepid leader, who held himself on the defensive until after the departure of the French army, and thereupon commenced hostilities against the defenders of the count. The winter passed in continued combats, whence those of Ghent reaped certain advantages. In the spring a large body of English disembarked at Calais and united with Ackerman to besiege Ypres, but Charles VI himself marched to its assistance. The besieged retired without combat and unpursued. The duke of Burgundy, who already regarded Flanders as his appanage, prevented the king from following up the war too eagerly, to the ruin of so rich a country.

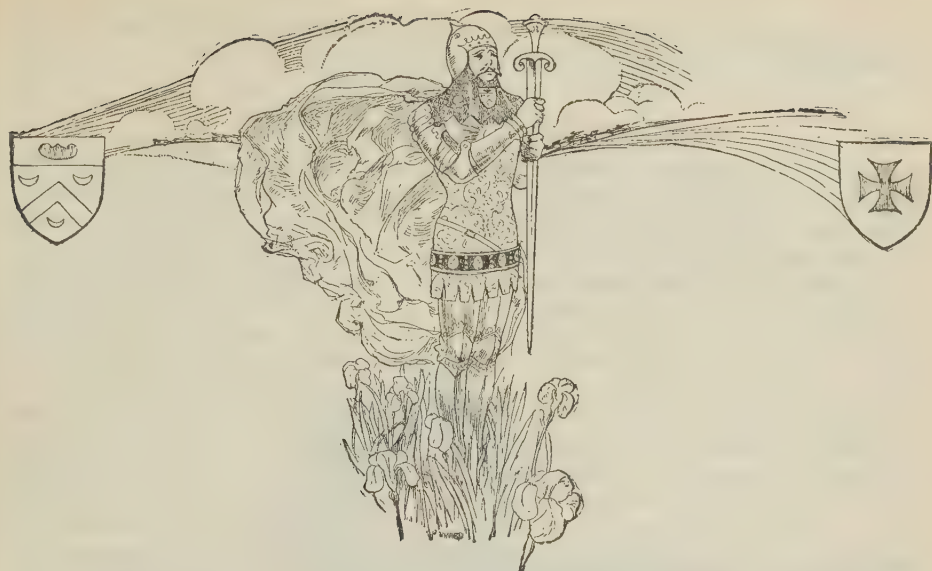
The count of Flanders submitted with but indifferent grace to his humiliating position. A treaty for one year between England and Ghent was concluded, in spite of his efforts, in October, 1382; and he died a few months afterwards (January 9th, 1384), either from grief which hastened his end, or, as some historians say, from a mortal blow which he had received during an altercation with one of the French princes.ⁱ

He was succeeded as count of Flanders, Artois, Nevers, and Rethel, by Philip of Burgundy, his son-in-law. The people were divided in the matter of acknowledging him, but after the murder of Ackerman, resistance ended and with it what is called "the heroic age of the guilds of Flanders."^a

With Louis of Male died in Flanders the house of Dampierre, which had governed the country for nearly a century, alternately persecuted by the kings of France and supported by them against the communes. Under this dynasty — whose reign had been signalised by so much commotion and so many vicissitudes — the authority of the count, undermined on the one hand by the jealousy of the sovereign, on the other by the encroachments of the people, had been so rapidly weakened that no tie remained firm enough to guarantee the unity of government, the submission of the cities, and the peace of the country. At this crisis Flanders had need, not of new liberties but of repose and order.

Philip of Burgundy [the son-in-law of Louis], with whom was to begin a new dynasty, was to have for life-work the creation of a more fixed order of things, the consolidation of a tottering throne, and the imposition of habits of obedience upon the almost entirely independent communes, whose pride — the growth of many victories — was not yet weakened by reverses; but it was scarcely to be hoped that either he or his descendants would succeed in re-establishing a firm government in a country where popular resistance had been so frequently victorious.^j





CHAPTER III

HOLLAND UNDER THE HOUSES OF HAINAULT AND BAVARIA

[1299-1436 A.D.]

THE general features of Netherlandish history thus far have been the feuds between the different sections of this small portion of Europe. The long struggle of Holland against the domination of Utrecht had left Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland mutually independent in the upper part of Lower Lorraine at the opening of the twelfth century. About this time Lorraine had begun to lose prestige and the name itself to give place to the various synonyms for *terræ inferiores* or Netherlands.

Flanders fought Holland for centuries over the islands of Zealand. A still longer race-war embittered Holland and Friesland along the borders of Kennemerland, West Friesland, and Waterland. Holland and Brabant had fought. Holland had joined with Gelderland against Utrecht. Gelderland, itself a rival for power with Holland, had given sympathy to the Hohenstaufens and had been in collision with the Guelfic dukes of Brabant; her vassal counts of Looz, or Loon, and of Namur were in frequent war with Flanders, Hainault, Limburg, and Brabant. The houses of Luxemburg and Limburg were united by marriage in 1246, and Count Henry IV of the dual line eventually became emperor of Germany after marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant. The embroilments with England and France have been indicated in the previous chapter, where the progress of Flanders has been recounted down to the accession of the house of Burgundy in 1384.

It is now necessary to bring the history of the northern provinces down to the same point. We left their chronicle at the year 1299, when the death of John I brought to a close the long and excellent line of the counts of Hol-

land. The end of this dynasty threw the countship to an alien family — that of Avennes in the county of Hainault.

THE SWAY OF HAINAULT (1299-1356)

Though the name of Holland far outweighs the name of Hainault to-day, for a long period the latter name was the weightier in Europe, and the house of Hainault ruled over Holland for more than half a century. "Its position in Netherlandish history," says Blok,^b "has been rarely understood."

Though now partly absorbed in Belgium and partly in France, it had an independent existence as early as the seventh century, when the name first appears. The first lords of the country were elective; in the ninth century the title became hereditary, and the nobility took a high rank in Europe, especially as Hainault was the home of chivalry and romance. It was indeed the native land of the chronicler Froissart, who, as we have seen, had the characteristic contempt for such presumptuous and independent burghers as those led by the Van Artevelde. The contrast of Hainault with commercial Holland was extreme, and when, in 1299, they were united under one ruler, there was little sympathy. But by contagion the cities of Hainault began to grow independent and the people to rise in power, especially as the nobility perished rapidly in the wars.

We have already described in Chapter I the means by which the Hainault count, John of Avennes, became heir to the rule of Holland on the failure of the lineage of Dirks, by the death of his cousin John I. The history that follows is for fifty-seven years the history of Holland under the family of Hainault.

There was at first some friction with the emperor of Germany, who claimed Holland as an escheated fief, but he was forced to retreat and accept a mere homage. The bishop of Utrecht, in 1301, began hostilities, but perished in the first battle, and John's brother, Guy, procured the election to the see, ending the disturbances in that direction.^a

The Zealanders now prevailed with Guy, son of the old count of Flanders, who was still a prisoner in France, to grant them large reinforcements of men and ships for the purpose of invading Walcheren. This he was now enabled to do, since the obstinate and decisive battle fought with the French at Courtrai (1302) had placed him in possession of Flanders, which they were forced entirely to evacuate.

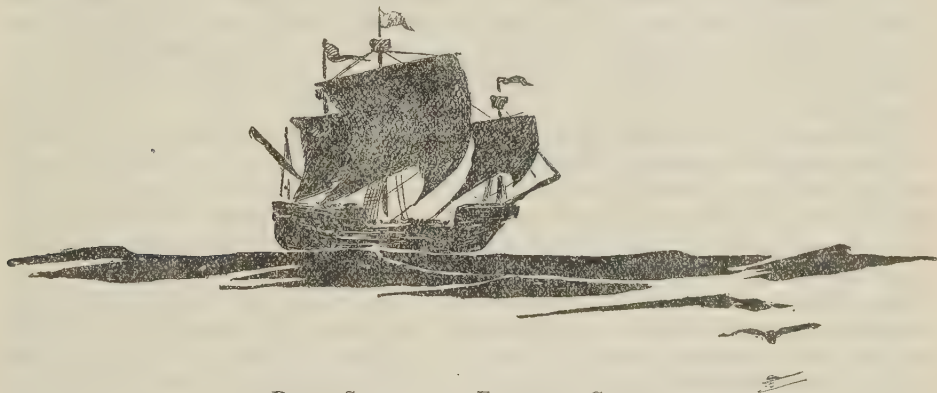
Count John, unable from the feeble state of his health to undergo the slightest exertion, in 1304 surrendered the whole government of the county into the hands of his son William, now his heir, and retired into Hainault for the last time. The greatest zeal in the service of their country, under the young prince William, then just eighteen, was found to pervade all ranks of men. But a severe battle ensued, in which the Hollanders sustained a total defeat.

Nearly the whole of Holland was now overrun by Flemish troops. It seemed, indeed, as if the county had wholly fallen a prey to her ancient and inveterate foe, when it was at once set free by one of those sudden bursts of enthusiastic energy which are characteristic of this remarkable people. Witte van Hamstede, a natural son of Floris V, proceeded with a few followers to Haarlem, the only town of North Holland which had not submitted to the Flemings. From hence he sent letters to the other towns, upbraiding them with cowardice, and earnestly exhorting them to resist to the last their insolent enemies. Within two days the burghers of Delft, Leyden, and

[1304 A.D.]

Schiedam rose with one accord, slew or drove out the Flemish garrisons, and Nicholas van Putten, of Dordrecht, taking advantage of the occasion to attack the Flemings in South Holland, the county in the space of a single week was nearly cleared of her invaders.

The recovery of Holland was ere long followed by that of Zealand. Count William, hearing that Guy was preparing a fleet, sent to petition for succours from Philip IV of France. Philip sent sixteen Genoese and twenty French vessels to Holland, under the command of Rinaldo di Grimaldi, of Genoa. The French fleet united with that of Holland in the mouth of the Maas; and after being long delayed by contrary winds, came within sight



DUTCH SHIP OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

of the Flemish ships, eighty¹ in number, on the evening of the 10th of August, 1304, not far from Zieriksee. The Hollanders, encouraged by a short and spirited address from their leader,² with loud shouts of "Holland, Holland! Paris, Paris!" threw a shower of arrows and stones among the enemy, which the Flemings were not slow in returning.

The fight was continued by moonlight with unrelenting fury until past midnight, when the victory proved decisive on the side of the Hollanders, most of the Flemish ships being either captured or destroyed.³ Count Guy was carried prisoner to France. The Flemish troops now left the siege of Zieriksee in confusion and dismay, concealing themselves for the most part among the sandhills of Schouwen, where about five thousand were made prisoners.

The imprisonment of Count Guy in France terminated the war. Count John died on the 22nd of August, 1304. John of Avennes was pious, affable, humane, and beneficent, but indolent and irresolute; negligent in the administration of justice, and averse to any kind of business; passionately fond of hunting and hawking, and too much addicted to the pleasures of the

¹ It is not mentioned of how many vessels the French and Holland fleet consisted; but it must have been inferior to that of Flanders, since Melis Stoke says that he thinks "it never happened before that so small a number should fight with so great a force." He says also that the Flemings were ten to one on the water, and three to one on land; but this assertion seems hardly worthy of credit. The Flemish historian of later times tells us, on the contrary, that the Hollanders excelled their adversaries in large ships, but that their number of small vessels was inferior.

² Instead of the long and somewhat untimely orations which historians are apt to put into the mouth of their heroes, Melis Stoke attributes to William merely these few words: "Let us defend ourselves bravely. I see the battle won: God will crown him who dies in heaven, and he who lives will be lauded through the whole world."

³ Meyer *d* gives the number of captured vessels as one thousand, but it is scarcely credible.

table; "he laughed in his very heart," says his historian, Melis Stoke,^c "when he saw a jolly company assembled round him."

William III

After the conclusion of the propitious peace which put a final termination to the long and desolating wars between Holland and Flanders,¹ William III (1304-1337) strengthened himself still further by alliances with the families of the principal sovereigns of Europe. The marriage of his younger daughter Philippa to Edward III of England in 1328 proved, in the sequel, an alliance no less honourable than advantageous to Holland. The old count expired at Valenciennes, on the 7th of June, 1337, leaving one son, William, who succeeded him, and four daughters—Margaret, empress of Germany, Philippa, queen of England, Joanna, married to the count of Jülich, and Elizabeth.

William III, besides the appellation of Good, or Pious, added to his name, was termed the master of knights and the chief of princes; he was brave in war, affable to his subjects, strict in the administration of justice. Yet was his government not altogether a happy one for Holland: he depressed the rising industry of the towns by the demand of enormous "petitions," to supply a lavish and often unnecessary expenditure; and he is accused of sacrificing the interests of Holland to those of Hainault, or, as his contemporary historian Gulielmus Procurator^e expresses it, "forsaking the fruitful Leah for the more beautiful Rachel." Added to this, he was negligent of the commercial interests of his subjects.² He however effected a measure of great advantage to Holland, by incorporating with it the lordships of Amstel and Woerden after the death of his uncle, Guy, bishop of Utrecht; and from this time may be dated the rise of the city of Amsterdam.

William IV

The first act of William IV's government was to renew the treaty made by his father with Edward of England, stipulating that, if summoned by the emperor, his vicar, or lieutenant, to defend the boundaries of the empire, he would supply one thousand men-at-arms to be paid by the king, at the rate of fifteen Florentine guilders or forty-five shillings a month, each man; and in case of necessity, the count should levy one thousand additional men at arms for the king's service: besides the expenses of the troops, Edward was to pay the count the sum of £30,000. The immense sacrifice at which Edward purchased the alliance of the princes of the Netherlands cannot fail to excite our astonishment, and events, in fact, proved that he rated it far above its value.

The allied armies united with Edward to lay siege to Cambray, in 1338; but, finding that its reduction would prove a work of time, the king broke up the siege and began his march towards Picardy. Thither the count of Holland refused to follow him, asserting that, being a vassal of the king of France,

[¹ These wars over Zealand had lasted a century and a half, and had involved most of the other Netherlandish states. At the same time the century-old feud between the Flemish houses of Avenues and Dampierre came to an end. The still longer war between Holland and Friesland was more of a race-war; in 1327 the Frieslanders acknowledged William's authority.]

[² Blok^b does not agree with this severe judgment of William III, and calls him "by far the most able ruler who had ever held his seat in the Binnenhof at the Hague." Blok admits, however, that he ruled with an iron hand, though he insists that the country was very prosperous under him.]

[1339-1345 A.D.]

in respect of Hainault, he was bound rather to defend than assist in invading his dominions. Edward, out of revenge, took his way through Hainault, which suffered grievously from the passage of his troops. William immediately joined the French camp.

In the next year, the count of Holland, exasperated at Philip, again returned to the English alliance, and declared war against France, which he now invaded. In compliance with the solicitations of his ally, Edward embarked on the 22nd of June, 1339, at Dover, and fell in with the French fleet of one hundred and twenty large, besides numerous smaller vessels, near Sluys. It does not appear that either William or the Hollanders had any share in the signal victory gained by the English and Flemish on this occasion; a truce for nine months was brought about, which was afterwards prolonged for two years. In 1345 the count declared war against Utrecht and laid siege to the city. He was induced to conclude a truce, to which he consented only on condition that four hundred citizens should sue for pardon, kneeling before him, barefoot and bareheaded, and that he should receive a sum of twenty thousand pounds Flemish for the expenses of the war. When we call to mind the termination of a like siege in 1138, we cannot help being struck with the vast change which had taken place in the relative situations of the count and bishop.

From Utrecht, William returned to Dordrecht, whence he sailed shortly after to the Zuyder Zee, for the purpose of chastising the Frieslanders, who, irritated by his continual and heavy exactions, had taken up arms against him (1345). A storm separating his ships, the troops were forced to land in small bodies in different parts of the country: the Frieslanders, attacking them while thus divided, slew thirty-seven hundred; and the count himself, with some of his nobility, being surrounded by a great number of the enemy, was killed exactly on the spot where the ancient sovereigns of Friesland were accustomed to hold their supreme court. He left no children by his wife, Joanna of Brabant. She afterwards married Wenceslaus, count of Luxemburg, into whose family she brought the rich duchy of Brabant.

William IV was the first count of Holland who resumed the imperfect fiefs which devolved to the county in default of direct heirs, and divided them amongst his vassals, instead of granting them to one of the nearest collateral heirs, upon payment of a reasonable price, as his predecessors were accustomed to do. It is under the government of this count, also, that we meet with the first mention of loans. To enable him to carry on the war with Utrecht, he urged the towns of Holland and Zealand to lend him a sum equivalent to three hundred English pounds, promising not to levy any more petitions till this debt were paid. The towns made it a condition of their compliance that he should grant them new privileges, and required that the nobles should become surety for him.

Margaret and the Disputed Claim (1345)

William dying without issue, his nearest heirs were his four sisters; and as the county had always been an undivided hereditary state, it appeared naturally to devolve on Margaret the eldest, wife of the emperor of Germany. Edward, king of England, however, the husband of Philippa, the second daughter of William III, put in his claim to a share of the inheritance.

As the emperor Ludwig considered himself entitled to the whole of the states, whether as husband of the elder daughter or as suzerain of a fief escheated to the empire on failure of direct heirs, he delayed not to invest

his wife with the titles of countess of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault. In spite of the rigorous season, Margaret repaired in the month of January to Holland, to secure herself in possession of her states before the king of England could gain a footing there.

The people took advantage of her anxiety to be acknowledged, to obtain some desired rights and immunities, of which the most important was the engagement she entered into for herself and her successors never to undertake a war beyond the limits of the county, unless with consent of the nobles, commons, and "good towns"; and if she did so, none should be bound to serve except by their own favour and freewill. She was then unanimously acknowledged by all the members of the state, but shortly after recalled by her husband to Bavaria. As Ludwig, the eldest son of the emperor, had resigned his right to the succession, she sent her second son, William, then in early youth, to take the administration of affairs during her absence, surrendering to him Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault, and retaining for herself merely a pension of ten thousand crowns.

After the death of the emperor, which happened in the October of 1347, Margaret, finding that William was either unable to pay or purposely withheld this trifling annuity, and irritated at his breach of faith, returned to Holland, and resuming the government, obliged William to retire into Hainault. He did not, however, remain tranquil under this deprivation, but secretly used every means in his power to conciliate the favour of the nobles; and the dissensions that now arose between the mother and son gave form and vigour to the two parties of nobles and people, which in this century divided Holland, as well as Germany and France.

WARS OF THE "CODS" AND "HOOKS"

The nobles espoused the side of William, while the people and inhabitants of the towns, with the exception of the larger and more aristocratic cities, adhered to Margaret, who was supported besides by the lord of Brederode, and a few others of the most popular nobility. The former were called by the party name of *Kabbeljauws* or "Cods," because the cod devours all the smaller fish;¹ and the latter by that of *Hoeks* or "Hooks," because with that apparently insignificant instrument one is able to catch the cod. It does not appear what occasion gave rise to these very primitive appellations, so characteristic of the people and their pursuits.

The cods, dissatisfied ere long with the somewhat feeble administration of Margaret, sent repeated messages to William in Hainault, entreating him to come without delay into Holland, and assume the government of the county. After some hesitation, he secretly repaired to Gorkum, and shortly after, most of the principal towns of Holland and West Friesland acknowledged him as count. As soon as Margaret could collect a fleet of English, French, and Hainault ships, she sailed to the island of Walcheren (in 1351), where she fell in with a number of Holland vessels, commanded by her son in person. A sharp engagement ensued, in which William was totally defeated, and forced to retreat to Holland. Margaret, anxious to improve her advantage, followed him to the Maas, where, William having received some reinforcements, another desperate battle was fought, ending in the entire discomfiture of Margaret. A vast number of her adherents were slain,

[¹ Blok thinks the name may have risen from "the light blue scaly-coat of arms" of Duke William. He believes that the guilds were involved and supported the Hooks, though William IV had sternly repressed and forbidden their organisation.]

[1351-1355 A.D.]

and Dirk van Brederode, one of the few nobles who espoused her cause, and the chief stay of her party, was taken prisoner. The remainder of the hook nobles were afterwards banished, and their castles and houses razed to the ground.

Margaret fled to England, where she prevailed upon the king to mediate a peace between herself and her son. She was shortly after followed by William himself, who married there Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster. William likewise accepted the mediation of Edward. According to the terms of the agreement of 1354, William retained Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, while Hainault remained in the possession of Margaret during her life, with a yearly income of about twenty-four hundred pounds.^f

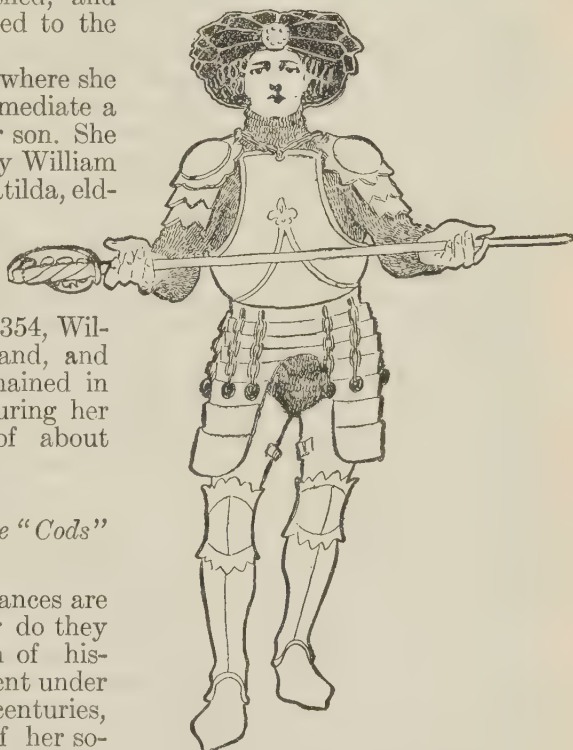
Wenzelburger on the Wars of the "Cods" and "Hooks"

The cod and hook disturbances are no isolated phenomena; rather do they form a link in the great chain of historical processes of development under which Europe, during several centuries, trembled in the foundations of her social organisation, that she might make way for new conditions and new views.

It is not difficult for a dispassionate eye to find and pursue the same scarlet thread which runs through all the trials of strength of the various parties; on the one side the towns form the kernel of the party, on the other the old nobility. In the north, in Oostergoo, the Vetkoopers and Schieringers bear the same relation to one another as the cods and hooks; in Utrecht, the Lichtenbergen and Lockhorsten; in Gelderland the Heekerens and Bronckhorsten; in Liège the Waroux and Awans; in Brussels the Hetfelds and Lombecks; in Flanders the Clauwaerts and the Leliaerts — stood opposed to one another.

"And if," says Löher,^g "we cast our eyes on the great German Empire, here also we shall see the two groups step into the foreground. Here indeed they appear in a different costume and with different weapons, according to whether they belong to the eastern or western portion of the empire. But, amid the bewildered tangle of facts and circumstances, the same fundamental political and social ideas will unfold themselves before our eyes, just as has already been the case with regard to a later period, the beginning of the sixteenth century, since the art and penetration of our historians have set the days of the Peasants' War at the beginning of the Reformation in a new light."

Adolphus of Nassau and Albert of Austria, Ludwig of Bavaria and Charles IV are, when measured by a wider standard, nothing else than the representatives of the same principles for which the hooks and cods contended with



SOLDIER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

one another in Holland; and what other importance have the wars of the Jacquerie, of the Burgundian party with the Armagnacs in France, the civil wars in England, the rebellion of Wat Tyler, than that of strengthening the royal power by the humiliation of the great feudal nobility and making it the only authority in the state? The struggles of the cods and hooks must be understood in this connection, and only thus can we comprehend their long duration, which was only possible on condition that the parties received new impulse and fresh nourishment from without. As in many other questions which deeply concern the fate of a country, here also it is idle to attempt to measure the actions and desires of the various parties from the standpoint of abstract justice.

It must be confessed that if we apply to history the petty view of rights — which clings to yellow parchments and holds to the existing order with its chartered privileges, even though this may actually be the most crying injustice — then right is exclusively on the side of the hooks. They desired only the confirmation and maintenance of existing conditions, the secure establishment of the rights always claimed and exercised by the nobility; whilst the opposing party sought to destroy them. Moreover, the character of the hooks appeals far more to sentiment than does that of their opponents. There the true knightly spirit displayed its fairest blossoms, the fidelity of the hook vassal to his feudal lord shines in a halo such as streams forth only from the *Nibelungenlied* and the old German mythology. Miracles of self-devoted gratitude and manly contempt of death, unshakable composure in a desperate and hopeless situation, gloomy defiance and quiet contempt of the victorious enemy to whom necessity compels submission — these are only to be found in the ranks of the hook champions defending the rights of a persecuted lady.

Far otherwise was it with their opponents. As the towns formed the prevailing element of the party, so here every enterprise was the result of skilful and cunning calculation; their unwieldiness formed a striking contrast to the readiness to strike and the lightning rapidity of the noble troops: they were ever inclined to meet the enemy half way, and conclude a peace with him, to which they consented under any circumstances so long as it suited their interest to do so. The hooks are not, according to the excellent characterisation of Hugo Grotius,^h to be regarded as exactly a party, but only as a section of the population which “remained steadfast in its duty, to defend the laws, usages, liberties, and privileges of the country, against which the cods waged war,” so that they would never have consented if the territorial prince had laid a reforming hand on the existing order. The cods, on the other hand, were not so particular about the conscientious observance of chartered rights; they had no objection if the territorial lord demanded more than his due so long as he raised no barrier against personal liberty and the material pursuit of industry and especially of trade.

In a word, the hooks represented the conservative element of the society of the period, adhering stoutly to what was old and had been handed down from times past, whilst the cods instinctively followed the forward-impelling pressure of the times, and formed the progressive factor of contemporary civilisation. But as in general the romantic deeds of heroism of the valiant knight have a greater charm for the people of their own day and for posterity than the quiet effectiveness of the citizen who, peaceful and modest as he was, yet still laboured ceaselessly and conscious of his aim, so the sympathy of posterity has been directed almost exclusively, and in an extremely one-sided fashion, to the side of the hooks, round whom the ivy of poetic legend and the mournful halo of tragedy have twined themselves.ⁱ

THE BAVARIAN HOUSE IN POWER

Margaret did not long survive the reconciliation with her son; she died in 1356, and thus the county was again transferred to a foreign family, passing from the house of Hainault into that of Bavaria. We find no event worthy to arrest our attention during the reign of William V. In 1357 he began to show symptoms of aberration of intellect, which soon increased to uncontrollable frenzy. He killed with his own hand, and without any cause of offence, a nobleman highly esteemed in the country; in consequence of which act he was deprived of the government, and placed in confinement. He continued a hopeless lunatic until his death, which did not occur till twenty years afterwards.

As William and the emperor Ludwig, his father, had declared Albert, younger brother of the former, heir to the county, if he should die without issue, the government in the present case appeared naturally to devolve on him, as standing next in succession. The cods also, after some resistance, acknowledged Albert as governor or *ruward*¹ in 1359.

Edward III gratified the governor of Holland by a final surrender, in 1372, of all claims in right of his wife to a share in the inheritance of William III.

The extravagance and rapacity of Louis of Male, count of Flanders, had excited discontent and hatred among his subjects, especially the inhabitants of Ghent, and their rebellion under the Van Artevelde has been already described in Chapter II. The death of Louis in January, 1384, as we have seen, made way for the succession of Philip, duke of Burgundy, in right of his wife Margaret, the only legitimate child of Louis, to the counties of Flanders and Artois. Margaret was likewise heiress to the duchy of Brabant, through her aunt Joanna, the present duchess, who, in order to extend still further the influence of her family in the Netherlands, laboured effectually to promote a union between the houses of Burgundy and Holland. Through her means, a double marriage was concluded between William, count of Oosterhaut, eldest son of the count of Holland, and Margaret, daughter of Philip of Burgundy; and between John, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, and Margaret, daughter of Albert the governor. Their nuptials, attended by the king of France in person, were celebrated at Cambray in 1385 in a style of unparalleled magnificence.

Albert, after the loss of his wife, formed an illicit connection with Aleida (or Alice) van Poelgeest, the daughter of a nobleman of the cod party, whose youth, beauty, and insinuating manners soon gained such an ascendancy over the mind of her lover that the whole court was henceforward governed according to her caprices.

The hook nobles, instigated at once by ambition and revenge, resolved upon a deed of horror and blood to which it is said, they induced Albert's son, William of Oosterhaut, to lend his assistance.² A number of them

[¹ Ruward, a word signifying "conservator of the peace."]

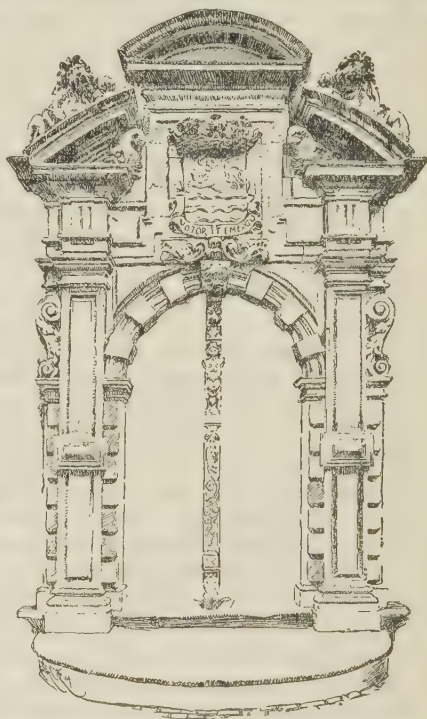
[² Petrus Suffridus¹ accuses William of participation in this crime, and the accusation has been adopted by later authors, but, as it seems, without sufficient foundation. Neither Jan Gerbrandszoon (John of Leyden)² his contemporary, nor Beka³ attributes to him any share in it: that he befriended the perpetrators, when brought to justice three years after, is undoubted; among them were some of the most illustrious of the nobility, and his personal friends; but that he should, if he had been a party concerned, have forsaken his accomplices to attend a tournament in England a month after, is highly improbable: he is mentioned by Froissart as being present at the one held about Michaelmas in this year by Richard II, when he was made knight of the garter.]

assembled at the Hague, where the Lady Aleida was then residing, and on the night of the 21st of August forced their way, completely armed, into her apartment. The count's steward threw himself before them to defend the terrified girl from their violence. He was slaughtered on the spot; and, a moment after, Aleida herself fell dead, and covered with wounds, at their feet.

William of Oosterhaut repeatedly besought his father to pardon the criminals; but, finding him deaf to his entreaties, he retired in anger to the court of France. Philip advised him to seek a reconciliation with his father, by proposing an expedition into Friesland, that he might at once avenge the death of his uncle, William IV, and reconquer his inheritance.

Albert was readily induced to favour the designs of his son; he solicited succours from France and England, who each sent a body of troops to his aid. The allied troops set sail on the 22nd of August, 1396, in a fleet of four thousand and forty ships.¹ The Frieslanders, meanwhile, had made an alliance with the bishop of Utrecht, and assembled together in arms to the number of thirty thousand men. Unfortunately, however, they refused to follow the wise counsel of one of the chief of their nobility, Juw Juwiga. They were ill able to withstand the well-tempered weapons and heavy armour of their enemies. Fourteen hundred were slain, and the rest forced to take flight. The victorious army carried fire and sword through the country, until the approach of the rainy season obliged them to retire into winter quarters: they carried with them the body of Count William, which had been taken up from the place of its sepulture. Count Albert was, for the time, acknowledged lord of Friesland.

But little more than a year elapsed, however, before the Frieslanders again threw off their forced subjection, and at length, in 1400, Count Albert found himself obliged to make a truce with them for six years, without insisting upon their acknowledgment of him as lord of Friesland. The principal reason which prompted him to the adoption of this unpalatable measure was the exhausted condition of his finances; added to this was the rebellion of one of his own subjects, John, lord of Arkel, who had long filled the office of stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, as well as that of treasurer



DOOR OF OLD MIDDELBURG ABBEY

[¹ This number appears immense; but John of Leyden,^b a contemporary, estimates the number of troops to be conveyed across the Zuyder Zee at one hundred and eighty thousand, in which the historian of Friesland agrees. Froissart^m says they were more than one hundred thousand; consequently, if, as we may suppose, the vessels were for the most part small, they must have had this number for their transport, since five and twenty men would have been a sufficient average complement for each. The men of Haarlem alone are said to have supplied twelve hundred mariners.]

of the count's private domains, without having given any account of his administration of the revenues.

This was the last event of importance which occurred under Count Albert's administration. He died on the 15th of December, 1404, at the age of sixty-seven, having governed the county for forty-six years. By his first wife, Margaret, daughter of the duke of Brieg, he left three sons — William, who succeeded him; Albert, duke of Mubingen; and John, bishop-elect of Liège: and four daughters, Joanna of Luxemburg, queen of Bohemia, who died without issue; Catherine, duchess of Gelderland, who likewise died childless; Margaret, married to John, son of the duke of Burgundy; and another Joanna, wife of the duke of Austria. He had no issue by his second wife, Margaret of Cleves, who survived him.

Albert appears to have been, on the whole, a mild, just, and pious prince, but remarkably deficient in talent, energy, and decision. His constant necessities enabled the towns to purchase of him many valuable additions to their privileges. The debts which he left unpaid at his death were so heavy that his widow found it advisable to make a *boedelafstandt*, or formal renunciation of all claim to his estate.

William VI (1404-1417)

The animosities between the cod and hook parties, which appeared to have been mitigated for a few years, now revived with increased fury, and a number of the most respectable burghers lost their lives.

The Hollanders, under the government of William, entirely lost their footing in Friesland; and in the year 1417 the Frieslanders obtained from the emperor Sigismund a charter, confirming the entire independence of their state. William was the less inclined to undertake any expedition into Friesland, as the alliance he had formed between his only daughter, Jacqueline, or Jacoba, and a son of the king of France, involved him in some degree in the cabals of that court.

The insanity of the king, Charles VI, and the weak and vicious character of the queen, Isabella of Bavaria, had rendered the royal authority in France utterly inefficient, leaving the kingdom a prey to the fury of the rival factions, so celebrated in history, of Burgundy and Orleans. It was during the ascendancy of the former that John, duke of Touraine, second son of the king of France, had been betrothed to Jacqueline of Holland, niece of the duke of Burgundy. Owing to the youth of the parties, the marriage was not completed until 1415, when Jacqueline was declared heir to Hainault, Holland, and Friesland.

By the death of his elder brother, Louis, John succeeded, a few months after, to the title of dauphin, and became heir-apparent to the French crown, but he died in 1417.

To William his loss was irreparable. The succession to the county had been settled on his only legitimate child, Jacqueline, with the condition that the government was to remain in the hands of her husband. On both the previous occasions, when the county had been left without a male heir, a great proportion of the Hollanders had shown a vehement dislike to submit to the authority of a female, and he, therefore, dreaded lest the claims of his daughter might be set aside in favour of his brother John, bishop-elect of Liège. To guard against any such attempt, he assembled the nobles and towns of Holland, who, at his requisition, solemnly swore to acknowledge Jacqueline lawful heir and successor, in case he should die without a son. Most of the

principal nobles and the large towns of Holland signed this agreement, as well as the states of Zealand; and William, thinking he had now placed the succession of his daughter on a firm footing, returned to Hainault. Here he soon after died at Bouchain, in May, 1417. During the reign of William the herring fishery, a source of such immense national wealth to Holland, began rapidly to increase.

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF JACQUELINE

The death of William VI left the government of the county in the hands of his young and widowed daughter, who had barely attained the age of seventeen. Yet, endued with understanding far above her years and a courage uncommon to her sex, joined to the most captivating grace and beauty, the countess had already secured the respect and affection of her subjects, which, after her accession, she neglected no method to retain, by confirming everywhere their ancient charters and privileges; and the Hollanders might have promised themselves long years of tranquillity and happiness under her rule, had it not been for the unprincipled ambition of her paternal uncle, John of Bavaria, surnamed the Ungodly,¹ bishop-elect of Liège.

Being resolved to abandon the spiritual condition, and procure himself to be acknowledged governor of Holland, he repaired to Dordrecht, where he had many partisans, and was proclaimed there. The other towns, however, both of Holland and Zealand, and whether espousing the hook or cod party, refused to acknowledge him. Jacqueline assembled her troops, placing herself at their head. The followers of John were defeated, and more than a thousand men slain. The presence of so formidable an enemy in her states made it advisable that the young countess should marry without delay. Her father had in his will named as her future husband, John, eldest son of Anthony, late duke of Brabant, and first cousin to Jacqueline; and although she showed no inclination to the person of the young prince, the union was so earnestly pressed by her mother and John, duke of Burgundy, her uncle, that, a dispensation having been procured from the pope, the parties were married at Biervliet early in the following spring (1418).

John of Bavaria, to whom this marriage left no pretence for insisting on the regency, found means to induce the pope, Martin V, and the emperor Sigismund, to lend their aid to his project. John sent a trusty ambassador to resign his bishopric into the hands of the pope, and to solicit in return a dispensation from holy orders and liberty to enter the marriage state. Martin consented to his wishes, and a matrimonial alliance with Elizabeth of Luxemburg, widow of Anthony, duke of Brabant, and niece to the emperor, gained him the favour and support of Sigismund, who declared the county of Holland and Zealand a fief reverted in default of heirs male to the empire, with which he invested John of Bavaria, commanding the nobility, towns, and inhabitants in general, to acknowledge allegiance to him, and releasing them from the oaths they had taken to Jacqueline and John of Brabant.

John of Bavaria assumed the title of count, and was acknowledged at Dordrecht; but the other towns declared that the county of Holland and Zealand was no fief of the empire, nor was the succession in anywise restricted to heirs male.

[¹ *Sine pietate*, from his refusal to receive holy orders according to Monstrelet²; others give him the surname of "pitiless," which it is said he obtained by his cruelties at Liège: but he gave no orders for executions there, except in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy and the count of Holland.]

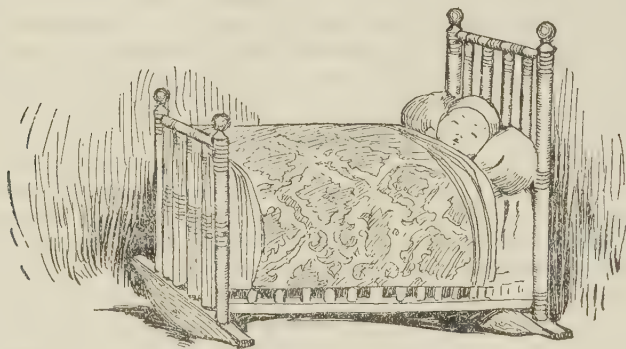
So far from supporting the pretensions of John, the towns of Haarlem, Delft, and Leyden had raised a loan for Jacqueline, and they laid siege to Dordrecht, the expedition being commanded by the young John of Brabant. His troops were not in sufficient number to carry the town. John of Bavaria advanced to Rotterdam, the capture of which John of Brabant found himself unable to prevent, and the former, in consequence, became master of a considerable portion of South Holland. The feeble John of Brabant was reduced to make a treaty with his rival in 1420, whereby he ceded to him Holland, Zealand, and Friesland for the space of twelve years; and this conduct, without bettering the condition of his affairs, served but to increase the dislike with which he had for some time been viewed by the Brabanters.

Nor was this feeling manifested by them alone. Countess Jacqueline had consented to the marriage with the young duke of Brabant, without the slightest sentiment of affection towards him, yielding her own inclinations on this point to the persuasions of her mother: nor were the circumstances of their union such as subsequently to conciliate her love or esteem. The princess was in her twenty-second year, of a healthy constitution and vigorous intellect, lively, spirited, and courageous; her husband, on the contrary, about two years younger than herself, was feeble alike in body and mind, indolent, and capricious. Through his incapacity, she now saw herself stripped of her fairest possessions, nor did there appear any security for her retaining the rest; he, moreover, maintained an illicit connection with the daughter of a Brabant nobleman; and, with the petty tyranny which little minds are so fond of exercising, he forced her to dismiss all the Holland ladies from her service, and to fill their places with those of Brabant. She secretly quitted the court; and, accompanied by her mother, escaped in 1421 by way of Calais to England, where she was courteously received by Henry V, and a hundred pounds a month allotted for her maintenance. In the winter of the same year she held at the baptismal font the infant son of the king, afterwards Henry VI.

Jacqueline was now determined at all risks to procure the dissolution of the bonds that had become so odious to her; and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, brother of the king, tempted by her large inheritance and captivated by her personal charms, eagerly entered into a negotiation with her for a future matrimonial alliance, which had been projected even before her flight from Brabant. An almost insurmountable difficulty, however, presented itself, in the necessity of procuring a dispensation from the pope. Martin V had granted one three years before, against the wishes both of the emperor and John of Bavaria, for her marriage with John of Brabant; and it appeared scarcely reasonable to ask him now to revoke it. Humphrey and Jacqueline applied to Benedict XIII, who had been deposed by the council of Pisa in 1409, and was acknowledged only by the king of Aragon. Benedict, flattered with the recognition of his authority, and pleased with the opportunity of acting in opposition to his rival, readily granted a bull of divorce, which they pretended to have obtained from the legitimate pope, and which Martin V afterwards publicly declared to be fictitious.

Although such a divorce could not by any means be considered as valid, the marriage between the duke of Gloucester and the countess Jacqueline was, nevertheless, solemnized in the end of the year 1422. But the proximity of his claims to the county of Holland rendered the marriage of the English duke with the countess in the highest degree distasteful to Philip of Burgundy. She had no children by the duke of Brabant, nor did it appear probable that she ever would; but her union with Humphrey might prove

more fruitful, and the birth of a child effectually bar Philip from the succession. He therefore complained of this step as an affront offered to himself. He found Humphrey, however, determined to resign, on no consideration, either his wife or his claim to her states; but having obtained for her an act of naturalisation from the English parliament, in 1424, together with subsidies of troops and money, he set out for Hainault, where, Philip of Burgundy and John of Brabant being unprepared for resistance, the towns universally opened their gates to him. Little occurred during the campaign, except mutual defiance between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester; and Humphrey, accepting the challenge of the former to single combat, in



DUTCH CRADLE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

the presence of the duke of Bedford, returned to England under pretext of making the necessary preparations, but in reality, probably, from a conviction that he should not be able long to withstand the power of Burgundy. He left the countess in Mons, which, shortly after his departure, was threatened with a siege. Jacqueline wrote a letter, couched in the most moving terms, to solicit succours from her husband, which, unhappily, never reached him, being intercepted by the duke of Burgundy.^f

Jacqueline's Letter to Her Husband

The following is the letter as quoted by Monstrelet:

My very dear and redoubted lord and father, in the most humble of manners in this world I recommend myself to your kind favour. May it please you to know, my very redoubted lord and father, that I address myself to you as the most doleful, most ruined, and most treacherously deceived woman living; for, my very dear lord, on Sunday, the 13th of this present month of June, the deputies of your town of Mons returned, and brought with them a treaty that had been agreed on between our fair cousin of Burgundy and our fair cousin of Brabant; which treaty had been made in the absence and without the knowledge of my mother, as she herself signifies to me, and confirmed by her chaplain, Master Gerard le Grand.

My mother, most redoubted lord, has written to me letters, certifying the above treaty having been made; but that, in regard to it, she knew not how to advise me, for that she was herself doubtful how to act. She desired me, however, to call an assembly of the principal burghers of Mons, and learn from them what aid and advice they were willing to give me. Upon this, my sweet lord and father, I went on the morrow to the town-house, and remonstrated with them, that it had been at their request and earnest entreaties that you had left me under their safeguard and on their oaths, that they would be true and loyal subjects, and take especial care of me, so that they should be enabled to give you good accounts on your return; and these oaths had been taken on the holy sacrament at the altar, and on the sacred evangelists.

[1424-1425 A.D.]

To this my harangue, my dear and honoured lord, they simply replied that they were not sufficiently strong within the town to defend and guard me; and instantaneously they rose in tumult, saying that my people wanted to murder them; and, my sweet lord, they carried matters so far that, in despite of me, they arrested one of your sergeants, called Maquart, whom they immediately beheaded, and hanged very many who were of your party and strongly attached to your interests, such as Bardould de la Porte, his brother Colart, and others, to the number of 250 of your adherents. They also wished to seize Sir Baldwin the treasurer, and Sir Louis de Montfort; but though they did not succeed, I know not what they intend doing; for, my very dear lord, they plainly told me that unless I make peace, they will deliver me into the hands of the duke of Brabant, and that I shall only remain eight days longer in their town, when I shall be forced to go into Flanders, which will be to me the most painful of events; for I very much fear that, unless you shall hasten to free me from the hands I am now in, I shall never see you more. Alas! my most dear and redoubted father, my whole hope is in your power, seeing, my sweet lord and only delight, that all my sufferings arise from my love to you. I therefore entreat, in the most humble manner possible, and for the love of God, that you would be pleased to have compassion on me and on my affairs; for you must hasten to succour your most doleful creature, if you do not wish to lose her forever. I have hopes that you will do as I beg, for, dear father, I have never behaved ill to you in my whole life, and so long as I shall live I will never do anything to displease you, but I am ready to die for love of you and your noble person.

Your government pleases me much; and by my faith, my very redoubted lord and prince, my sole consolation and hope, I beg you will consider, by the love of God and of my lord St. George, the melancholy situation of myself and my affairs more maturely than you have hitherto done, for you seem entirely to have forgotten me.

Nothing more do I know at present than that I ought sooner to have sent Sir Louis de Montfort to you, for he cannot longer remain here, although he attended me when all the rest deserted me; and he will tell you more particularly all that has happened than I can do in a letter. I entreat, therefore, that you will be a kind lord to him, and send me your good pleasure and commands, which I will most heartily obey. This is known to the blessed Son of God, whom I pray to grant you a long and happy life, and that I may have the great joy of seeing you soon.

Written in the false and traitorous town of Mons, with a doleful heart, the 6th day of June. Your sorrowful and well-beloved daughter, suffering great grief by your commands—your daughter, DE QUIENEBOURG.^a

Last Days of Jacqueline

The appeal never reached its destination and, on June 13th, Jacqueline was delivered by the citizens of Mons into the hands of the duke of Burgundy's deputies, and conducted to Ghent, to be detained there until the pope should decide the question of her marriage.

After remaining some little time in confinement, Jacqueline escaped, in male disguise, to Antwerp, and resuming the attire of her sex proceeded thence to Woudrichen, which opened its gates to her, as well as Oudewater, Gouda, and Schoonhoven. The citadel of the latter resisted for some days the army which the hook nobles assembled to besiege it, but was ultimately forced to surrender on conditions. Their lives and estates were granted to all the defenders except one named Arnold Beiling, the cause of whose reservation is not known. His conduct on the occasion proved that the high principle of honour and undaunted courage which we are accustomed to attribute peculiarly to the knightly and the noble animated no less strongly the breast of a simple Dutch burgher. He was condemned to be buried alive, but besought a respite of one month to arrange his affairs, and take leave of his friends: it was granted upon his word of honour alone, and he was permitted to depart without further security. He returned punctually at the time appointed, and the sentence was executed a short distance without the walls of the town. The confidence with which this singular request was granted, showing, as it does, the habitual reliance placed on the good faith of the Hollanders, is only less admirable than the courageous integrity with which the promise was fulfilled.

The death of John of Bavaria in 1425 by poison, administered, as some

say, at the instigation of the countess-dowager, others, by his steward,¹ a knight of the hook party, some months after the return of Jacqueline to Holland, although it delivered her from an inveterate and powerful enemy, did not contribute to retrieve her fortunes. He had named Philip of Burgundy his heir in case he should die without issue, and that ambitious prince now took advantage of the event to obtain from John of Brabant the title of governor (or *ruward*) and heir to the county of Holland; John himself retaining the name of count, and being acknowledged as such by all the towns which had held to the party of John of Bavaria. From this time he does not appear to have concerned himself in any way with the government of the county. Philip came into Holland, where he was acknowledged governor by the greater portion of the towns.

The countess Jacqueline remained meanwhile at Gouda, where, hearing that some towns of the cod party had united their forces to besiege her, she obtained assistance from the Utrechters, who had always remained faithful to her cause, and advanced at the head of her troops to meet her enemies near Alpen, where she gained a considerable victory over them. This success was followed by the welcome news that an English fleet had been equipped for her service by the duke of Gloucester, bringing five hundred choice land troops. It arrived, in effect, early in 1426 at Schouwen, under the command of the earl Fitzwalter, whom he had appointed his stadholder over Holland and Zealand. Philip assembled an army of four thousand men, and sailed to Brouwershaven, where the English, joined with the Zealanders of the hook party, were encamped. Immediately on the landing of the cods the troops came to a severe engagement, which lasted the whole day, and terminated to the disadvantage of the English and hooks; one thousand four hundred of the former and some of the principal nobles of Zealand were slain, Fitzwalter himself being forced to seek safety by flight.

This unfortunate encounter lost Jacqueline the whole of Zealand; nevertheless, she did not yield to despair, but, taking advantage of the absence of Duke Philip from Holland, she engaged the men of Alkmaar, with the Kennemerlanders and West Frieslanders, to lay siege to Haarlem: this undertaking also was unsuccessful; but the Kennemerlanders made themselves masters of several forts belonging to the cod party.

The advance of Philip in person did not permit Jacqueline to continue any longer in North Holland. She therefore retreated once more to Gouda, when all the towns in that quarter opened their gates to Philip. The hooks vented their rage upon the town of Enkhuizen; having collected a few vessels, they surprised it as the burghers were engaged in their midday meal, seized more than a hundred of the principal persons, and beheaded them. Under pretext of securing them from similar assaults in future, Philip placed foreign garrisons in the greater number of the towns, and erected a citadel at Hoorn.

The filling the towns with foreign soldiers, an act unprecedented in the history of the country, was the first of those violent and unpopular measures pursued by Philip and his successors which, in the next century, lost them so rich and fair a portion of their dominions. It was followed by others no less inimical to the ancient customs and privileges of the people; the Kennemerlanders were punished for the support they had given to their lawful sovereign, by the forfeiture of their charters and immunities; the towns and villages which had adhered to Jacqueline were condemned to pay a fine of

[¹ John van Vliet, who married Jacqueline's illegitimate sister, confessed to poisoning him by spreading on the leaves of a prayer-book poison bought from an English merchant. He was put to death. John of Bavaria was several months in dying.]

[1426-1428 A.D.]

123,300 crowns within six months, and to be subject to a perpetual tax of four groots (halfpence) for every hearth. Even those towns which had been friendly to Philip were obliged to contribute heavy "petitions" for the payment of his troops.

The countess Jacqueline found her affairs in a desperate condition. The pope had not only declared her marriage with the duke of Brabant valid, but prohibited the contraction of any future marriage between her and the duke of Gloucester, even after the death of John of Brabant,¹ whose health and strength were rapidly decaying. This event, which occurred within a short time from the issuing of the papal bull, and the intelligence that the English parliament had granted 20,000 marks expressly for her relief, inspired Jacqueline with hopes, nevertheless, that Gloucester would lend effective aid towards reinstating her in possession of her inheritance, and emboldened her to appeal to a general council of the Church against the decree of the pope. But the duke of Bedford, having concluded a truce for his brother with the duke of Burgundy, forbade him to go to Holland, and Gloucester himself showed no inclination to second the efforts of the countess.

In spite of her remonstrances, and of the reproaches of his own countrywomen, he forsook his noble and highborn bride for the charms of Eleanor Cobham, whom he now married, after her having lived with him some years as his mistress. Jacqueline, conscious of possessing, besides her princely birth and rich estates, all the alluring attractions of her sex, was struck to the heart by this cruel and unlooked-for desertion. Jacqueline and the hook nobles, seeing no chance of defending themselves, offered terms of compromise to the duke, to which he readily listened.

By this treaty [called the Reconciliation of Delft, July 3rd, 1428] Jacqueline was to surrender her states to the administration of Philip as heir and governor, but retain the title of countess, with an engagement not to contract another marriage without the consent of the duke, of her mother, and of the three estates; in which case, she was to resign, in favour of Philip, her claim to the allegiance of her subjects. The government of Holland, in the duke's absence, was to be entrusted to nine counsellors, of whom the countess should name three, and the duke the six others—three natives, and three from other parts of his dominions. (It had been an express stipulation, in the marriage articles of Jacqueline with the duke of Touraine, that no foreigners were to be admitted to offices within the county.) The duke was to have the sole nomination of all the higher offices, both in the towns and open country. The future revenues of the county, after the subtraction of salaries to public officers, and other necessary expenses, were to be paid to the countess. The exiles on both sides were to be permitted to return to their country, and no one, under a penalty, should reproach another with the party names of hook and cod.

Jacqueline was obliged to go through the towns of Holland with the duke, and cause the oaths to be taken to him as heir and governor; and thus deprived of all authority in the government, she retired to Goes in South Beveland. One friend, and one alone, was left to her in this time of need. Francis van Borselen, although a conspicuous member of the cod party, and appointed by Philip stadholder of Holland, was ever ready to assist her with his purse and counsel, though at the risk of alienating his friends, and even of losing his valuable offices. The gratitude and esteem which such conduct naturally

¹ This prince, although from his deficiency in talent he appears in so contemptible a light, is said by historians to have been just, pious, and benevolent. His name is honourable to posterity as the founder of the university of Louvain in 1426.

excited in the breast of the forsaken princess soon deepened into feelings of the tenderest attachment; and, under their impulse, she consented to a secret marriage with Borselen, though she well knew the penalty which must attach to a discovery. This event was soon known to Philip, who had too many of his partisans around her to admit of its remaining long concealed; nor did he delay to make use of it as a means of depriving Jacqueline of her title of countess, all that now remained of her birthright.

His first measure was to cause Francis van Borselen to be arrested at the Hague, and conducted prisoner to Ruppelmonde; after which, he allowed a report to go abroad that the unfortunate nobleman was to be released only by death; judging, with good reason, that the desire to save a husband so beloved would reduce the countess to such terms of submission as he should dictate.

The issue justified his expectations. Upon condition that the duke should release Francis van Borselen and confirm their marriage, she renounced in 1433 all right and title to the counties of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault; in the event of the duke dying before her, the county was to revert to herself and her heirs. Philip afterwards appointed her grand forester of Holland and created Borselen count of Oosterhaut, but deprived him of the office of stadholder.

Such was the end of the troubled and disastrous reign of the countess Jacqueline. There are many points in the character and story of this lovely and unhappy lady which strongly remind us of the still more unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots: her personal beauty, captivating manners, masculine courage, and extraordinary talent; her early marriage to the heir of the French crown, with the disappointment of her high hopes, caused by his premature death; the disgust and misery attendant on her second union; and her final subjection to the power of an artful and ambitious rival. But, innocent of the crimes or indiscretions of Mary, she escaped also her violent and cruel death; and we may be tempted to believe that the period which she passed in obscurity, united, for the first time, by the ties of affliction, to an object every way worthy of her love and esteem, was the happiest of her life. If so, however, her felicity was but of short duration, since in 1436 she died of consumption, about two years after her abdication, at the age of thirty-six.^f

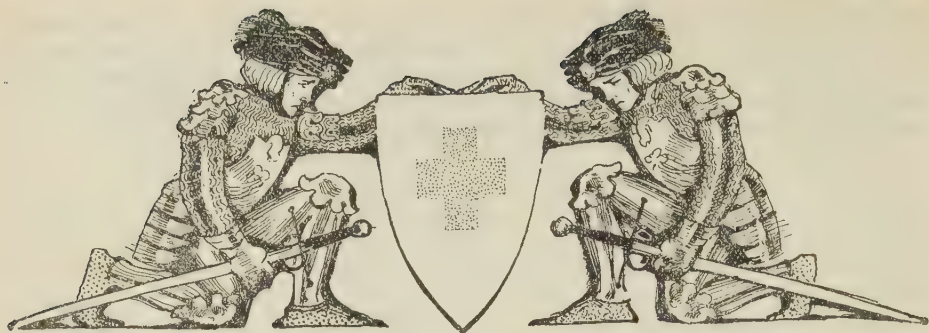
Of Jacqueline, Blok writes vividly: "Jacqueline was destined to play a romantic part in history. Poets have sung her fate, and even dry chronicles wax eloquent when she is their theme. The barren twigs of records begin to bear blossoms when her sorrows, her proud resistance, are recorded. She was a tall, well-formed, active woman, brought up in an isolated castle in Hainault, hardened by hunting and feats at arms, skilled in minnesong and tournaments, besides being at home in the English and French tongues. She was quite capable of leading troops, conducting sieges, and making plans of policy as well as the most skilled knight, the most experienced diplomat in her train. And she won many hearts by her courageous bearing. She was a woman in armour—the worthy granddaughter of the valiant empress Margaret; the worthy kinswoman of her famous great-aunt, Philippa of Hainault, queen of England; the worthy daughter of her proud mother, Margaret of Burgundy, and of her chivalrous father."^b

It is a striking coincidence that this brave and beautiful princess, who often donned man's attire, should have been a contemporary of the warrior-peasant Joan of Arc. Jacqueline gave up her long struggle in 1428; Joan appeared at the French court and raised the siege of Orleans in 1429; Jacque-

[1431 A.D.]

line's enemy, Burgundy, was in alliance with the English and it was he who delivered Joan to them. Joan was burned in 1431 at the age of twenty; Jacqueline died five years later at the age of thirty-six. Her four marriages had all been childless, and her death left the rest of her territories to the undisputed rule of the house of Burgundy.^a





CHAPTER IV

THE NETHERLANDS UNDER BURGUNDY AND THE EMPIRE

[1436-1555 A.D.]

BURGUNDY, or Bourgogne, as it is called by the French who now possess the bulk of it, has played so important and complicated a rôle in the politics of Europe that some separate account of its history is desirable. The Burgundi or Burgundiones, so called from living in *burgi* or burghs, were apparently of Gothic stock. They are first discovered between the Vistula and the Oder about 289 A.D. They defeated the Alamanni, and in 406 migrated to Gaul under Gunther, or Gundicar, who had played a large part in the election of the emperor Jovinus. The Romans compelled the Celtic Ædui to divide lands, property, and slaves with the Burgundi, whose first definite kingdom was founded between the Rhone and the Aar, where Christianity was speedily adopted. Gundicar was killed in a battle with the Gauls, and succeeded by Gunderic (436-470), whose four sons divided his realm, setting their capitals at Geneva, Besançon, Lyons, and Vienne. In 507 Gundibald reunited the fragments into one realm, and made the code known either by his name, or as the *Loi Gombette*. He was succeeded in 516 by his son Sigismund, and he by Gundimar in 524, with whom ended this Burgundian dynasty, for in 534 he was expelled and his realm absorbed in the Frankish Empire.

THE RISE OF BURGUNDY

After the division of Verdun in 843 the Burgundians were separated into the duchy and the realm of Burgundy. The realm itself was subdivided, and Boson founded the kingdom of Lower Burgundy or Cisjuran; while in 888, Rudolf, a Guelfic Swiss count, organised the kingdom of Upper Burgundy or Transjuran. Boson in 882 accepted Charles the Stout as overlord, and Rudolf's son, Rudolf, was eventually allowed to add Cisjuran to Transjuran in 933, in exchange for his rights to the Italian crown. The united kingdom, often known as Arles or the Arclatian Kingdom, was governed by a line of princes who rivalled and often overbore the Carolingian rulers. But in 1033 it was absorbed into the German Empire by Conrad II.

Meanwhile, Boson's brother, Richard, had given his allegiance to Charles the Bald, and received from the French king the so-called duchy of Burgundy.

[1002-1384 A.D.]

It was reunited to the French crown from 1002 to 1032, when Henry I transferred it to his brother, Robert the Old, whose descendants held it for the older Capetian line till 1361, when the French king, John the Good, seized it.

But in the defeat of Poitiers he was taken prisoner by the English; in that disgraceful rout, his youngest son, Philip the Bold (*le hardi*), duke of Touraine, was the only one of the sons to defend his father with his sword. In gratitude he gave the youth the duchy of Burgundy with the rank of a first peer of France. Barante,^b in his history of the Burgundian dukes, quotes the old charter which justifies the grant "for the reason that the said Philip, of his own free will, exposed himself to death with us, and, all wounded as he was, remained steadfast and fearless throughout the battle of Poitiers."

It was a kingly reward for princely valour, but the consequences were not happy. As Martin^c says: "John as a farewell to his realm left an act that crowned all his faults — the alienation of the duchy of Burgundy, which had just been so happily reunited to the crown. The sage policy of Louis the Fat, of Philip Augustus, and of St. Louis was very remote. The insensate Valois voluntarily loosened the structure of the monarchy, to constitute this fatal oligarchy of the 'sires of the fleurs-de-lis,' which renewed the grand feudalism and upset France for a century."

It was not till 1364 that Philip the Bold came into full possession of the duchy; in that year he entered his capital, Dijon, in state. His brother, Charles V of France, enlarged his power by giving him the stadholdership of the Île-de-France, and arranging his marriage with Margaret of Flanders. Later he acquired from her inheritance also Artois and the countship of Burgundy, known later as the Franche-Comté, uniting two of the most important French fiefs in the hands of a new power destined to rival and threaten the French crown.^a

PHILIP THE BOLD

Thus the house of Burgundy, which soon after became so formidable and celebrated, obtained this vast accession to its power. The various changes which had taken place in the neighbouring provinces during the continuance of these civil wars had altered the state of Flanders altogether. John d'Avesnes, count of Hainault, having also succeeded in 1299 to the county of Holland, the two provinces, though separated by Flanders and Brabant, remained from that time under the government of the same chief, who soon became more powerful than the bishops of Utrecht, or even than their formidable rivals the Frisians.

During the wars which desolated these opposing territories, in consequence of the perpetual conflicts for superiority, the power of the various towns insensibly became at least as great as that of the nobles to whom they were constantly opposed. The commercial interests of Holland, also, were considerably advanced by the influx of Flemish merchants forced to seek refuge there from the convulsions which agitated their province. Every day confirmed and increased the privileges of the people of Brabant; while at Liège the inhabitants gradually began to gain the upper hand, and to shake off the former subjection to their sovereign bishops.

Although Philip of Burgundy became count of Flanders, by the death of his father-in-law, in the year 1384, it was not till the following year that he concluded a peace with the people of Ghent, and entered into quiet possession of the province. In the same year the duchess of Brabant, the last descendant of the duke of that province, died, leaving no nearer relative

than the duchess of Burgundy; so that Philip obtained in right of his wife this new and important accession to his dominions.

But the consequent increase of the sovereign's power was not, as is often the case, injurious to the liberties or happiness of the people. Philip continued to govern in the interest of the country, which he had the good sense to consider as identified with his own. He augmented the privileges of the towns, and negotiated for the return into Flanders of those merchants who had emigrated to Germany and Holland during the continuance of the civil wars. He thus by degrees accustomed his new subjects, so proud of their rights, to submit to his authority; and his peaceable reign was only disturbed by the fatal issue of the expedition of his son, John the Fearless, count de Nevers, against the Turks. This young prince, filled with ambition and temerity, was offered the command of the force sent by Charles VI of France to the assistance of Sigismund of Hungary in his war against Bajazet. Followed by a numerous body of nobles, he entered on the contest, and was defeated and taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Nicopoli. His army was totally destroyed, and himself only restored to liberty on the payment of an immense ransom.

John the Fearless succeeded in 1404 to the inheritance of all his father's dominions, with the exception of Brabant, of which his younger brother, Anthony of Burgundy, became duke. John, whose ambitious and ferocious character became every day more strongly developed, now aspired to the government of France during the insanity of his cousin Charles VI. He occupied himself little with the affairs of the Netherlands, from which he only desired to draw supplies of men. But the Flemings, taking no interest in his personal views or private projects, and equally indifferent to the rivalry of England and France, which now began so fearfully to afflict the latter kingdom, forced their ambitious count to declare their province a neutral country; so that the English merchants were admitted as usual to trade in all the ports of Flanders, and the Flemings equally well received in England; while the duke made open war against that country in his quality of a prince of France and sovereign of Burgundy. This is probably the earliest well-established instance of such a distinction between the prince and the people.

Anthony, duke of Brabant, the brother of Philip, was not so closely restricted in his authority and wishes. He led all the nobles of the province to take part in the quarrels of France; and he suffered the penalty of his rashness, in meeting his death in the battle of Agincourt. But the duchy suffered nothing by this event, for the militia of the country had not followed their duke and his nobles to the war; and a national council was now established, consisting of eleven persons, two of whom were ecclesiastics, three barons, two knights, and four commoners. This council, formed on principles so fairly popular, conducted the public affairs with great wisdom during the minority of the young duke. Each province seems thus to have governed itself upon principles of republican independence. The sovereigns could not at discretion, or by the want of it, play the bloody game of war for their mere amusement; and the emperor putting in his claim at this epoch to his ancient rights of sovereignty over Brabant, as an imperial fief, the council and the people treated the demand with derision.

John the Fearless, after having caused the murder of his rival the duke of Orleans, was himself assassinated, on the bridge of Montereau, by the followers of the dauphin of France, and in his presence. Philip duke of Burgundy, the son and successor of John, had formed a close alliance with Henry V, to revenge his father's murder; and soon after the death of the

[1419-1436 A.D.]

king Philip married his sister, and thus united himself still more nearly to the celebrated John duke of Bedford, brother of Henry, and regent of France, in the name of his infant nephew, Henry VI. But besides the share on which he reckoned in the spoils of France, Philip also looked with a covetous eye on the inheritance of Jacqueline of Holland, his cousin. Her death in 1436, at the age of thirty-six, removed all restraint from Philip's thirst for aggrandisement, in the indulgence of which he drowned his remorse. As if fortune had conspired for the rapid consolidation of his greatness, the death of Philip count of Saint Pol, who had succeeded his brother John in the dukedom of Brabant, gave him the sovereignty of that extensive province; and his dominions soon extended to the very limits of Picardy, by the Peace of Arras, concluded with the dauphin, now become Charles VII, and by his finally contracting a strict alliance with France.

Philip of Burgundy, thus become sovereign of dominions at once so extensive and compact, had the precaution and address to obtain from the emperor a formal renunciation of his existing though almost nominal rights as lord paramount. He next purchased the title of the duchess of Luxemburg to that duchy; and thus the states of the house of Burgundy gained an extent almost equal to that of the existing kingdom of the Netherlands. For although on the north and east they did not include Friesland, the bishopric of Utrecht, Gelderland, or the province of Liège, still on the south and west they comprised French Flanders, the Boulonnais, Artois, and a part of Picardy, besides Burgundy.^d

PHILIP AT WAR WITH ENGLAND (1436-1443)

As he equalled many of the sovereigns of Europe in the extent and excelled all of them in the riches of his dominions, so he now began to rival them in the splendour and dignity of his court. On the occasion of his marriage with Elizabeth, or Isabella, daughter of John, king of Portugal, celebrated at Bruges in January 1430, he instituted the famous order of the Golden Fleece, "to preserve the ancient religion, and to extend and defend the boundaries of the state." The number of knights, at the time of their institution, was twenty-four, besides the duke himself as president, and it was subsequently increased by the emperor Charles V to fifty-one.

The accession of a powerful and ambitious prince to the government of the county was anything but a source of advantage to the Dutch, excepting, perhaps, in a commercial point of view. Its effects were soon perceived in the declaration made by the council of Holland that the charters and privileges, acknowledged by the duke as governor and heir, were of no effect, unless afterwards confirmed by him as count. Nor was the diminution of their civil liberties the only evil which foreign dominion brought upon them. The last nation in Europe with which Holland would voluntarily wage war was perhaps England, and yet it was against her that she was now called upon to lavish her blood and treasure in an unprofitable contest.



TORCHBEARER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The zeal of Philip for the English alliance had received its first check by the marriage of Jacqueline with Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; but the ready acquiescence of Humphrey in the decision of the pope, and his abandonment of his wife, had softened his resentment. The achievements of Joan of Arc changed the face of affairs, and rendered Philip less sanguine of the advantages to be reaped from the connection with England.

In 1435 he concluded a separate treaty with Charles VII. The English indignation at this treachery, as they termed it, knew no bounds. The populace of London, venting their rage indiscriminately on all the subjects of the duke of Burgundy, spared not, in the general pillage, even the houses of the Holland and Zealand merchants then residing in England, several of whom they seized and murdered. This served but to strengthen the determination that the duke had already formed of declaring war against England, which he did in the following year (1436). He opened the campaign with the siege of Calais, which the cowardice or disaffection of his Flemish troops,¹ and the backwardness of the Hollanders in bringing a fleet to his assistance, soon forced him to raise.

While the Hollanders manifested their unwillingness to take part in this unpopular war, the seditious state of the Flemish towns, caused by the imposition of a tax on salt, rendered Philip unable to prevent the ravages of the duke of Gloucester's army, which, marching from Calais, overran Flanders and Hainault (1437). The same cause embarrassed all his future operations against the English, and he was at length forced by his rebellious subjects to supplicate the king of England, through his wife, Isabella of Portugal, for the re-establishment of the commerce between the English and the Dutch and Flemings. This requisition, being granted, was followed by negotiations for a truce, which, prolonged until the year 1443, were at length concluded, and the peace was agreed upon. During the war between Burgundy and England, the Hollanders were engaged in hostilities more immediately on their own account with the Easterlings, or Hanse towns of the Baltic, which had plundered some of their ships.

Several sharp engagements were fought in which the Dutch generally had the advantage, though without any decisive event, until the spring of 1440, when the whole of a Hanseatic fleet was captured with little resistance. In 1441 a truce was concluded with the towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, and Lüneburg, for twelve years, within which period their differences were to be adjusted by five towns chosen by each party. This truce, being renewed from time to time, had all the beneficial effects of a regular and stable peace.

The cessation of foreign wars was, ere long, followed by the renewal of those intestine hook and cod commotions which had now for so protracted a period been the bane of Holland.

The lavish expenditure constantly maintained by the duke of Burgundy had reduced his finances to so low an ebb that he was obliged to have recourse to unpopular and even arbitrary measures, for the purpose of replenishing

[¹ Only with difficulty could Philip keep the grumbling Flemings with his army. When at last the moment arrived that Humphrey's fleet was really in sight, they cried loudly about the Welsh treason, burned their tents, and stole away. In the meantime, Humphrey had landed without the least opposition, with ten thousand troops; and in this dilemma Philip instantly resolved to make an ignominious retreat with the small part of his army that remained. It was a hateful blot on the escutcheon of the grand master of the order of the Golden Fleece: and the inhuman judgments which he immediately put in train and destined for the Flemish states were chiefly owing to his indignation at being compelled to make this disgraceful retreat, to which the mutinous Flemings had forced him. — WENZELBURGER.^c]

his treasury. Of this nature was the duty on salt, called in France the *gabelle*, a tax long established in that country, but hitherto unknown in any of the states of the Netherlands. Philip had not ventured to lay any impost of this kind upon Holland, but in Flanders he demanded eighteen pence upon every sack of salt sold there, which the citizens of Ghent absolutely refused to pay; and a new duty on grain, proposed in the next year, met in like manner with a universal and decided negative.

In the first emotions of his anger, Philip removed every member, both of the senate and great council of Ghent, from their offices; and the city being thus deprived of its magistrates, no power was left sufficiently strong to arrest the progress of sedition, for which men's minds were already too well prepared. The burghers, therefore, without delay, took an oath of mutual defence against the duke, assumed the white hood, the customary badge of revolt, elected captains of the burgher guards [*hoofdmannen*], and prepared to sustain a long siege, by laying up plentiful stores of ammunition and provisions. Several skirmishes were fought between the insurgents and the duke's forces with alternate success. The prisoners on both sides were massacred without mercy, no quarter was given, and no amount of ransom accepted.

Philip assembled an immense force, and entering Flanders in person captured Gaveren. The Ghenters marching out of Ghent to the number of 24,000, among whom were 7,000 volunteers from England, advanced to the village of Senmerssaken, within a short distance of Gaveren. On the first charge of the enemy, July 22nd, 1453, the Ghenters fled in disorder towards the Schelde, whither they were pursued by the Burgundians, when nearly the whole were slaughtered or drowned in attempting to escape by crossing the river. This overwhelming misfortune effectually broke the spirit of the insurgents.

The duke of Burgundy was so highly gratified with the alacrity which the Hollanders and Zealanders had shown (with a short-sighted policy perhaps) in lending their assistance to subdue the Ghenters, that he promised to release the people from the ten years' petition, in case of invasion, or the occurrence of a flood; and confirmed the valuable and important privilege *de non evocando* — that is, that no one should be brought to trial out of the boundaries of the county. A reservation, such as arbitrary princes have ever been fond of inserting in grants of popular privileges, that Philip himself was to be sole judge when a case of exception arose, considerably qualified this ancient right so deeply cherished by the Dutch nation.

It was during the war with the Ghenters that his son the count of Charolais, afterwards Charles the Bold, or Rash, first began to draw attention to himself.

Events now occurred in Utrecht which prepared the way for the future junction of this ecclesiastical state with the rest of the Netherlands. Philip had long desired this see for his natural son, David of Burgundy; but upon the death of the bishop, in 1455, the chapter unanimously elected Gilbert van Brederode. Philip prepared to secure by force the reception of his son in the bishopric; and for this purpose repaired to Holland to raise a general levy of troops. The Hollanders rarely failed to take advantage of a conjuncture, when their sovereigns required their support, to recover or extend their privileges; and the historian has often to admire their steady patience in waiting their opportunity — the manly but respectful earnestness with which they vindicated their claims, and the generous patriotism with which they made vast pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of their highly prized liberties.

On this occasion the West Frisians and Kennemerlanders, knowing that the duke must have recourse to their assistance, offered him a considerable sum of money for the restoration of the franchises of which they had been

deprived in 1426; the duke, in return, reinstated them in the same privileges as they had enjoyed before that time. The duke now sent an army into Utrecht. Gilbert surrendered all claim to the bishopric in favour of David of Burgundy.

Philip, fearing the effects of the restless temper of his son at the court, had created him stadholder-general of Holland; he had since then been put in possession of several rich lordships in the county, and as he found his influence daily increasing, he began to assume a more haughty tone, and to give evident tokens of dissatisfaction with many parts of his father's government.^f

The relations of the house of Burgundy with Charles VII of France and his son, later Louis XI, have been so fully described in the French history, volume XI, chapters 9 and 10, that their repetition here will not be needed. It will only be necessary to remind the reader of the resemblance between the unruly and unfilial natures of the two young men, Charles and Louis, and the mutual hatred which they acquired for each other, probably in 1456, when Louis, then dauphin, fled from his father's wrath to the court of Philip of Burgundy. Later, war breaking out between France and Burgundy, Charles the Bold led his father's army to the very gates of Paris (1465), and held Louis XI at his mercy till after the conference and Treaty of Confians.^a

After the conclusion of this peace, Charles proceeded to chastise the insolence of the burghers of Liège and Dinant, who, having made an alliance with Louis on the breaking out of the war between France and Burgundy, invaded Brabant and Namur, and devastated the whole country with fire and sword. Charles, on his return from France, laid siege to Liège, defeated an army of Liégeois before its walls, and the town, hopeless of assistance from Louis, surrendered on conditions. The citizens were forced to pay a fine of six hundred thousand Rhenish guilders. Dinant was taken by storm and pillaged (1466), its fortifications were razed to the ground, and eight hundred of the inhabitants drowned in the Maas, by order of Charles.

Whether or not the Hollanders took part in either of these expeditions is uncertain; but it is clear that they were by no means exempt from a share in the expenses they entailed on the states. A ten years' petition was levied on Holland and West Friesland, amounting to 55,183 crowns a year: and Zealand was taxed in the same proportion. Charles, during his residence in these provinces, had found means so greatly to increase his influence that he was little likely to meet with resistance to any of his demands, even if the example of Ghent had not afforded a severe lesson to such as might be inclined to offer it. He obtained, as we have seen, considerable baronies both in Holland and Zealand; he reduced the number of the council of state from eight-and-twenty to eight, besides the stadholder; and as he professed to choose them rather for their skill in affairs than for the nobility of their birth, they became entirely subservient to his will. He likewise deprived the council of the office of auditing the public accounts, which it had hitherto exercised, uniting the chamber of finance at the Hague with that of Brussels.

This was the first step towards a union between Holland and the rest of the Netherlands, which was afterwards partially, but never entirely, effected. Charles was recalled from Holland into Brabant in the early part of the year 1467, by the declining health of his father, who lay sick at Bruges of a quinsy, which terminated his existence on the 15th of February, in the seventy-second year of his age. He left by his wife, Isabella of Portugal, only one son, Charles. The number of his illegitimate children is said by some to have been thirty, but he made provision for no more than nineteen. Philip's

[1444-1467 A.D.]

humanity, benevolence, affability, and strict regard to justice obtained for him the surname of Good; while his love of peace, and the advantageous treaties which the extent and importance of his dominions enabled him to make with foreign nations, tended greatly to increase the commerce of his subjects.

ART AND CULTURE OF THE PERIOD

The wealth procured by the genius and industry of the Netherlanders enabled them to sustain the heavy burdens laid upon them by Duke Philip with a comparative ease which led Comines,^g a contemporary author, to suppose that they were, in fact, more lightly taxed than the subjects of other princes. As Philip, however, during the whole of his reign kept up a court which surpassed every other in Europe in luxury and magnificence, and contrived besides to amass vast sums of money, it is evident that his treasury must have been liberally supplied by his people. During his attendance on Louis XI, at Paris, when that monarch went to take possession of his kingdom, Monstrelet^h says "he excited the admiration of the Parisians by the splendour of his dress, table, and equipages, the hôtel d'Artois, where he lived, was hung with the richest tapestries ever seen in France. When he rode through the streets, he wore every day some new dress, or jewel of price — the frontlet of his horse was covered with the richest jewels."

We are told by Pontus Heuterus,ⁱ a native though not contemporary author, that Philip "received more money from his subjects than they had paid in four centuries together before; but they thought little of it, since he used no force, nor the words *sic volo, sic jubeo*."



NOBLEWOMAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The supposition of Comines is contradicted also by the fact that Philip excited a dangerous revolt in Ghent by the imposition of new and oppressive taxes on the Flemings; while in Holland he introduced the unprecedented and unconstitutional custom of levying petitions for a number of years together. He left, at his death, a treasure amounting to four hundred thousand crowns of gold and one hundred thousand marks of silver, with pictures, jewels, and furniture, supposed to be worth two millions more. The necessary expenses of the government must have been comparatively small, and the principal portion of the large sums Philip drew into his treasury was expended on his private pleasures, or in festivals, shows, and entertainments.

The example of prodigality set by the sovereign infected his whole court: the nobles vied with each other in squandering their incomes upon articles of effeminate luxury, or puerile ostentation; and the poverty they thus entailed upon themselves and their posterity was made a subject of bitter reproach to them under his successors.

The same cause retarded in Holland the progress of literature and the arts,

which in Flanders and Brabant, under the munificent patronage and encouragement of Philip, were making rapid advances: the Dutch had no name to oppose to that of Jan van Eyck, of Bruges, who, in the early part of this century, marked out an era in the annals of painting by his invention of oil colours: and it is in the works of foreigners and Flemings, as contemporary historians, of Monstrelet, Roya, and Comines, that we must seek for the passing notices of a country which had produced a John of Leyden and a Melis Stoke. The beneficial effects of printing in the general advancement of learning and civilisation were not as yet perceived, since the expense of printed books being hitherto little less than that of manuscripts, the possession of them was still confined to the wealthy few. The honour of this invention is, as it is well known, disputed between Mainz and Haarlem.^f

CHARLES THE BOLD (1467-1477)

Charles began his career by seizing on all the money and jewels left by his father; he next dismissed the crowd of useless functionaries who had fed upon, under the pretence of managing, the treasures of the state. But this salutary and sweeping reform was only effected to enable the sovereign to pursue uncontrolled the most fatal of all passions, that of war. Nothing can better paint the true character of this haughty and impetuous prince than his crest (a branch of holly), and his motto, "Who touches it, pricks himself." Charles had conceived a furious and not ill-founded hatred for his base yet formidable neighbour and rival, Louis XI of France.

Charles was the proudest, most daring, and most unmanageable prince that ever made the sword the type and the guarantee of greatness; Louis the most subtle, dissimulating, and treacherous king that ever wove in his closet a tissue of hollow diplomacy and bad faith in government. The struggle between these sovereigns was unequal only in respect to this difference of character; for France, subdivided as it still was, and exhausted by the wars with England, was not comparable, either as regarded men, money, or the other resources of the state, to the compact and prosperous dominions of Burgundy.

Charles showed some symptoms of good sense and greatness of mind, soon after his accession to power, that gave a false colouring to his disposition, and encouraged illusory hopes as to his future career. Scarcely was he proclaimed count of Flanders at Ghent, when the populace, surrounding his hotel, absolutely insisted on and extorted his consent to the restitution of their ancient privileges. Furious as Charles was at this bold proof of insubordination, he did not revenge it; and he treated with equal indulgence the city of Mechlin, which had expelled its governor and rased the citadel. The people of Liège, having revolted against their bishop, Louis of Bourbon, who was closely connected with the house of Burgundy, were defeated by the duke in 1467, but he treated them with clemency; and immediately after this event, in February, 1468, he concluded with Edward IV¹ of England an alliance, offensive and defensive, against France.

Louis demanded an explanatory conference with Charles, and the town of Péronne in Picardy was fixed on for their meeting.² Louis, willing to imitate the boldness of his rival, who had formerly come to meet him in the very midst of his army, now came to the rendezvous almost alone. But he was severely mortified, and near paying a greater penalty than fright, for this

[¹ He also married the king's sister, Margaret of York.]

[² A full account of this famous interview by Comines, who was present, is given in volume XI.]

[1468-1478 A.D.]

hazardous conduct. The duke, having received intelligence of a new revolt at Liège excited by some of the agents of France, instantly made Louis prisoner, in defiance of every law of honour or fair dealing. The excess of his rage and hatred might have carried him to a more disgraceful extremity, had not Louis, by force of bribery, gained over some of his most influential counsellors, who succeeded in appeasing his rage. He contented himself with humiliating, when he was disposed to punish. He forced his captive to accompany him to Liège, and witness the ruin of this unfortunate town, which he delivered over to plunder; and having given this lesson to Louis, he set him at liberty.

From this period there was a marked and material change in the conduct of Charles. He had been previously moved by sentiments of chivalry and notions of greatness. But sullied by his act of public treachery and violence towards the monarch who had, at least in seeming, manifested unlimited confidence in his honour, a secret sense of shame embittered his feelings and soured his temper. He became so insupportable to those around him that he was abandoned by several of his best officers, and even by his natural brother, Baldwin of Burgundy, who passed over to the side of Louis. Charles was at this time embarrassed by the expense of entertaining and maintaining Edward IV and numerous English exiles, who were forced to take refuge in the Netherlands by the successes of the earl of Warwick, who had replaced Henry VI on the throne. He then entered France at the head of his army, to assist the duke of Brittany; but he lost by his hot-brained caprice every advantage within his easy reach.

But he soon afterwards acquired the duchy of Gelderland from the old duke Arnold van Egmond, who had been temporarily despoiled of it by his son Adolphus. It was almost a hereditary consequence in this family that the children should revolt and rebel against their parents. Adolphus had the effrontery to found his justification on the argument that, his father having reigned forty-four years, he was fully entitled to his share — a fine practical authority for greedy and expectant heirs. The old father replied to this reasoning by offering to meet his son in single combat. Charles cut short the affair by making Adolphus prisoner and seizing on the disputed territory, for which he, however, paid Arnold the sum of 220,000 florins.^d

Thus the whole of the Netherlands, with the exception of Friesland, was at this time under the dominion of the house of Burgundy; but the possession of Gelderland, which Charles so eagerly coveted, entailed a long and ruinous war upon his successors.

The favourite object of Charles' ambition was now to be ranked among the sovereigns of Europe, and to revive in his own person the ancient title of king of Burgundy.¹ He obtained the emperor's consent to invest him with this much-desired dignity by promising his only daughter and sole heiress, Mary, in marriage to Maximilian, son of Frederick, and a meeting at Treves was agreed upon between the two princes. Both repaired thither at the time appointed, with a splendid retinue; the crown, the sceptre, and the chair of state were already prepared, when the emperor insisted that the marriage of his son with Lady Mary should be first solemnised: suspecting, not without reason, that Charles, when once crowned, would never fulfil his part of the engagement, since he had often been heard to say that, on the day of his daughter's marriage, he would shave his head and become a monk. Charles was equally determined that the coronation should precede the marriage;

¹ He, however, possessed no part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, which comprised Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, Provence, Lyonnais, Savoy, Brescia, and great part of Switzerland.

and the coldness and mistrust which this dispute created in the mind of Frederick was so great that he suddenly quitted Treves, leaving the duke overwhelmed with confusion and anger, an object at once of derision and suspicion to the German princes.

Thus defeated in his favourite project, Charles was now obliged to turn his ambitious views to another quarter, and since he could not raise his states to a kingdom, he sought to extend them still more widely, by the possession of all the fortified places on the left side of the Rhine, from Nimeguen, where this river enters the Netherlands, to Bâle on the confines of Switzerland.^f

Charles, urged on by the double motive of thirst for aggrandisement and vexation at his late failure, attempted, under pretext of some internal dissensions, to gain possession of Cologne and its territory, which belonged to the empire; and at the same time planned the invasion of France, in concert with his brother-in-law Edward IV, who had recovered possession of England. But the town of Neuss, in the archbishopric of Cologne, occupied him a full year before its walls (1474-5). The emperor, who came to its succour, actually besieged the besiegers in their camp; and the dispute was terminated by leaving it to the arbitration of the pope's legate, and placing the contested town in his keeping. This half triumph gained by Charles saved Louis wholly from destruction. Edward, who had landed in France with a numerous force, seeing no appearance of his Burgundian allies, made peace with Louis; and Charles, who arrived in all haste, but not till after the treaty was signed, upbraided and abused the English king, and turned a warm friend into an inveterate enemy.

Louis, whose crooked policy had so far succeeded on all occasions, now seemed to favour Charles' plans of aggrandisement, and to recognise his pretended right to Lorraine, which legitimately belonged to the empire, and the invasion of which by Charles would be sure to set him at variance with the whole of Germany. The infatuated duke, blind to the ruin to which he was thus hurrying, marched against and soon overcame Lorraine. Thence he turned his army against the Swiss, who were allies to the conquered province, but who sent the most submissive dissuasions to the invader. They begged for peace, assuring Charles that their romantic but sterile mountains were not altogether worth the bridles of his splendidly equipped cavalry. But the more they humbled themselves, the higher was his haughtiness raised. It appeared that he had at this period conceived the project of uniting in one common conquest the ancient dominions of Lothair I, who had possessed the whole of the countries traversed by the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Po; and he even spoke of passing the Alps, like Hannibal, for the invasion of Italy.

Switzerland was, by moral analogy as well as physical fact, the rock against which these extravagant projects were shattered. The army of Charles, which engaged the hardy mountaineers in the gorges of the Alps near the town of Granson (1476), was literally crushed to atoms by the stones and fragments of granite detached from the heights and hurled down upon their heads. Charles, after this defeat, returned to the charge six weeks later, having rallied his army and drawn reinforcements from Burgundy. But Louis had despatched a body of cavalry to the Swiss — a force in which they were before deficient; and thus augmented, their army amounted to thirty-four thousand men. They took up a position, skilfully chosen, on the borders of the Lake of Morat, where they were attacked by Charles at the head of sixty thousand soldiers of all ranks. The result was the total defeat of the latter, with the loss of ten thousand killed whose bones, gathered into an immense heap,

[1476-1477 A.D.]

and bleaching in the winds, remained for above three centuries — a terrible monument of rashness and injustice on the one hand, and of patriotism and valour on the other.

Charles was now plunged into a state of profound melancholy; but he soon burst from this gloomy mood into one of renewed fierceness and fatal desperation. Nine months after the battle of Morat he re-entered Lorraine, at the head of an army not composed of his faithful militia of the Netherlands, but of those mercenaries in whom it was madness to place trust. The reinforcements meant to be despatched to him by those provinces were kept back by the artifices of the count of Campobasso, an Italian, who commanded his cavalry, and who only gained his confidence basely to betray it. René duke of Lorraine, at the head of the confederate forces, offered battle to Charles under the walls of Nancy; and the night before the combat Campobasso went over to the enemy with the troops under his command. Still Charles had the way open for retreat. Fresh troops from Burgundy and Flanders were on their march to join him; but he would not be dissuaded from his resolution to fight, and he resolved to try his fortune once more with his dispirited and shattered army. On this occasion the fate of Charles was decided, and the fortune of Louis triumphant. The rash and ill-fated duke lost both the battle and his life. His body, mutilated with wounds, was found the next day, and buried with great pomp in the town of Nancy, by the orders of the generous victor, the duke of Lorraine. Thus perished the last prince of the powerful house of Burgundy.^d

Motley's Estimate of Charles the Bold

As a conqueror, he was signally unsuccessful; as a politician, he could outwit none but himself; it was only as a tyrant within his own ground that he could sustain the character which he chose to enact. He lost the crown, which he might have secured, because he thought the emperor's son unworthy the heiress of Burgundy; and yet, after his father's death, her marriage with that very Maximilian alone secured the possession of her paternal inheritance.

Few princes were ever a greater curse to the people whom they were allowed to hold as property. He nearly succeeded in establishing a centralised despotism upon the ruins of the provincial institutions. His sudden death alone deferred the catastrophe. His removal of the supreme court of Holland from the Hague to Mechlin, and his maintenance of a standing army, were the two great measures by which he prostrated the Netherlands. The tribunal had been remodelled by his father; the expanded authority which Philip had given to a bench of judges dependent upon himself, was an infraction of the rights of Holland. The court, however, still held its sessions in the country; and the sacred privilege — *de non evocando* — the right of every Hollander to be tried in his own land, was, at least, retained. Charles threw off the mask; he proclaimed that this council — composed of his creatures, holding office at his pleasure — should have supreme jurisdiction over all the charters of the provinces; that it was to follow his person, and derive all authority from his will. The usual seat of the court he transferred to Mechlin. It will be seen, in the sequel, that the attempt under Philip II to enforce its supreme authority was a collateral cause of the great revolution of the Netherlands.

Charles, like his father, administered the country by stadholders. From the condition of flourishing self-ruled little republics, which they had, for a

moment, almost attained, they became departments of an ill-assorted, ill-conditioned, ill-governed realm, which was neither commonwealth nor empire, neither kingdom nor duchy, and which had no homogeneousness of population, no affection between ruler and people, small sympathies of lineage or of language.

His triumphs were but few, his fall ignominious. His father's treasure was squandered, the curse of a standing army fixed upon his people, the trade and manufactures of the country paralysed by his extortions, and he accomplished nothing. He lost his life in the forty-fourth year of his age (1477), leaving all the provinces, duchies, and lordships, which formed the miscellaneous realm of Burgundy, to his only child, the lady Mary. Thus already the countries which Philip had wrested from the feeble hand of Jacqueline had fallen to another female. Philip's own granddaughter, as young, fair, and unprotected as Jacqueline, was now sole mistress of those broad domains.

MARY AND THE GREAT PRIVILEGE (1477)

A crisis, both for Burgundy and the Netherlands, succeeds. Within the provinces there is an elastic rebound, as soon as the pressure is removed from them by the tyrant's death. A sudden spasm of liberty gives the whole people gigantic strength. In an instant they recover all, and more than all, the rights which they had lost. The cities of Holland, Flanders, and other provinces call a convention at Ghent. Laying aside their musty feuds, men of all parties—hooks and cods, patricians and people—move forward in phalanx to recover their national constitutions. On the other hand, Louis XI seizes Burgundy, claiming the territory for his crown, the heiress for his son.

The situation is critical for the lady Mary. As usual in such cases, appeals are made to the faithful commons. Oaths and pledges are showered upon the people, that their loyalty may be refreshed and grow green. The congress¹ meets at Ghent [February 3rd, 1477]. The lady Mary professes much, but she will keep her vow. The deputies are called upon to rally the country around the duchess, and to resist the fraud and force of Louis. The congress is willing to maintain the cause of its young mistress.

The result of the deliberations is the formal grant [February 11th, 1477] by Duchess Mary of the *Groot Privilegie*, or Great Privilege, the Magna Charta of Holland. Although this instrument was afterwards violated, and indeed abolished, it became the foundation of the republic. It was a recapitulation and recognition of ancient rights, not an acquisition of new privileges. It was a restoration, not a revolution. Its principal points deserve attention from those interested in the political progress of mankind:

"The duchess shall not marry without consent of the states (estates) of her provinces. All offices in her gift shall be conferred on natives only. No man shall fill two offices. No office shall be farmed. The 'great council and supreme court of Holland' is re-established. Causes shall be brought before it on appeal from the ordinary courts. It shall have no original jurisdiction of matters within the cognisance of the provincial and municipal tribunals. The states and cities are guaranteed in their right not to be summoned to justice beyond the limits of their territory. The cities, in com-

[¹ This is the first regular assembly of the states-general of the Netherlands; the county of Holland, before this time, does not appear to have sent deputies to the assemblies of the other states. In negotiations with foreign powers, it treated separately.]

[1477 A.D.]

mon with all the provinces of the Netherlands, may hold diets as often and at such places as they choose.

"No new taxes shall be imposed but by consent of the provincial states. Neither the duchess nor her descendants shall begin either an offensive or defensive war without consent of the states. In case a war be illegally undertaken, the states are not bound to contribute to its maintenance. In all public and legal documents, the Netherland language shall be employed. The commands of the duchess shall be invalid, if conflicting with the privileges of a city. The seat of the supreme council is transferred from Meehlin to the Hague. No money shall be coined, nor its value raised or lowered, but by consent of the states. Cities are not to be compelled to contribute to requests which they have not voted. The sovereign shall come in person before the states, to make his request for supplies."

Here was good work. The land was rescued at a blow from the helpless condition to which it had been reduced. This summary annihilation of all the despotic arrangements of Charles was enough to raise him from his tomb. The law, the sword, the purse were all taken from the hand of the sovereign and placed within the control of parliament. Such sweeping reforms, if maintained, would restore health to the body politic. They gave, moreover, an earnest of what was one day to arrive. Certainly, for the fifteenth century, the Great Privilege was a reasonably liberal constitution. Where else upon earth, at that day, was there half so much liberty as was thus guaranteed? To no people in the world more than to the stout burghers of Flanders and Holland belongs the honour of having battled audaciously and perennially in behalf of human rights.

Similar privileges to the great charter of Holland are granted to many other provinces, especially to Flanders, ever ready to stand forward in fierce vindication of freedom. For a season all is peace and joy; but the duchess is young, weak, and a woman. There is no lack of intriguing politicians, reactionary councillors. There is a cunning old king in the distance, lying in wait, seeking what he can devour. A mission goes from the states to France. The well-known tragedy of Imbrecourt and Hugonet occurs. Envoys from the states, they dare to accept secret instructions from the duchess to enter into private negotiations with the French monarch, against their colleagues — against the great charter — against their country. Louis betrays them, thinking that policy the more expedient. They are seized in Ghent, rapidly tried, and as rapidly beheaded by the enraged burghers. All the entreaties of the lady Mary, who, dressed in mourning garments, with dishevelled hair, unloosed girdle, and streaming eyes, appears at the town-house and afterwards in the market place, humbly to intercede for her servants, are fruitless. There is no help for the juggling diplomatists. The punishment was sharp. Was it more severe and sudden than that which betrayed monarchs usually inflict? Would the Flemings, at that critical moment, have deserved their freedom had they not taken swift and signal vengeance for this first infraction of their newly recognised rights? Had it not been weakness to spare the traitors who had thus stained the childhood of the national joy at liberty regained?

Another step, and a wide one, into the great stream of European history: the lady Mary espouses the archduke Maximilian. The Netherlands are about to become Habsburg property.^k

Louis XI, having frustrated the negotiations for peace, possessed himself of Arras, Théroutanne, and a large portion of Artois; but on the sea affairs were more prosperous for the Netherlanders, since the Hollanders were not

only able to protect their own commerce, but likewise to capture twenty large vessels belonging to the enemy. But the rapid advances made by Louis, who had subdued Artois and the county of Boulogne, and made himself master of Bouchain, Le Quesnoy, and Avesnes, induced the states to hasten the marriage of the duchess. Among the numerous suitors whom her late father had encouraged, the only question was now between Maximilian, son of the emperor of Germany, and the dauphin of France. But with respect to the latter — besides the probability that, from the disparity of age between the parties, the princess would despise her youthful bridegroom — who had just reached his eighth year, while Mary was now past twenty, there were many reasons of policy that rendered the marriage little desirable to the king. The contract, therefore, so abruptly broken off at Treves in 1473 was again renewed, Maximilian was summoned to repair to Ghent, and the marriage was solemnised in the month of August; not, however, with a magnificence by any means suitable to the union of the son of the emperor with the richest heiress in Europe.¹ It is said, indeed, that the poverty of the imperial exchequer was so excessive that the states were obliged to provide funds to defray the expenses of the bridegroom's journey into the Netherlands.^f

MAXIMILIAN (1484-1494)

They not only supplied all his wants, but enabled him to maintain the war against Louis XI, whom they defeated at the battle of Guinegate² in Picardy in 1479 and forced to make peace on more favourable terms than they had hoped for. But these wealthy provinces were not more zealous for the national defence than bent on the maintenance of their local privileges, which Maximilian little understood, and sympathised with less. He was bred in the school of absolute despotism; and his duchess having met with a too early death by a fall from her horse in the year 1482, he could not even succeed in obtaining the nomination of guardian to his own children without passing through a year of civil war. His power being almost nominal in the northern provinces,³ he vainly attempted to suppress the violence of the factions of hawks and cods. In Flanders his authority was openly resisted. The turbulent towns of that country, and particularly Bruges, taking umbrage at a government half German, half Burgundian, and altogether hateful to the people, rose up against Maximilian, seized on his person in 1488, imprisoned him in a house which still exists, and put to death his most faithful followers. But the fury of Ghent and other places becoming still more outrageous, Maximilian asked as a favour from his rebel subjects of Bruges to be guarded while a prisoner by them alone. He was then king of the Romans⁴ and all Europe became interested in his fate. The pope addressed a brief to the

[¹ The simplicity ill-fitted the importance of the event. The house of Austria had won the heritage of Burgundy, and the fate of the Netherland provinces was decided for a long period. It was, however, fifteen years before Maximilian could be said to have gained the Netherlands for his race. They were fifteen hard years for the provinces as well as for Maximilian. — BLOK, ^f]

[² This dearly bought victory deprived Maximilian of the flower of the Netherland nobility, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The losses of the Netherlands by sea also were very considerable. The fleet of France, under the command of Admiral Coulon, captured all the vessels engaged in the herring fishery, besides eighty large ships returning with corn from the Baltic, and carried them into the ports of Normandy. It was supposed that more injury was done to the Dutch navy in this year than during the whole of the previous century. ^f]

[³ According to the terms of the marriage treaty, his eldest son Philip succeeded to the sovereignty of the Netherlands immediately upon the death of his mother. ^f]

[⁴ For fuller accounts of his European relations see the history of Germany in a later volume.]

town of Bruges, demanding his deliverance. But the burghers were as inflexible as factious; and they at length released him, but not until they had concluded with him and the assembled states¹ a treaty, which most amply secured the enjoyment of their privileges and the pardon of their rebellion.²

Maximilian is to be regent of the other provinces; Philip, under guardianship of a council, is to govern Flanders. Moreover, a congress of all the provinces is to be summoned annually, to provide for the general welfare. Maximilian signs and swears to the treaty on the 16th of May, 1488. He swears, also, to dismiss all foreign troops within four days. Giving hostages for his fidelity, he is set at liberty. What are oaths and hostages when prerogative and the people are contending? Emperor Frederick sends to his son an army under the duke of Saxony. The oaths are broken, the hostages left to their fate. The struggle lasts a year, but, at the end of it, the Flemings are subdued. What could a single province effect, when its sister states, even liberty-loving Holland, had basely abandoned the common cause? A new treaty is made (October, 1489). Maximilian obtains uncontrolled guardianship of his son, absolute dominion over Flanders and the other provinces. The insolent burghers are severely punished for remembering that they had been freemen. The magistrates of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, in black garments, ungirdled, bare-headed, and kneeling, are compelled to implore the despot's forgiveness, and to pay three hundred thousand crowns of gold as its price. After this, for a brief season, order reigns in Flanders.

The course of Maximilian had been stealthy, but decided. Allying himself with the city party, he had crushed the nobles. The power thus obtained he then turned against the burghers. Step by step he had trampled out the liberties which his wife and himself had sworn to protect. He had spurned the authority of the Great Privilege, and all other charters. Burgomasters and other citizens had been beheaded in great numbers for appealing to their statutes against the edicts of the regent, for voting in favour of a general congress according to the unquestionable law. He had proclaimed that all landed estates should, in lack of heirs male, escheat to his own exchequer. He had debased the coin of the country, and thereby authorised unlimited swindling on the part of all his agents, from stadholders down to the meanest official. If such oppression and knavery did not justify the resistance of the Flemings to the guardianship of Maximilian, it would be difficult to find any reasonable course in political affairs save abject submission to authority.



COURT ATTENDANT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

[¹ This assembly was one of the earliest and most important signs of the growing sense of the unity of the Netherlandish interests, and the need of co-operation.]

In 1493 Maximilian succeeds to the imperial throne, at the death of his father. In the following year his son, Philip the Handsome, now seventeen years of age, receives the homage of the different states of the Netherlands. He swears to maintain only the privileges granted by Philip and Charles of Burgundy, or their ancestors, proclaiming null and void all those which might have been acquired since the death of Charles. Holland, Zealand, and the other provinces accept him upon these conditions, thus ignominiously, and without a struggle, relinquishing the Great Privilege, and all similar charters.^k

PHILIP THE HANDSOME (1494-1506)

The reign of Philip, unfortunately a short one, was rendered remarkable by two intestine quarrels, one in Friesland, the other in Gelderland. The Frisians, true to their old character, held firm to their privileges, and fought for their maintenance with heroic courage. Albert of Saxony, furious at this resistance, had the horrid barbarity to cause to be impaled the chief burghers of the town of Leeuwarden, which he had taken by assault. But he himself died in the year 1500, without succeeding in his projects of an ambition unjust in its principle and atrocious in its practice.

The war of Gelderland was of a totally different nature. In this case it was not a question of popular resistance to a tyrannical nomination, but of patriotic fidelity to the reigning family. Adolphus, the duke who had dethroned his father, had died in Flanders, leaving a son who had been brought up almost a captive as long as Maximilian governed the states of his inheritance. This young man, called Charles van Egmond, who is honoured in the history of his country under the title of the Achilles of Gelderland, fell into the hands of the French during the combat in which he made his first essay in arms. The towns of Gelderland unanimously joined to pay his ransom; and, as soon as he was at liberty, they one and all proclaimed him duke. The emperor, Philip, and the German diet in vain protested against this measure, and declared Charles a usurper. We cannot follow this warlike prince in the long series of adventures which consolidated his power; nor stop to depict his daring adherents on land, who caused the whole of Holland to tremble at their deeds; nor his pirates — the chief of whom, Long Peter, called himself king of the Zuyder Zee. But amidst all the consequent troubles of such a struggle, it is marvellous to find Charles of Egmond upholding his country in a state of high prosperity, and leaving it at his death almost as rich as Holland itself.

The incapacity of Philip the Handsome doubtless contributed to cause him the loss of this portion of his dominions. This prince, after his first acts of moderation and good sense, was remarkable only as being the father of Charles V (born in 1500). The remainder of his life was worn out in undignified pleasures; and he died, in the year 1506, at Burgos in Castile, whither he had repaired to pay a visit to his brother-in-law, the king of Spain.¹

[¹ A handsome profligate, devoted to his pleasures and leaving the cares of state to his ministers, Philip, "*croit-conseil*," is the bridge over which the house of Habsburg passes to almost universal monarchy; but, in himself, he is nothing. Two prudent marriages, made by Austrian archdukes within twenty years, have altered the face of the earth. The stream, which we have been tracing from its source, empties itself at last into the ocean of a world-empire. Count Dirk I, lord of a half-submerged corner of Europe, is succeeded by Count Charles II of Holland, better known as Charles V, king of Spain, Sicily, and Jerusalem, duke of Milan, emperor of Germany, dominator in Asia and Africa, autocrat of half the world. — MOTLEY.^k]

MARGARET, GOVERNESS FOR CHARLES V (1506-1530)

Philip being dead and his wife, Juana of Spain, having become mad¹ from grief at his loss, after nearly losing her senses from jealousy during his life, the regency of the Netherlands reverted to Maximilian, who immediately named his daughter Margaret governante of the country [in the name of Charles, who was only six years old]. This princess, scarcely twenty-seven years of age, had been, like the celebrated Jacqueline of Bavaria, already three times married, and was now again a widow. Her first husband, Charles VIII of France, had broken from his contract of marriage before its consummation; her second, the infante of Spain, died immediately after their union; and her third, the duke of Savoy, left her again a widow after three years of wedded life. She was a woman of talent and courage; both proved by the ecuplet she composed for her own epitaph, at the very moment of a dangerous accident which happened during her journey into Spain to join her second affianced spouse.² She was received with the greatest joy by the people of the Netherlands; and she governed them as peaceably as circumstances allowed. Supported by England, she firmly maintained her authority against the threats of France; and she carried on in person all the negotiations between Louis XII, Maximilian, the pope Julius II, and Ferdinand of Aragon, for the famous League of Venice. She also succeeded in repressing the rising pretensions of Charles van Egmond; and, assisted by the interference of the king of France, she obliged him to give up some places in Holland which he illegally held.

From this period the alliance between England and Spain raised the commerce and manufactures of the southern provinces of the Netherlands to a high degree of prosperity, while the northern parts of the country were still kept down by their various dissensions. Holland was at war with Denmark and the Hanseatic towns [1510-1511]. The Frisians continued to struggle for freedom against the heirs of Albert of Saxony. Utrecht was at variance with its bishop, and finally recognised Charles van Egmond as its protector. The consequence of all these causes was that the south took the start in a course of prosperity which was, however, soon to become common to the whole nation.

A new rupture with France, in 1513, united Maximilian, Margaret, and Henry VIII of England in one common cause. An English and Belgian army, in which Maximilian figured as a spectator (taking care to be paid by England), marched for the destruction of Théroutanne, and defeated and dispersed the French at the second "battle of the Spurs." But Louis XII soon persuaded Henry to make a separate peace; and the unconquerable duke of Gelderland made Margaret and the emperor pay the penalty of their success against France. He pursued his victories in Friesland, and forced the country to recognise him as stadholder of Groningen, its chief town, while the duke of Saxony at length renounced to another his unjust claim on a territory which engulfed both his armies and his treasure.

[¹ See the history of Spain for a fuller account of these matters.]

² *Oi-gît Margot la gente demoiselle,
Qui eut deux maris, et se mourut pucelle.*

Here gentle Margot quietly is laid,
Who had two husbands, and yet died a maid.

CHARLES V (1515-1555)

About the same epoch (1515), young Charles; son of Philip the Handsome, having just attained his fifteenth year, was inaugurated duke of Brabant and count of Flanders and Holland, having purchased the presumed right of Saxony to the sovereignty of Friesland. In the following year he was recognised as prince of Castile, in right of his mother, who associated him with herself in the royal power—a step which soon left her merely the title of queen. Charles procured the nomination of bishop of Utrecht for Philip, bastard of Burgundy, which made that province completely dependent on him. But this event was also one of general and lasting importance on another account.

The Reformation

This Philip of Burgundy was deeply affected by the doctrines of the Reformation, which had burst forth in Germany. He held in abhorrence the observances of the Roman church, and set his face against the celibacy

of the clergy. His example soon influenced his whole diocese, and the new notions on points of religion became rapidly popular. It was chiefly, however, in Friesland that the people embraced the opinions of Luther, which were quite conformable to many of the local customs. The celebrated Edzard count of East Friesland openly adopted the Reformation; while Erasmus of Rotterdam, without



HEAD-DRESSES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

actually pronouncing himself a disciple of Lutheranism, effected more than all its advocates to throw the abuses of Catholicism into discredit.

The refusal of the dignity of emperor by Frederick "the wise," duke of Saxony, to whom it was offered by the electors, was also an event highly favourable to the new opinions; for Francis I of France, and Charles, already king of Spain and sovereign of the Netherlands, both claiming the succession to the empire, a sort of interregnum deprived the disputed dominions of a chief who might lay the heavy hand of power on the new-springing doctrines of Protestantism. At length the intrigues of Charles and his pretensions as grandson of Maximilian, having caused him to be chosen emperor,¹ a desperate rivalry resulted between him and the French king, which for a while absorbed his whole attention and occupied all his power.

War was declared on frivolous pretexts in 1521. Francis being obstinately bent on the conquest of the Milanese, he fell into the hands of the imperial troops at the battle of Pavia in 1525. Charles' dominions in the Netherlands suffered severely from the naval operations during the war; for the French cruisers having, on repeated occasions, taken, pillaged, and almost destroyed the principal resources of the herring fishery, Holland and Zealand felt considerable distress, which was still further augmented by the famine which desolated these provinces in 1524.

While such calamities afflicted the northern portion of the Netherlands,

[¹ Maximilian died January, 1519, and Francis I disputed with Charles the right to succeed him.]

[1527 1555 A.D.]

Flanders and Brabant continued to flourish, in spite of temporary embarrassments. The bishop of Utrecht having died, his successor found himself engaged in a hopeless quarrel with his new diocese, already more than half converted to Protestantism; and to gain a triumph over these enemies, even by the sacrifice of his dignity, he ceded to the emperor in 1527 the whole of his temporal power. The duke of Gelderland, who then occupied the city of Utrecht, redoubled his hostility at this intelligence; and after having ravaged the neighbouring country, he did not lay down his arms till the subsequent year, having first procured an honourable and advantageous peace. One year more saw the term of this long-continued state of warfare by the Peace of Cambray, between Charles and Francis, which was signed on the 5th of August, 1529.¹

The perpetual quarrels of Charles V with Francis I and Charles of Gelderland² led, as may be supposed, to a repeated state of exhaustion, which forced the princes to pause, till the people recovered strength and resources. Charles rarely appeared in the Netherlands — fixing his residence chiefly in Spain, and leaving to his sister the regulation of those distant provinces. One of his occasional visits was for the purpose of inflicting a terrible example upon them. The people of Ghent, suspecting an improper or improvident application of the funds they had furnished for a new campaign, a sedition was the result. On this occasion, Charles formed the daring resolution of crossing the kingdom of France, to take promptly into his own hands the settlement of this affair — trusting to the generosity of his scarcely reconciled enemy not to abuse the confidence with which he risked himself in his power. Ghent, taken by surprise [1540], did not dare to oppose the entrance of the emperor, when he appeared before the walls; and the city was punished with extreme severity. Twenty-seven leaders of the sedition were beheaded; the principal privileges of the city were withdrawn; and a citadel was built to hold it in check for the future.

The Dutch and the Zealanders signalled themselves beyond all his other subjects on the occasion of two expeditions which Charles undertook against Tunis and Algiers in 1541. The two northern provinces furnished a greater number of ships than the united quotas of all the rest of his states. But though Charles' gratitude did not lead him to do anything in return as peculiarly favourable to these provinces, he obtained for them nevertheless a great advantage in making himself master of Friesland and Gelderland on the death of Charles van Egmond.³ His acquisition of the latter, which took place in 1543, put an end to the domestic wars of the northern provinces.

Towards the end of his career, Charles redoubled his severities against the Protestants, and even introduced a modified species of inquisition into the Netherlands, but with little effect towards the suppression of the reformed doctrines. The misunderstandings between his only son Philip and Mary of England, whom he induced to marry, and the unamiable disposition of this young prince, tormented him almost as much as he was humiliated by the victories of Henry II of France, the successor of Francis I, and the successful dissimulation of Maurice elector of Saxony, by whom he was completely outwitted, deceived, and defeated. Impelled by these motives, and others, perhaps, which are and must ever remain unknown, Charles at length decided

[¹ By this treaty France surrendered the claim of suzerainty over Flanders and Artois. A year later Margaret died. Her sway had been in many ways beneficial. Charles made a visit to the Netherlands, in which he wheedled many concessions from the states assembled in 1531, and appointed as governess his sister Mary widow of King Louis II of Hungary.]

[² In 1528 the Gelderland troops sacked and burned the Hague.]

[³ In 1540 Utrecht also was finally united with Holland.]

on abdicating the whole of his immense possessions. He chose the city of Brussels as the scene of the solemnity, and the day fixed for it was the 25th of October, 1555.¹ It took place accordingly, in the presence of an immense assemblage of nobles from various countries. Charles resigned the empire to his brother Ferdinand, already king of the Romans; and all the rest of his dominions to his son Philip II. Soon after the ceremony, Charles embarked from Zealand on his voyage to Spain. He retired to the monastery of San Yuste, near the town of Plasencia, in Estremadura. He entered this retreat in February, 1556, and died there on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. The last six months of his existence, contrasted with the daring vigour of his former life, formed a melancholy picture of timidity and superstition.^d

Motley's Estimate of Charles V

What was the emperor Charles to the inhabitants of the Netherlands that they should weep for him? His conduct towards them during his whole career had been one of unmitigated oppression. What to them were all these forty voyages by sea and land,² these journeyings back and forth from Friesland to Tunis, from Madrid to Vienna? The interests of the Netherlands had never been even a secondary consideration with their master. He had fulfilled no duty towards them: he had committed the gravest crimes against them. He had regarded them merely as a treasury upon which to draw; while the sums which he extorted were spent upon ceaseless and senseless wars, which were of no more interest to them than if they had been waged in another planet. Of five millions of gold annually, which he derived from all his realms, two millions came from these industrious and opulent provinces, while but a half million came from Spain and another half from the Indies. The mines of wealth which had been opened by the hand of industry in that slender territory of ancient morass and thicket³ contributed four times as much income to the imperial exchequer as all the boasted wealth of Mexico and Peru. Yet the artisans, the farmers, and the merchants, by whom these riches were produced, were consulted about as much in the expenditure of the imposts upon their industry as were the savages of America as to the distribution of the mineral treasures of their soil. They paid 1,200,000 crowns a year regularly; they paid in five years an extraordinary subsidy of eight millions of ducats, and the states were roundly rebuked by the courtly representatives of their despot if they presumed to inquire into the objects of the appropriations, or to express an interest in their judicious administration. Yet it may be supposed to have been a matter of indifference to them whether Francis or Charles had won the day at Pavia, and it certainly was not a cause of triumph to the daily increasing thousands of religious reformers

[¹ See the histories of Spain and Germany. At the same time the governess Mary resigned the office she had held for twenty-five years.]

[² See the history of Spain, vol. X, Chapter 8, where the enormous drain Charles V made on the Spanish treasury will be found similar to his draughts on the Netherlands.]

³ Badovaro¹ estimated the annual value of butter and cheese produced in those meadows which Holland had rescued from the ocean at eight hundred thousand crowns, a sum which, making allowance for the difference in the present value of money from that which it bore in 1557, would represent nearly eight millions. In agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the Netherlands were the foremost nation in the world. The fabrics of Arras, Tournay, Brussels, Louvain, Ghent, and Bruges were entirely unrivalled. Antwerp was the great commercial metropolis of Christendom. "*Aversa*," says Badovaro, "*e stimata la maggiore piazza del Mondo — si può credere quanto sia la somma si afferma passare 40 milioni d'oro l'anno, quelli che incontanto girano.*"

in Holland and Flanders that their brethren had been crushed by the emperor at Mühlberg.

But it was not alone that he drained their treasure and hampered their industry. He was in constant conflict with their ancient and dearly-bought political liberties. Like his ancestor Charles the Bold, he was desirous of constructing a kingdom out of the provinces. He was disposed to place all their separate and individual charters on a Procrustean bed, and shape them all into uniformity simply by reducing the whole to a nullity.¹ The difficulties in the way, the stout opposition offered by burghers whose fathers had gained these charters with their blood, and his want of leisure during the vast labours which devolved upon him as the autocrat of so large a portion of the world, caused him to defer indefinitely the execution of his plan. He found time only to crush some of the foremost of the liberal institutions of the provinces in detail. He found the city of Tournay a happy, thriving, self-governed little republic in all its local affairs; he destroyed its liberties, without a tolerable pretext, and reduced it to the condition of a Spanish or Italian provincial town. His memorable chastisement of Ghent for having dared to assert its ancient rights of self-taxation has been already narrated. Many other instances might be adduced, if it were not a superfluous task, to prove that Charles was not only a political despot, but most arbitrary and cruel in the exercise of his despotism.

But if his sins against the Netherlands had been only those of financial and political oppression, it would be at least conceivable, although certainly not commendable, that the inhabitants should have regretted his departure. His hand planted the inquisition in the Netherlands. Before his day it is idle to say that the diabolical institution ever had a place there. The isolated cases in which inquisitors had exercised functions proved the absence and not the presence of the system. Charles introduced and organised a papal inquisition, side by side with those terrible "placards" of his invention, which constituted a masked inquisition even more cruel than that of Spain. The execution of the system was never permitted to languish. The number of Netherlanders who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or buried alive, in obedience to his edicts, and for the offences of reading the Scriptures, of looking askance at a graven image, or of ridiculing the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in a wafer, has been placed as high as one hundred thousand by distinguished authorities, and has rarely been put at a lower mark than fifty thousand.² The Venetian envoy Navigero estimated the victims in the provinces of Holland and Friesland alone at thirty thousand, and this in 1546, ten years before the abdication, and five before the promulgation of the hideous edict of 1550!

The edicts and the inquisition were the gift of Charles to the Netherlands, in return for their wasted treasure and their constant obedience. For this, his name deserves to be handed down to eternal infamy, not only throughout the Netherlands, but in every land where a single heart beats for political or religious freedom. To eradicate these institutions after they had been watered

¹ The character of Charles has perhaps been more eloquently and elegantly maligned by Robertson^m and Motley^k than he deserved. A recent life by Edward Armstrongⁿ offers a counterweight. Against the charges of despotic ambition Armstrong emphasises the fact that he convoked the diets in Germany more frequently than even the Protestant princes desired, and that during his reign the states-general of the Netherlands met over fifty times.]

² "*Nam post carnificata hominum non minus centum millia, ex quo tentatum an posset incendium hoc sanguine reslingui, tanta multitudo per Belgicam insurrexerat, ut publica interdum supplicia quoties insignior reus, aut atrociores cruciatus seditione impedirentur.*—HUGO GROTIUS [DE GROOT].^o But Blok^j scoffs at so high an estimate. See the next chapter.]

and watched by the care of his successor, was the work of an eighty years' war, in the course of which millions of lives were sacrificed.

Yet there is no doubt that the emperor was at times almost popular in the Netherlands, and that he was never as odious as his successor. There were some deep reasons for this, and some superficial ones; among others, a singularly fortunate manner. He spoke German, Spanish, Italian, French, and Flemish, and could assume the characteristics of each country as easily as he could use its language. He could be stately with Spaniards, familiar with Flemings, witty with Italians. He could strike down a bull in the ring like a matador at Madrid, or win the prize in the tourney like a knight of old; he could ride at the ring with the Flemish nobles, hit the popinjay with his crossbow among Antwerp artisans, or drink beer and exchange rude jests with the boors of Brabant. For virtues such as these, his grave crimes against God and man, against religion and chartered and solemnly-sworn rights, have been palliated as if oppression became more tolerable because the oppressor was an accomplished linguist and a good marksman.^k

PROSPEROUS CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

The whole of the provinces of the Netherlands being now for the first time united under one sovereign, such a junction marks the limits of a second epoch in their history. It would be a presumptuous and vain attempt to trace, in a compass so confined as ours, the various changes in manners and customs which arose in these countries during a period of one thousand years. The extended and profound remarks of many celebrated writers on the state of Europe from the decline of the Roman power to the epoch at which we are now arrived must be referred to, to judge of the gradual progress of civilisation through the gloom of the dark ages, till the dawn of enlightenment which led to the grand system of European politics commenced during the reign of Charles V.

The amazing increase of commerce was, above all other considerations, the cause of the growth of liberty in the Netherlands. The Reformation opened the minds of men to that intellectual freedom without which political enfranchisement is a worthless privilege. The invention of printing opened a thousand channels to the flow of erudition and talent, and sent them out from the reservoirs of individual possession to fertilise the whole domain of human nature. Manufactures attained a state of high perfection, and went on progressively with the growth of wealth and luxury. The opulence of the towns of Brabant and Flanders was without any previous example in the state of Europe. A merchant of Bruges took upon himself alone the security for the ransom of John the Fearless, taken at the battle of Nicopolis, amounting to two hundred thousand ducats. A provost of Valenciennes repaired to Paris at one of the great fairs periodically held there, and purchased on his own account every article that was for sale. The meetings of the different towns for the sports of archery were signalised by the most splendid display of dress and decoration. The archers were habited in silk, damask, and the finest linen, and carried chains of gold of great weight and value. Luxury was at its height among women. The queen of Philip the Handsome of France, on a visit to Bruges, exclaimed, with astonishment not unminged with envy, "I thought myself the only queen here; but I see six hundred others who appear more so than I."

The dresses of both men and women at this chivalric epoch were of almost incredible expense. Velvet, satin, gold, and precious stones seemed the

ordinary materials for the dress of either sex; while the very housings of the horses sparkled with brilliants and cost immense sums. This absurd extravagance was carried so far that Charles V found himself forced at length to proclaim sumptuary laws for its repression.

Such excessive luxury naturally led to great corruption of manners and the commission of terrible crimes. During the reign of Philip de Male, there were committed in the city of Ghent and its outskirts, in less than a year, above fourteen hundred murders in gambling-houses and other resorts of debauchery. As early as the tenth century, the petty sovereigns established on the ruins of the empire of Charlemagne began the independent coining of money; and the various provinces were during the rest of this epoch inundated with a most embarrassing variety of gold, silver, and copper.

Even in ages of comparative darkness, literature made feeble efforts to burst through the entangled weeds of superstition, ignorance, and war. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries history was greatly cultivated; and Froissart, Monstrelet, Olivier de la Marche, and Philip de Comines gave to their chronicles and memoirs a charm of style since their days almost unrivalled. Poetry began to be followed with success in the Netherlands, in the Dutch, Flemish, and French languages; and even before the institution of the Floral Games in France, Belgium possessed its chambers of rhetoric (*rederykkamers*), which laboured to keep alive the sacred flame of poetry with more zeal than success. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these societies were established in almost every burgh of Flanders and Brabant, the principal towns possessing several at once.

The arts in their several branches made considerable progress in the Netherlands during this epoch. Architecture was greatly cultivated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of the cathedrals and town houses being constructed in that age. Their vastness, solidity, and beauty of design and execution, make them still speaking monuments of the stern magnificence and finished taste of the times. The patronage of Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and Margaret of Austria brought music into fashion, and led to its cultivation in a remarkable degree. The first musicians of France were drawn from Flanders; and other professors from that country acquired great celebrity in Italy for their scientific improvements in their art.

Painting, which had languished before the fifteenth century, sprang at once into a new existence from the invention of Jan Van Eyck. His accidental discovery of the art of painting in oil quickly spread over Europe. Painting on glass, polishing diamonds, the carillon, lace, and tapestry were among the inventions which owed their birth to the Netherlands in these ages, when the faculties of mankind sought so many new channels for mechanical development.

The discovery of a new world by Columbus and other eminent navigators gave a fresh and powerful impulse to European talent, by affording an immense reservoir for its reward. The town of Antwerp was, during the reign of Charles V, the outlet for the industry of Europe, and the receptacle for the productions of all the nations of the earth. Its port was so often crowded with vessels that each successive fleet was obliged to wait long in the Schelde before it could obtain admission for the discharge of its cargoes. The University of Louvain, that great nursery of science, was founded in 1425, and served greatly to the spread of knowledge, although it degenerated into the hotbed of those fierce disputes which stamped on theology the degradation of bigotry, and drew down odium on a study that, if purely practised, ought only to inspire veneration.

The Netherlands were never in a more flourishing state than at the accession of Philip II. The external relations of the country presented an aspect of prosperity and peace. England was closely allied to it by Queen Mary's marriage with Philip; France, fatigued with war, had just concluded with it a five years' truce; Germany, paralysed by religious dissensions, exhausted itself in domestic quarrels; the other states were too distant or too weak to inspire any uneasiness; and nothing appeared wanting for the public weal. Nevertheless there was something dangerous and alarming in the situation of the Low Countries; but the danger consisted wholly in the connection between the monarch and the people, and the alarm was not sounded till the mischief was beyond remedy.^d





CHAPTER V

PHILIP II AND SPANISH OPPRESSION

[1555-1567 A.D.]

THE eminent German historian and poet, Schiller, opening his account of the Netherlandish revolt, says:

"One of the most remarkable political events which have rendered the sixteenth century among the brightest of the world's epochs appears to me to be the foundation of the freedom of the Netherlands. If the glittering exploits of ambition and the pernicious lust of power claim our admiration, how much more should an event in which oppressed humanity struggles for its noblest rights, where with the good cause unwonted powers are united, and the resources of resolute despair triumph in unequal contest over the terrible arts of tyranny. It is not that which is extraordinary or heroic in this event which induces me to describe it. The annals of the world have recorded similar enterprises, which appear even bolder in the conception and more brilliant in the execution. Some states have fallen with a more imposing convulsion, others have risen with more exalted strides. Nor are we here to look for prominent heroes, colossal personages, or those marvellous exploits which the history of past times presents in such rich abundance.

"The people here presented to our notice were the most peaceful in this quarter of the globe, and less capable than their neighbours of that heroic spirit which imparts a higher character to the most insignificant actions. The pressure of circumstances surprised them with its peculiar power, and forced a transitory greatness upon them, which they never should have possessed, and may perhaps never possess again. It is, indeed, exactly the want of heroic greatness which makes this event peculiar and instructive; and while others aim at showing the superiority of genius over chance, I present here a picture where necessity created genius, and accident made heroes."^b

It is impossible to comprehend the character of the great Netherland revolt in the sixteenth century without taking a rapid retrospective survey of the religious phenomena exhibited in the provinces. The introduction of

Christianity has been already indicated. From the earliest times, neither prince, people, nor even prelates were very dutiful to the pope. As the papal authority made progress, strong resistance was often made to its decrees. The bishops of Utrecht were dependent for their wealth and territory upon the good will of the emperor. They were the determined opponents of Hildebrand, warm adherents of the Hohenstauffens — Ghibelline rather than Guelf.

Heresy was a plant of early growth in the Netherlands. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century, the notorious Tanchelyn [or Tanchelinos, or Tanchelm] preached at Antwerp, attacking the authority of the pope and of all other ecclesiastics — scoffing at the ceremonies and sacraments of the Church.

EARLY NETHERLAND HERESY

The impudence of Tanchelyn and the superstition of his followers seem alike incredible. All Antwerp was his harem. He levied, likewise, vast sums upon his converts, and whenever he appeared in public his apparel and pomp were befitting an emperor. Three thousand armed satellites escorted his steps and put to death all who resisted his commands. So grovelling became the superstition of his followers that they drank of the water in which he had washed, and treasured it as a divine elixir. Advancing still further in his experiments upon human credulity, he announced his approaching marriage with the Virgin Mary, bade all his disciples to the wedding, and exhibited himself before an immense crowd in company with an image of his holy bride. His career was so successful in the Netherlands that he had the effrontery to proceed to Rome, promulgating what he called his doctrines as he went. He seems to have been assassinated by a priest in an obscure brawl, about the year 1115.

By the middle of the twelfth century, other and purer heresiarchs had arisen. Many Netherlands became converts to the doctrines of Waldo. From that period until the appearance of Luther,¹ a succession of sects — Waldenses, Albigenses, Perfectists, Lollards, Poplicans, Arnaldists, Bohemian Brothers — waged perpetual but unequal warfare with the power and depravity of the Church, fertilising with their blood the future field of the Reformation. Nowhere was the persecution of heretics more relentless than in the Netherlands. Suspected persons were subjected to various torturing but ridiculous ordeals. After such trial, death by fire was the usual but, perhaps, not the most severe form of execution. In Flanders, monastic ingenuity had invented another most painful punishment for Waldenses and similar malefactors. A criminal, whose guilt had been established by the hot iron, hot ploughshare, boiling kettle, or other logical proof, was stripped and bound to the stake; he was then flayed, from the neck to the navel, while swarms of bees were let loose to fasten upon his bleeding flesh and torture him to a death of exquisite agony.

Nevertheless heresy increased in the face of oppression. The Scriptures, translated by Waldo into French, were rendered into Netherland rhyme, and the converts to the Vaudois doctrine increased in numbers and boldness. At the same time the power and luxury of the clergy were waxing daily. The bishops of Utrecht, no longer the defenders of the people against arbitrary power, conducted themselves like little popes. Yielding in dignity neither to king nor kaiser, they exacted homage from the most powerful princes of the Netherlands.

[¹ For a general account of the Reformation and fuller details concerning Erasmus, see the history of Germany.]

[1300-1523 A.D.]

By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the clerical power was already beginning to decline. It was not the corruption of the Church, but its enormous wealth, which engendered the hatred with which it was by many regarded. Temporal princes and haughty barons began to dispute the right of ecclesiastics to enjoy vast estates, while refusing the burden of taxation and unable to draw a sword for the common defence. At this period, the counts of Flanders, of Holland, and other Netherland sovereigns issued decrees forbidding clerical institutions from acquiring property, by devise, gift, purchase, or any other mode. The downfall of the rapacious and licentious Knights Templar in the provinces and throughout Europe was another severe blow administered at the same time. The attacks upon Church abuses redoubled in boldness, as its authority declined.

In 1459, Duke Philip of Burgundy prohibits the churches from affording protection to fugitives. Charles the Bold, in whose eyes nothing is sacred save war and the means of making it, lays a heavy impost upon all clerical property. Upon being resisted, he enforces collection with the armed hand. The sword and the pen, strength and intellect, no longer the exclusive servants or instruments of priestcraft, are both in open revolt. Charles the Bold storms one fortress, Doctor Grandfort, of Groningen, batters another. This learned Frisian, called "the light of the world," friend and compatriot of the great Rudolf Agricola, preaches throughout the provinces, uttering bold denunciations of ecclesiastical error. He even disputes the infallibility of the pope, denies the utility of prayers for the dead, and inveighs against the whole doctrine of purgatory and absolution.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century, the great Reformation was actually alive. The name of Erasmus of Rotterdam was already celebrated — the man who, according to Grotius,^c "so well showed the road to a reasonable reformation." But if Erasmus showed the road, he certainly did not travel far upon it himself. Perpetual type of the quietist, the moderate man, he censured the errors of the Church with discrimination and gentleness. He was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made, as he handsomely confessed on more than one occasion. The Reformation might have been delayed for centuries had Erasmus and other moderate men been the only reformers. He will long be honoured for his elegant Latinity. In the republic of letters, his efforts to infuse a pure taste, a sound criticism, a love for the beautiful and the classic, in place of the owlsh pedantry which had so long flapped and hooted through mediæval cloisters, will always be held in grateful reverence. In the history of the religious Reformation, his name seems hardly to deserve the commendations of Grotius.

Erasmus, however, was offending both parties. A swarm of monks were already buzzing about him for the bold language of his Commentaries and Dialogues. On the other hand, he was reviled for not taking side manfully with the reformer. The moderate man received much denunciation from zealots on either side. He soon clears himself, however, from all suspicions of Lutheranism. He is appalled at the fierce conflict which rages far and wide.

SEVERE PUNISHMENT OF HERESY · THE ANABAPTISTS

Imperial edicts are soon employed to suppress the Reformation in the Netherlands by force. The provinces, unfortunately, are the private property of Charles, his paternal inheritance, and most paternally, according to his view of the matter, does he deal with them. The papal inquisition was introduced into the provinces to assist its operations. The blood work

for which the reign of Charles is mainly distinguished in the Netherlands now began. In 1523, July 1st, two Augustine monks were burned at Brussels, the first victims to Lutheranism¹ in the provinces. Erasmus observed, with a sigh, that "two had been burned at Brussels, and that the city now began strenuously to favour Lutheranism."

Another edict, published in the Netherlands, forbids all private assemblies for devotion; all reading of the Scriptures; all discussions within one's own doors concerning faith, the sacraments, the papal authority, or other religious matter, under penalty of death. The edicts were no dead letter. The fires were kept constantly supplied with human fuel by monks, who knew the art of burning reformers better than that of arguing with them. The scaffold was the most conclusive of syllogisms, and used upon all occasions. Still the people remained unconvinced. Thousands of burned heretics had not made a single convert.

A fresh edict renewed and sharpened the punishment for reading the Scriptures in private or public. At the same time, the violent personal altercation between Luther and Erasmus, upon predestination, together with the bitter dispute between Luther and Zwingli concerning the real presence, did more to impede the progress of the Reformation than ban or edict, sword or fire. The spirit of humanity hung her head, finding that the bold reformer had only a new dogma in place of the old ones, seeing that dissenters, in their turn, were sometimes as ready as papists with axe, fagot, and excommunication. In 1526, Felix Mantz, the anabaptist, is drowned at Zurich, in obedience to Zwingli's pithy formula — *Qui iterum mergit mergatur*. Thus the anabaptists, upon their first appearance, were exposed to the fires of the Church and the water of the Zwinglians.

There is no doubt that the anabaptist delusion was so ridiculous and so loathsome as to palliate, or at least render intelligible, the wrath with which they were regarded by all parties. The turbulence of the sect was alarming to constituted authorities, its bestiality disgraceful to the cause of religious reformation. The evil spirit, driven out of Luther, seemed, in orthodox eyes, to have taken possession of a herd of swine. The Germans, Münzer and Hoffmann, had been succeeded, as chief prophets, by a Dutch baker, named Matthiaszoon, of Haarlem, who announced himself as Enoch. Chief of this man's disciples was the notorious John Bockhold [or Beukelzoon], of Leyden.

Under the government of this prophet, the anabaptists mastered the city of Münster. Here they confiscated property, plundered churches, violated females, murdered men who refused to join the gang, and, in brief, practised all the enormities which humanity alone can conceive or perpetrate. The prophet proclaimed himself king of Sion, and sent out apostles to preach his doctrines in Germany and the Netherlands. Polygamy being a leading article of the system, he exemplified the principle by marrying fourteen wives. Of these, the beautiful widow of Matthiaszoon was chief; she was called the queen of Sion, and wore a golden crown. The prophet made many fruitless efforts to seize Amsterdam and Leyden. The armed invasion of the anabaptists was repelled, but their contagious madness spread.

The plague broke forth in Amsterdam. On a cold winter's night (February, 1535), seven men and five women, inspired by the Holy Ghost, threw off their clothes and rushed naked and raving through the streets, shrieking, "Woe, woe, woe! the wrath of God, the wrath of God!" When arrested, they

¹ Luther wrote a hymn in their honour, exclaiming that "their ashes would not be lost but scattered in all the lands."

[1535-1549 A.D.]

obstinately refused to put on clothing. "We are," they observed, "the naked truth." In a day or two, these furious lunatics, who certainly deserved a madhouse rather than the scaffold, were all executed. The numbers of the sect increased with the martyrdom to which they were exposed, and the disorder spread to every part of the Netherlands. Many were put to death in lingering torments, but no perceptible effect was produced by the chastisement. Meantime the great chief of the sect, the prophet John, was defeated by the forces of the bishop of Münster, who recovered his city and caused the "king of Sion" to be pinched to death with red-hot tongs.

Unfortunately the severity of government was not wreaked alone upon the prophet and his mischievous crew. Thousands and ten thousands¹ of virtuous, well-disposed men and women, who had as little sympathy with anabaptistical as with Roman depravity, were butchered in cold blood, under the sanguinary rule of Charles V, in the Netherlands. In 1535 an imperial edict was issued at Brussels, condemning all heretics to death: repentant males to be executed with the sword, repentant females to be buried alive; the obstinate, of both sexes, to be burned. This and similar edicts were the law of the land for twenty years, and rigidly enforced. In the midst of the carnage, the emperor sent for his son Philip, that he might receive the fealty of the Netherlands as their future lord and master. Contemporaneously a new edict was published at Brussels (April 29th, 1549), confirming and re-enacting all previous decrees in their most severe provisions. Thus stood religious matters in the Netherlands at the epoch of the imperial abdication.

A BACKWARD GLANCE

Thus fifteen ages have passed away, and in the place of a horde of savages, living among swamps and thickets, swarm three millions of people, the most industrious, the most prosperous, perhaps the most intelligent under the sun. Their cattle, grazing on the bottom of the sea, are the finest in Europe, their agricultural products of more exchangeable value than if nature had made their land to overflow with wine and oil. Their navigators are the boldest, their mercantile marine the most powerful, their merchants the most enterprising in the world. Holland and Flanders, peopled by one race, vie with each other in the pursuits of civilisation.

Within the little circle which encloses the seventeen provinces are 208 walled cities, many of them among the most stately in Christendom, 150 chartered towns, 6,300 villages, with their watch-towers and steeples, besides numerous other more insignificant hamlets; the whole guarded by a belt of sixty fortresses of surpassing strength.

Thus in this rapid sketch of the course and development of the Netherlands nation during sixteen centuries, we have seen it ever marked by one prevailing characteristic, one master passion — the love of liberty, the instinct of self-government. Largely compounded of the bravest Teutonic elements, Batavian and Frisian, the race ever battles to the death with tyranny, organises extensive revolts in the age of Vespasian, maintains a partial independence

[¹ The figures range from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand, according to the words of Hugo Grotius and according to William of Orange's *Apology*; but Blok declares that these figures exceed the entire number of the reformed congregations, while the martyrs' books enumerate hardly a thousand. The number of those punished otherwise than by death, he thinks, must have run high into the thousands. He quotes the "blood-placard" of 1550 which orders that "the men shall be executed with the sword and the women buried alive." But he also emphasises the freedom of large districts from any persecution whatsoever, and the general inclination of the vast majority of the populace toward the tenets of the reformers.]

even against the sagacious dominion of Charlemagne, refuses in Friesland to accept the papal yoke or feudal chain, and, throughout the dark ages, struggles resolutely towards the light, wresting from a series of petty sovereigns a gradual and practical recognition of the claims of humanity. With the advent of the Burgundian family, the power of the commons has reached so high a point that it is able to measure itself, undaunted, with the spirit of arbitrary rule, of which that engrossing and tyrannical house is the embodiment. For more than a century the struggle for freedom, for civic life, goes on — Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Mary's husband Maximilian, Charles V, in turn, assailing or undermining the bulwarks raised, age after age, against the despotic principle. The combat is ever renewed. Liberty, often crushed, rises again and again from her native earth with redoubled energy.

At last, in the sixteenth century, a new and more powerful spirit, the genius of religious freedom, comes to participate in the great conflict. Arbitrary power, incarnated in the second Charlemagne, assails the new combination with unscrupulous, unforgiving fierceness. Venerable civic magistrates, haltered, grovel in sackcloth and ashes; innocent religious reformers burn in holocausts. By the middle of the century, the battle rages more fiercely than ever. In the little Netherland territory, Humanity, bleeding but not killed, still stands at bay and defies the hunters. The two great powers have been gathering strength for centuries. They are soon to be matched in a longer and more determined combat than the world had ever seen. The emperor is about to leave the stage. The provinces, so passionate for nationality, for municipal freedom, for religious reformation, are to become the property of an utter stranger — a prince foreign to their blood, their tongue, their religion, their whole habit of life and thought.

Such was the political, religious, and social condition of a nation who were now to witness a new and momentous spectacle.^d

THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP II (1555)

Philip II was in all respects the opposite of his father. As ambitious as Charles, but with less knowledge of men and of the rights of man, he had formed to himself a notion of royal authority which regarded men as simply the servile instruments of despotic will, and was outraged by every symptom of liberty. Born in Spain, and educated under the iron discipline of the monks, he demanded of others the same gloomy formality and reserve that marked his own character. The cheerful inerriment of his Flemish subjects was as uncongenial to his disposition and temper as their privileges were offensive to his imperious will. He spoke no other language than the Spanish, endured none but Spaniards about his person, and obstinately adhered to all their customs. In vain did the loyal ingenuity of the Flemish towns through which he passed vie with each other in solemnisising his arrival with costly festivities. Philip's eye remained dark; all the profusion of magnificence, all the loud and hearty effusions of the sincerest joy could not win from him one approving smile.

Charles entirely missed his aim by presenting his son to the Flemings. They might eventually have endured his yoke with less impatience if he had never set his foot in their land. But his look forewarned them what they had to expect: his entry into Brussels lost him all hearts. The emperor's gracious affability with his people only served to throw a darker shade on the

[1555 A.D.]

haughty gravity of his son.¹ They read in his countenance the destructive purpose against their liberties, which even then he already revolved in his breast. Forewarned to find in him a tyrant, they were forewarned to resist him.

The throne of the Netherlands was the first which Charles V abdicated. Before a solemn convention in Brussels, he had absolved the states-general of their oath, and transferred their allegiance to King Philip, his son.

The alarm which the arbitrary government of the emperor had inspired, and the distrust of his son, are already visible in the formula of his oath, which was drawn up in far more guarded and explicit terms than that which had been administered to Charles V himself, and all the dukes of Burgundy. Philip, for instance, was compelled to swear to the maintenance of their customs and usages, which before his time had never been required. In the oath which the states took to him, no other obedience was promised than such as should be consistent with the privileges of the country. Lastly, in this oath of allegiance, Philip is simply styled only the natural, the hereditary prince, and not, as the emperor had desired, sovereign or lord — proof enough how little confidence was placed in the justice and liberality of the new sovereign.

Philip II received the lordship of the Netherlands in the brightest period of their prosperity. He was the first of their princes who united them all under his authority. They now consisted of seventeen provinces: the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Gelderland; the seven counties of Artois, Hainault, Flanders, Namur, Zutphen, Holland, and Zeeland; the marquisate of Antwerp; and the five lordships of Friesland, Mechlin (Malines), Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, which, collectively, formed a great and powerful state able to contend with monarchies. Higher than it then stood, their commerce could not rise. The sources of their wealth were above the earth's surface, but they were more valuable and inexhaustible, and richer than all the mines in America.

The numerous nobility, formerly so powerful, cheerfully accompanied their sovereign in his wars, or amid the civil changes of the state courted the approving smile of royalty.

A large portion, moreover, of the nobility were deeply sunk in poverty and debt. Charles V had crippled all the most dangerous vassals of the crown, by expensive embassies to foreign courts, under the specious pretext of honorary distinctions. Thus, William of Orange was despatched to Germany with the imperial crown, and Count Egmont to conclude the marriage-contract between Philip and Queen Mary. Both, also, afterwards accompanied the duke of Alva to France, to negotiate the peace between the two crowns, and the new alliance of their sovereign with Madame Elizabeth. The expenses of these journeys amounted to three hundred thousand florins, towards which the king did not contribute a single penny.^b

FIRST DEEDS OF PHILIP

Philip did not at first act in a way to make himself more particularly hated. He rather, by an apparent consideration for a few points of political interest and individual privilege, and particularly by the revocation of some of the edicts against heretics, removed the suspicions his earlier conduct had excited. He succeeded in persuading the states to grant him considerable subsidies, some of which were to be paid by instalments during a period of

¹ For a fuller presentation of the strange character of Philip II and for his deeds outside the Netherlands consult the history of Spain, volume X, chapter 9.]

nine years. That was gaining a great step towards his designs, as it superseded the necessity of a yearly application to the three orders, the guardians of the public liberty. At the same time he sent secret agents to Rome, to obtain the approbation of the pope to his insidious but most effective plan for placing the whole of the clergy in dependence upon the crown. He also kept up the army of Spaniards and Germans which his father had formed on the frontiers of France; and although he did not remove from their employments the functionaries already in place, he took care to make no new appointments to office among the natives of the Netherlands.

Philip was suddenly attacked in two quarters at once — by Henry II of France, and by Pope Paul IV. He promptly met the threatened dangers. He turned his first attention towards his contest with the pope; and he extricated himself from it with an adroitness that proved the whole force and cunning of his character. Having first publicly obtained the opinion of several doctors of theology, that he was justified in taking arms against the pontiff, he prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, by means of the afterwards notorious duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of his Italian dominions. Paul soon yielded to superior skill and force, and demanded terms of peace.

In the war with France, his army, under the command of Emmanuel Philibert duke of Savoy, consisting of Belgians, Germans, and Spaniards, with a considerable body of English sent by Mary to the assistance of her husband, penetrated into Picardy, and gained a complete victory over the French forces. The honour of this brilliant affair, which took place near St. Quentin, was almost wholly due to the count of Egmont, a Belgian noble, who commanded the light cavalry. In the early part of the year 1558, one of the generals of Henry II made an irruption into West Flanders; but the gallant count of Egmont once more proved his valour and skill by attacking and totally defeating the invaders near the town of Gravelines.

A general peace was concluded in April, 1559, which bore the name of Cateau-Cambrésis, from that of the place where it was negotiated. Philip now announced his intended departure on a short visit to Spain; and created for the period of his absence a provisional government, chiefly composed of the leading men among the Belgian nobility.

The composition of this new government was a masterpiece of political machinery. It consisted of several councils, in which the most distinguished citizens were entitled to a place, in sufficient numbers to deceive the people with a show of representation, but not enough to command a majority, which was sure on any important question to rest with the titled creatures of the court. The edicts against heresy, soon adopted, gave to the clergy an almost unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of the people. But almost all the dignitaries of the church being men of great respectability and moderation, chosen by the body of the inferior clergy, these extraordinary powers excited little alarm. Philip's project was suddenly to replace these virtuous ecclesiastics by others of his own choice, as soon as the states broke up from their annual meeting; and for this intention he had procured the secret consent and authority of the court of Rome.

In support of these combinations the Belgian troops were completely broken up and scattered in small bodies over the country. The whole of this force, so redoubtable to the fears of despotism, consisted of only three thousand cavalry. But the German and Spanish troops in Philip's pay were cantoned on the frontiers, ready to stifle any incipient effort in opposition to his plans. In addition to these imposing means for their execution, he had secured a still more secret and more powerful support — a secret

[1559 A.D.]

article in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis obliged the king of France to assist him with the whole armies of France against his Belgian subjects, should they prove refractory. Thus the late war, of which the Netherlands had borne all the weight and earned all the glory, only brought about the junction of the defeated enemy with their own king for the extinction of their national independence.

Philip convened an assembly of all the states at Ghent, August 7th, 1559.¹ This meeting of the representatives of the three orders of the state offered no apparent obstacle to Philip's views. The clergy, alarmed at the progress of the new doctrines, gathered more closely round the government of which they required the support. The nobles had lost much of their ancient attachment to liberty; and had become, in various ways, dependent on the royal favour. It was only from the third order — that of the commons — that Philip had to expect any opposition. Already, during the war, it had shown some discontent, and had insisted on the nomination of commissioners to control the accounts and the disbursements of the subsidies.

Anthony Perrenot de Granvella, bishop of Arras, who was considered Philip's favourite counsellor, was commissioned to address the assembly in the name of his master, who spoke only Spanish. His oration was one of cautious deception, and contained the most flattering assurances of Philip's attachment to the people of the Netherlands. It excused the king for not having nominated his only son Don Carlos to reign over them in his name; alleging, as a proof of his royal affection, that he preferred giving them as governant a Belgian princess, Margaret, duchess of Parma.

But notwithstanding all the talent, the caution, and the mystery of Philip and his minister, there was among the nobles one man who saw through all. This individual, endowed with many of the highest attributes of political genius, and pre-eminently with judgment, the most important of all, entered fearlessly into the contest against tyranny — despising every personal sacrifice for the country's good. Without making himself suspiciously prominent, he privately warned some members of the states of the coming danger. Those in whom he confided did not betray the trust. They spread among the other deputies the alarm, and pointed out the danger to which they had been so judiciously awakened. The consequence was a reply to Philip's demand, in vague and general terms, without binding the nation by any pledge; and a unanimous entreaty that he would diminish the taxes, withdraw the foreign troops, and entrust no official employments to any but natives of the country. The object of this last request was the removal of Granvella, who was born in Franche-Comté.

Philip was utterly astounded at all this. In the first moment of his vexation he imprudently cried out, "Would ye, then, also bereave me of my place — I, who am a Spaniard?" But he soon recovered his self-command, and resumed his usual mask; expressed his regret at not having sooner learned the wishes of the states; promised to remove the foreign troops within three months; and set off for Zealand, with assumed composure, but filled with the fury of a discovered traitor and humiliated despot.

A fleet under the command of Count Horn, the admiral of the United Provinces, waited at Flushing to form his escort to Spain. At the very moment of his departure, William of Nassau, prince of Orange and governor of Zealand, waited on him to pay his official respects. The king, taking him apart from the other attendant nobles, recommended him to hasten the

[¹ This, says Blok,^e was the last time that a Burgundian prince ever took part in an assembly of representatives from the seventeen provinces.]

execution of several gentlemen and wealthy citizens attached to the newly introduced religious opinions. Then, quite suddenly, whether in the random impulse of suppressed rage, or that his piercing glance discovered William's secret feelings in his countenance, he accused him of having been the means of thwarting his designs. "Sire," replied William, "it was the work of the national states." "No!" cried Philip, grasping him furiously by the arm; "it was not done by the states, but by you, and you alone!"¹

This glorious accusation was not repelled. He who had saved his country in unmasking the designs of its tyrant, admitted by his silence his title to the hatred of the one and the gratitude of the other. On the 20th of August, Philip embarked and set sail, turning his back forever on the country which offered the first check to his despotism; and, after a perilous voyage, he arrived in that which permitted a free indulgence to his ferocious and sanguinary career.

For some time after Philip's departure the Netherlands continued to enjoy considerable prosperity. From the period of the Peace of Cateau-Cambr sis commerce and navigation had acquired new and increasing activity. The fisheries, but particularly that of herrings, became daily more important, that one alone occupying two thousand boats. While Holland, Zealand, and Friesland made this progress in their peculiar branches of industry, the southern provinces were not less active or successful.^g

SCHILLER'S PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE

Among the Flemish nobles who could lay claim to the chief stadholder-ship, the expectations and wishes of the nation had been divided between Count Egmont and the prince of Orange, who were alike entitled to this high dignity by illustrious birth and personal merits, and by an equal share in the affections of the people.

William I, prince of Orange, was descended from the princely German house of Nassau, which had already flourished eight centuries, had long disputed the pre-eminence with Austria, and had given one emperor to Germany. Besides several extensive domains in the Netherlands, which made him a citizen of this republic and a vassal of the Spanish monarchy, he possessed also in France the independent principedom of Orange. William was born in the year 1533, at Dillenburg, in the county of Nassau, of a countess Stolberg. His father, the count of Nassau, of the same name, had embraced the Protestant religion, and caused his son also to be educated in it; but Charles V, who early formed an attachment for the boy, took him, when quite young, to his court, and had him brought up in the Romish church. This monarch, who already in the child discovered the future greatness of the man, kept him nine years about his person, thought him worthy of his personal instruction in the affairs of government, and honored him with a confidence beyond his years. He alone was permitted to remain in the emperor's presence, when he gave audience to foreign ambassadors — a proof that, even as a boy, he had already begun to merit the surname of the Silent.

William was twenty-three years old when Charles abdicated the government, and had already received from the latter two public marks of the highest esteem. The emperor had entrusted to him, in preference to all the nobles of his court, the honourable office of conveying to his brother Ferdinand the imperial crown. When the duke of Savoy, who commanded the imperial

¹ The words of Philip were: "*No, no los estados; ma vos, vos, vos!*" Vos thus used in Spanish is a term of contempt, equivalent to *toi* in French.

army in the Netherlands, was called away to Italy by the exigence of his domestic affairs, the emperor appointed him commander-in-chief, against the united representations of his military council, who declared it altogether hazardous to oppose so young a tyro in arms to the experienced generals of France. Absent and unrecommended by any, he was preferred by the monarch to the laurel-crowned band of his heroes, and the result gave him no cause to repent of his choice.

The marked favour which the prince had enjoyed with the father was, in itself, a sufficient ground for his exclusion from the confidence of the son. Philip, it appears, had laid it down for himself as a rule to avenge the wrongs of the Spanish nobility for the preference which Charles V had, on all important occasions, shown to his Flemish nobles. Still stronger, however, were the secret motives which alienated him from the prince. William of Orange was one of those lean and pale men who, according to Cæsar's words, "sleep not at night, and think too much," and before whom the most fearless spirits quail. The calm tranquillity of a never varying countenance concealed a busy, ardent soul, which never even ruffled the veil behind which it worked, and was alike inaccessible to artifice and to love — a versatile, formidable, indefatigable mind, soft and ductile enough to be instantaneously moulded into all forms, guarded enough to lose itself in none, and strong enough to endure every vicissitude of fortune.

A greater master in reading and in winning men's hearts never existed than William. Not that, after the fashion of courts, his lips avowed a servility to which his proud heart gave the lie, but because he was neither too sparing nor too lavish of the marks of his esteem, and through a skilful economy of the favours which mostly bind men, he increased his real stock in them. The fruits of his meditation were as perfect as they were slowly formed; his resolves were as steadily and indomitably accomplished as they were long in maturing. No obstacles could defeat the plan which he had once adopted as the best; no accidents frustrated it, for they all had been foreseen before they actually occurred. High as his feelings were raised above terror and joy, they were, nevertheless, subject in the same degree to fear; but his fear was earlier than the danger, and he was calm in tumult, because he had trembled in repose. William lavished his gold with a profuse hand, but he was a niggard of his moments. The hours of repast were the sole hours of relaxation, but these were exclusively devoted to his family and his friends. His household was magnificent; the splendour of a numerous retinue, the number and respectability of those who surrounded his person made his habitation resemble the court of a sovereign prince.

No one, probably, was better fitted by nature for the leader of a conspiracy than William the Silent. A comprehensive and intuitive glance into the past, the present, and the future; the talent for improving every favourable opportunity; a commanding influence over the minds of men; vast schemes which, only when viewed from a distance, show form and symmetry, and bold calculations, which were wound up in the long chain of futurity — all these faculties he possessed, and kept, moreover, under the control of that free and enlightened virtue which moves with firm step, even on the very edge of the abyss.

A man like this might, at other times, have remained unfathomed by his entire generation; but not so by the distrustful spirit of the age in which he lived. Philip II saw quickly and deeply into a character which, among good ones, most resembled his own. In him, Philip had to deal with an antagonist who was armed against his policy, and who, in a good cause,

could also command the resources of a bad one. And it was exactly this last circumstance which accounts for his having hated this man so implacably above all others of his day, and his having had so supernatural a dread of him.

The suspicion which already attached to the prince was increased by the doubts which were entertained of his religious bias. So long as the emperor, his benefactor, lived, William believed in the pope; but it was feared, with good ground, that the predilection for the reformed religion which had been imparted to his young heart had never entirely left it. Whatever church he may, at certain periods of his life, have preferred, each might console itself with the reflection that none other possessed him more entirely. In later years, he went over to Calvinism with almost as little scruple as in his early childhood he deserted the Lutheran profession for the Romish. He defended the rights of the Protestants, rather than their opinions, against Spanish oppression: not their faith, but their wrongs, had made him their brother.



WILLIAM THE SILENT

These general grounds for suspicion appeared to be justified by a discovery of his real intentions, which accident had made. William had remained in France as hostage for the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, in concluding which he had borne a part; and here, through the imprudence of Henry II, who imagined he spoke with the confidant of the king of Spain, he became acquainted with a secret plot, which the French and Spanish courts had formed against Protestants of both kingdoms. The prince hastened to communicate this important discovery to his friends in Brussels, whom it so

nearly concerned, and the letters which he exchanged on the subject fell, unfortunately, into the hands of the king of Spain. Philip was less surprised at this decisive disclosure of William's sentiments, than incensed at the disappointment of his scheme; and the Spanish nobles, who had never forgiven the prince that moment when, in the last act of his life, the greatest of emperors leaned upon his shoulders, did not neglect this favourable opportunity of finally ruining, in the good opinion of their king, the betrayer of a state secret.

COUNT EGMONT

Of a lineage no less noble than that of William was Lamoral, count of Egmont¹ and prince of Gavre, a descendant of the dukes of Gelderland, whose martial courage had wearied out the arms of Austria. His family was highly distinguished in the annals of the country: one of his ancestors had, under Maximilian, already filled the office of stadholder over Holland. Egmont's marriage with the duchess Sabina of Bavaria reflected additional lustre on the splendour of his birth, and made him powerful through the great-

[¹ This name is derived from that abbey of Egmond which was, as we said in the first chapter, bestowed on Dirk I of Holland by Charles the Simple in 912.]

ness of this alliance. Charles V had, in the year 1516, conferred on him, at Utrecht, the order of the Golden Fleece; the wars of this emperor were the school of his military genius, and the battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines made him the hero of his age.

Egmont united all the eminent qualities which form the hero: he was a better soldier than the prince of Orange, but far inferior to him as a statesman: the latter saw the world as it really was; Egmont viewed it in the magic mirror of an imagination that embellished all that it reflected. Intoxicated with the idea of his own merits, which the love and gratitude of his fellow citizens had exaggerated, he staggered on in this sweet reverie, as in a delightful world of dreams. Even the most terrible experience of Spanish perfidy could not afterwards eradicate this confidence from his soul, and on the scaffold itself his latest feeling was hope. A tender fear for his family kept his patriotic courage fettered by lower duties. Because he trembled for property and life, he could not venture much for the republic. William of Orange broke with the throne, because its arbitrary power was offensive to his pride; Egmont was vain, and therefore valued the favours of the monarch. The former was a citizen of the world; Egmont had never been more than a Fleming.

Two such competitors, so equal in merit, might have embarrassed Philip in his choice, if he had ever seriously thought of selecting either of them for the appointment. But the pre-eminent qualities by which they supported their claim to this office were the very cause of their rejection; and it was precisely the ardent desire of the nation for their election to it that irrevocably annulled their title to the appointment.

MARGARET OF PARMA, REGENT OF THE NETHERLANDS

While the general expectation was concerned with the future destinies of the provinces, there appeared on the frontiers of the country the duchess Margaret of Parma, having been summoned by the king from Italy, to assume the government. Margaret was a natural daughter of Charles V and of a noble Flemish lady, named Vangeest, and born 1522. Out of regard for the honour of her mother's house, she was at first educated in obscurity; but her mother, who possessed more vanity than honour, was not very anxious to preserve the secret of her origin, and a princely education betrayed the daughter of the emperor. While yet a child, she was entrusted to the regent Margaret, her great-aunt, to be brought up at Brussels, under her eye. This guardian she lost in her eighth year, and the care of her education devolved on Queen Mary of Hungary, the successor of Margaret in the regency. Ottavio Farnese, a prince of thirteen years of age, and nephew of Paul III had obtained, with her person, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza as her portion. Thus, by a strange destiny, Margaret, at the age of maturity, was contracted to a boy, as in the years of infancy she had been sold to a man. Her disposition, which was anything but feminine, made this last alliance still more unnatural, for her taste and inclinations were masculine, and the whole tenor of her life belied her sex.

These unusual qualities were crowned by a monkish superstition, which was infused into her mind by Ignatius Loyola, her confessor and teacher. Among the charitable works and penances with which she mortified her vanity, one of the most remarkable was that during Passion-Week, she yearly washed, with her own hands, the feet of a number of poor men (who were most strictly

forbidden to cleanse themselves beforehand), waited on them at table like a servant, and sent them away with rich presents.

Margaret was born and also educated in the Netherlands. She had spent her early youth among the people, and had acquired much of their national manners.

According to an arrangement already made by Charles V, three councils or chambers were added to the regent, to assist her in the administration of state affairs. As long as Philip was himself present in the Netherlands, these courts had lost much of their power, and the functions of the first of them, the state council, were almost entirely suspended. Now, that he quitted the reins of government, they recovered their former importance. In the state council, which was to deliberate upon war and peace, and security against external foes, sat the Bishop of Arras, the prince of Orange, Count Egmont, the president of the privy council Wigele or Viglius van Zwychem van Aytta, and the count of Barlaymont, president of the chamber of finance. All knights of the Golden Fleece, all privy counsellors, and counsellors of finance, as also the members of the great senate at Mechlin, which had been subjected by Charles V to the privy council in Brussels, had a seat and vote in the council of state, if expressly invited by the regent. The management of the royal revenues and crown lands was vested in the chamber of finance, and the privy council was occupied with the administration of justice and the civil regulation of the country, and issued all letters of grace and pardon. The governments of the provinces, which had fallen vacant, were either filled up afresh, or the former governors were confirmed.

Count Egmont received Flanders and Artois; the prince of Orange, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and West Friesland. Other provinces were given to some who have less claim to our attention. Philip de Montmorency, count of Horn [Hoorn], was confirmed as admiral of the Belgian navy. Brabant, alone, was placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the regent, who, according to custom, chose Brussels for her constant residence. The induction of the prince of Orange into his governments was, properly speaking, an infraction of the constitution, since he was a foreigner; but several estates which he either himself possessed in the provinces or managed as guardian of his son, his long residence in the country, and above all the unlimited confidence the nation reposed in him, gave him substantial claims in default of a real title of citizenship. But at the very time when Philip obliged the prince with these public marks of his esteem, he privately inflicted the most cruel injury on him. Apprehensive lest an alliance with the powerful house of Lorraine might encourage this suspected vassal to bolder measures, he thwarted the negotiation for a marriage between him and a princess of that family, and crushed his hopes on the very eve of their accomplishment — an injury which the prince never forgave.

The establishment of the council of state was intended rather to flatter the vanity of the Belgian nobility than to impart to them any real influence. The historian Strada^h (who drew his information with regard to the regent from her own papers) has preserved a few articles of the secret instructions which the Spanish ministry gave her. Among other things it is there stated, if she observed that the councils were divided by factions, or, what would be far worse, prepared by private conferences before the session, and in league with one another, then she was to prorogue all the chambers and dispose arbitrarily of the disputed articles in a more select council or committee. In this select committee, which was called the *consulta*, sat the archbishop of Arras, the president Viglius [or Wigele], and the count of Barlaymont. A

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second maxim which the regent was especially to observe was to select the very members of council who had voted against any decree, to carry it into execution. By this means, not only would the people be kept in ignorance of the originators of such a law, but the private quarrels also of the members would be restrained, and a greater freedom insured in voting in compliance with the wishes of the court.

In order, at the same time, to assure himself of the fidelity of the regent, Philip subjected her, and through her all the affairs of the judicature, to the higher control of the bishop of Arras, Granvella. In this single individual he possessed an adequate counterpoise to the most dreaded cabal. To him, as an infallible oracle of majesty, the duchess was referred, and in him there watched a stern supervisor of her administration. Among all his contemporaries, Granvella was the only one whom Philip II appears to have excepted from his universal distrust: as long as he knew that this man was in Brussels, he could sleep calmly in Segovia.^b

GRANVELLA AND THE REGENCY

This man, an immoral ecclesiastic, an eloquent orator, a supple courtier, and a profound politician, bloated with pride, envy, insolence, and vanity, was the real head of the government. Next to him among the royalist party was Viglius, president of the privy council, an erudite schoolman, attached less to the broad principles of justice than to the letter of the laws, and thus carrying pedantry into the very councils of the state. Next in order came the count of Barlaymont, head of the financial department — a stern and intolerant satellite of the court, and a furious enemy to those national institutions which operated as checks upon fraud. These three individuals formed the governante's privy council. The remaining creatures of the king were mere subaltern agents.

A government so composed could scarcely fail to excite discontent, and create danger to the public weal. The first proof of incapacity was elicited by the measures required for the departure of the Spanish troops. The period fixed by the king had already expired, and these obnoxious foreigners were still in the country, living in part on pillage, and each day committing some new excess. Complaints were carried in successive gradation from the government to the council, and from the council to the king. The Spaniards were removed to Zealand; but instead of being embarked at any of its ports, they were detained there on various pretexts; until, the king requiring his troops in Spain for some domestic project, they took their long-desired departure in the beginning of the year 1561. The public discontent at this just cause was soon, however, overwhelmed by one infinitely more important and lasting. The Belgian clergy had hitherto formed a free and powerful order in the state, governed and represented by four bishops chosen by the chapters of the towns, or elected by the monks of the principal abbeys. These bishops, possessing an independent territorial revenue, and not directly subject to the influence of the crown, had interests and feelings in common with the nation. But Philip had prepared, and the pope had sanctioned, a new system of ecclesiastical organisation, and the provisional government now put it into execution. Instead of four bishops, it was intended to appoint eighteen, their nomination being vested in the king. By a wily system of trickery the subserviency of the abbeys was also aimed at. The consequences of this vital blow to the integrity of the national institutions were evident; and the indignation of both clergy and laity was universal. Every legal

means of opposition was resorted to, but the people were without leaders; the states were not in session. The new bishops were appointed; Granvella securing for himself the archiepiscopal see of Mechlin, with the title of primate of the Low Countries. At the same time the pope put the crowning point to the capital of his ambition, by presenting him with a cardinal's hat.

The new bishops were to a man most violent, intolerant, and it may be conscientious opponents to the wide-spreading doctrines of reform. The execution of the edicts against heresy was confided to them. The provincial governors and inferior magistrates were commanded to aid them with a strong arm; and the most unjust and frightful persecution immediately commenced. The prince of Orange, stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, and the count of Egmont, governor of Flanders and Artois, permitted no persecutions in those five provinces.

Among the various causes of the general confusion, the situation of Brabant gave to that province a peculiar share of suffering. Brussels, its capital, being the seat of government, had no particular chief magistrate, like the other provinces. William penetrated the cause, and proposed the remedy in moving for the appointment of a provincial governor.

Granvella energetically dissented from the proposed measure, and William immediately desisted from his demand. But he at the same time claimed, in the name of the whole country, the convocation of the states-general. This assembly alone was competent to decide what was just, legal, and obligatory for each province and every town. Granvella found himself at length forced to avow that an express order from the king forbade the convocation of the states, on any pretext, during his absence.

The veil was thus rent asunder, which had in some measure concealed the deformity of Philip's despotism. The result was a powerful confederacy in 1562 for the overthrow of Granvella, to whom they chose to attribute the king's conduct; thus bringing into practical result the sound principle of ministerial responsibility, without which the name of constitutional government is but a mockery. Many of the royalist nobles united for the national cause; and even the governante joined her efforts to theirs, for an object which would relieve her from the tyranny which none felt more than she did. The duchess of Parma hated the minister, as a domestic spy robbing her of all real authority; the royalist nobles, as an insolent upstart at every instant mortifying their pride. But it is doubtful if any of the confederates except the prince of Orange clearly saw that they were putting themselves in direct and personal opposition to the king himself. William alone, clear-sighted in politics and profound in his views, knew, in thus devoting himself to the public cause, the adversary with whom he entered the lists.

This great man, for whom the national traditions still preserve the sacred title of "father" (*Vader-Willen*), and who was in truth not merely the parent but the political creator of the country, was at this period in his thirtieth year. He already joined the vigour of manhood to the wisdom of age.

He boldly put himself at the head of the confederacy. He wrote to the king, in 1563, conjointly with counts Egmont and Horn, faithfully portraying the state of affairs. The duchess of Parma backed this remonstrance with a strenuous request for Granvella's dismissal. Philip's reply to the three noblemen was a mere tissue of duplicity to obtain delay.

In the meantime every possible indignity was offered to the cardinal by private pique and public satire. Philip, driven before the popular voice, found himself forced to the choice of throwing off the mask at once, or of sacrificing Granvella. An invincible inclination for manœuvring and deceit

[1564-1565 A.D.]

decided him on the latter measure; and the cardinal, recalled but not disgraced, quitted the Netherlands on the 13th of March, 1564. The secret instructions to the governant remained unrevoked; the president Viglius succeeded to the post which Granvella had occupied; and it was clear that the projects of the king had suffered no change.

The public fermentation subsided; the patriot lords reappeared at court; and the prince of Orange acquired an increasing influence in the council and over the governant, who by his advice adopted a conciliatory line of conduct — a fallacious but still a temporary hope for the nation. But the calm was of short duration. Scarcely was this moderation evinced by the government, than Philip, obstinate in his designs and outrageous in his resentment, sent an order to have the edicts against heresy put into most rigorous execution, and to proclaim throughout the seventeen provinces the furious decree of the council of Trent.

The revolting cruelty and illegality of the first edicts were already admitted. As to the decrees of this memorable council, they were only adapted for countries in submission to an absolute despotism. They were received in the Netherlands with general reprobation. Even the new bishops loudly denounced them as unjust innovations; and thus Philip found zealous opponents in those on whom he had reckoned as his most servile tools. The governant was not the less urged to implicit obedience to the orders of the king by Viglius and Barlaymont, who took upon themselves an almost menacing tone. The duchess assembled a council of state, and asked its advice as to her proceedings. The prince of Orange at once boldly proposed disobedience to measures fraught with danger to the monarchy and ruin to the nation. The council could not resist his appeal to their best feelings. His proposal that fresh remonstrances should be addressed to the king met with almost general support. The president Viglius, who had spoken in the opening of the council in favour of the king's orders, was overwhelmed by William's reasoning, and demanded time to prepare his reply. His agitation during the debate, and his despair of carrying the measures against the patriot party, brought on in the night an attack of apoplexy.

It was resolved to despatch a special envoy to Spain, to explain to Philip the views of the council, and to lay before him a plan proposed by the prince of Orange for forming a junction between the two councils and that of finance, and forming them into one body. The object of this measure was at once to give greater union and power to the provisional government, to create a central administration in the Netherlands, and to remove from some obscure and avaricious financiers the exclusive management of the national resources. The count of Egmont, chosen by the council for this important mission, set out for Madrid in the month of January, 1565. Philip received him with profound hypocrisy; loaded him with the most flattering promises; sent him back in the utmost elation: and when the credulous count returned to Brussels, he found that the written orders, of which he was the bearer, were in direct variance with every word which the king had uttered.

These orders were chiefly concerning the reiterated subject of the persecution to be inflexibly pursued against the religious reformers. Not satisfied with the hitherto established forms of punishment, Philip now expressly commanded that the more revolting means decreed by his father in the rigour of his early zeal, such as burning, living burial, and the like, should be adopted; and he somewhat more obscurely directed that the victims should be no longer publicly immolated, but secretly destroyed. He endeavoured, by this vague phraseology, to avoid the actual utterance of the word "inqui-

sition"; but he thus virtually established that atrocious tribunal, with attributes still more terrific than even in Spain; for there the condemned had at least the consolation of dying in open day, and of displaying the fortitude which is rarely proof against the horror of a private execution.

Even Viglius was terrified by the nature of Philip's commands; and the patriot lords once more withdrew from all share in the government, leaving to the duchess of Parma and her ministers the whole responsibility of the new measures. They were at length put into actual and vigorous execution in the beginning of the year 1566. The inquisitors of the faith, with their familiars, stalked abroad boldly in the devoted provinces, carrying persecution and death in their train. Numerous but partial insurrections opposed these odious intruders. Every district and town became the scene of frightful executions or tumultuous resistance.⁹

THE INQUISITION

The great cause of the revolt which, within a few years, was to break forth throughout the Netherlands, was the Inquisition. It is almost puerile to look further or deeper, when such a source of convulsion lies at the very outset of any investigation. There has been a good deal of somewhat superfluous discussion concerning the different kinds of inquisition. The distinction drawn between the papal, the episcopal, and the Spanish inquisitions did not, in the sixteenth century, convince many unsophisticated minds of the merits of the establishment in any of its shapes.¹ However classified or entitled, it was a machine for inquiring into a man's thoughts, and for burning him if the result was not satisfactory. The Spanish inquisition — technically so called — was, according to Cabrera, the biographer of Philip, a "heavenly remedy, a guardian angel of Paradise, a lion's den in which Daniel and other just men could sustain no injury, but in which perverse sinners were torn to pieces."

The Spanish inquisition had never flourished in any soil but that of the peninsula. It is possible that the king and Granvella were sincere in their protestations of entertaining no intention of introducing it into the Netherlands, although the protestations of such men are entitled to but little weight. The truth was that the Inquisition existed already in the provinces. This establishment, like the edicts, was the gift of Charles V.

In the reign of Philip the Good, the vicar of the inquisitor-general gave sentence against some heretics, who were burned in Lille (1448). In 1459, Peter Troussart, a Jacobin monk, condemned many Waldenses, together with some leading citizens of Artois, accused of sorcery and heresy. Charles V had in the year 1522 applied for a staff of inquisitors to his ancient tutor, whom he had placed on the papal throne.

Adrian, accordingly, commissioned Van der Hulst to be universal and general inquisitor for all the Netherlands. At the same time it was expressly stated that his functions were not to supersede those exercised by the bishops as inquisitors in their own sees. In 1537, Ruard Tapper and Michael Drutius were appointed by Paul III. The powers of the papal inquisitors had been gradually extended, and they were, by 1545, not only entirely independent of the episcopal inquisition, but had acquired right of jurisdiction over bishops and archbishops, whom they were empowered to arrest and imprison.

[¹ The history and methods of the Inquisition in its various forms have been fully treated in Appendix A to Volume X.]

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The instructions to the inquisitors had been renewed and confirmed by Philip, in the very first month of his reign (28th Nov. 1555).

Among all the inquisitors, the name of Peter Titelman was now pre-eminent. He executed his infamous functions throughout Flanders, Douai, and Tournay, the most thriving and populous portions of the Netherlands, with a swiftness, precision, and even with a jocularity which hardly seemed human. He burned men for idle words or suspected thoughts; he rarely waited, according to his frank confession, for deeds.

This kind of work, which went on daily, did not increase the love of the people for the inquisition or the edicts. It terrified many, but it inspired more with that noble resistance to oppression, particularly to religious oppression, which is the sublimest instinct of human nature. Men confronted the terrible inquisitors with a courage equal to their cruelty. At Tournay, one of the chief cities of Titelman's district, and almost before his eyes, one Bertrand le Blas, a velvet manufacturer, committed what was held an almost incredible crime. Having begged his wife and children to pray for a blessing upon what he was about to undertake, he went on Christmas-day to the cathedral of Tournay and stationed himself near the altar. Having awaited the moment in which the priest held on high the consecrated host, Le Blas then forced his way through the crowd, snatched the wafer from the hands of the astonished ecclesiastic, and broke it into bits, crying aloud, as he did so, "Misguided men, do ye take this thing to be Jesus Christ, your Lord and Saviour?" With these words, he threw the fragments on the ground and trampled them with his feet.

The amazement and horror were so universal at such an appalling offence, that not a finger was raised to arrest the criminal. Priests and congregation were alike paralysed, so that he would have found no difficulty in making his escape. He did not stir, however; he had come to the church determined to execute what he considered a sacred duty, and to abide the consequences. After a time he was apprehended. The inquisitor demanded if he repented of what he had done. He protested, on the contrary, that he gloried in the deed, and that he would die a hundred deaths to rescue from such daily profanation the name of his Redeemer, Christ. He was then put thrice to the torture, that he might be forced to reveal his accomplices. Bertrand had none, however, and could denounce none. A frantic sentence was then devised as a feeble punishment for so much wickedness. He was dragged on a hurdle, with his mouth closed with an iron gag, to the market-place. Here his right hand and foot were burned and twisted off between two red-hot irons. His tongue was then torn out by the roots, and because he still endeavoured to call upon the name of God, the iron gag was again applied. With his arms and legs fastened together behind his back, he was then hooked by the middle of his body to an iron chain, and made to swing to and fro over a slow fire till he was entirely roasted. His life lasted almost to the end of these ingenious tortures, but his fortitude lasted as long as his life.

In the next year, Titelman caused one Robert Ogier, of Lille, to be arrested, together with his wife and two sons. Their crime consisted in not going to mass, and in practising private worship at home. They confessed the offence, for they protested that they could not endure to see the profanation of their Saviour's name in the idolatrous sacraments. They were asked what rites they practised in their own house. One of the sons, a mere boy, answered, "We fall on our knees, and pray to God that he may enlighten our hearts, and forgive our sins. We pray for our sovereign, that his reign may be prosperous, and his life peaceful. We also pray for the magistrates and others

in authority, that God may protect and preserve them all." The boy's simple eloquence drew tears even from the eyes of some of his judges; for the inquisitor had placed the case before the civil tribunal. The father and eldest son were, however, condemned to the flames. "O God!" prayed the youth at the stake, "Eternal Father, accept the sacrifice of our lives, in the name of thy beloved Son." "Thou liest, scoundrel!" fiercely interrupted a monk, who was lighting the fire; "God is not your father; ye are the devil's children." As the flames rose about them, the boy cried out once more, "Look, my father, all heaven is opening, and I see ten hundred thousand angels rejoicing over us. Let us be glad, for we are dying for the truth." "Thou liest! thou liest!" again screamed the monk; "all hell is opening, and you see ten thousand devils thrusting you into eternal fire." Eight days afterwards, the wife of Ogier and his other son were burned; so that there was an end of that family. Such are a few isolated specimens of the manner of proceeding in a single district of the Netherlands.

Are these things related merely to excite superfluous horror? Are the sufferings of these obscure Christians beneath the dignity of history? Is it not better to deal with murder and oppression in the abstract, without entering into trivial details? The answer is that these things are the history of the Netherlands at this epoch; that these hideous details furnish the causes of that immense movement out of which a great republic was born and an ancient tyranny destroyed; and that Cardinal Granvella was ridiculous when he asserted that the people would not open their mouths if the seigniors did not make such a noise. Because the great lords "owned their very souls," because convulsions might help to pay their debts and furnish forth their masquerades and banquets, because the prince of Orange was ambitious and Egmont jealous of the cardinal — therefore superficial writers found it quite natural that the country should be disturbed, although that "vile and mischievous animal, the people," might have no objection to a continuance of the system which had been at work so long. On the contrary, it was exactly because the movement was a popular and a religious movement that it will always retain its place among the most important events of history. Dignified documents, state papers, solemn treaties, are often of no more value than the lambskin on which they are engrossed. Ten thousand nameless victims, in the cause of religious and civil freedom, may build up great states and alter the aspect of whole continents.

Upon some minds, declamation concerning liberty of conscience and religious tyranny makes but a vague impression, while an effect may be produced upon them, for example, by a dry, concrete, cynical entry in an account book, such as the following, taken at hazard from the register of municipal expenses at Tournay, during the years with which we are now occupied:

"To M. Jacques Barra, executioner, for having tortured, twice, Jean de Lannoy, ten sous. To the same, for having executed, by fire, said Lannoy, sixty sous. For having thrown his cinders into the river, eight sous."

This was the treatment to which thousands had been subjected in the provinces. Men, women, and children were burned, and their "cinders" thrown away, for idle words against Rome, spoken years before, for praying alone in their closets, for not kneeling to a wafer when they met it in the streets, for thoughts to which they had never given utterance, but which, on inquiry, they were too honest to deny. Certainly with this work going on year after year in every city in the Netherlands, and now set into renewed and vigorous action by a man who wore a crown only that he might the better

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torture his fellow creatures, it was time that the very stones in the streets should be moved to mutiny.

Thus it may be seen of how much value were the protestations of Philip and of Granvella, on which much stress has latterly been laid, that it was not their intention to introduce the Spanish inquisition. With the edicts and the Netherland inquisition, such as we have described them, the step was hardly necessary.

In fact, the main difference between the two institutions consisted in the greater efficiency of the Spanish in discovering such of its victims as were disposed to deny their faith. The invisible machinery was less requisite for the Netherlands. There was comparatively little difficulty in ferreting out the "vermin" — to use the expression of a Walloon historian of that age (Renon de France?) — so that it was only necessary to maintain in good working order the apparatus for destroying the noxious creatures when unearthed. Philip, who did not often say a great deal in a few words, once expressed the whole truth of the matter in a single sentence: "Wherefore introduce the Spanish inquisition?" said he; "the inquisition of the Netherlands is much more pitiless than that of Spain."

Such was the system of religious persecution commenced by Charles, and perfected by Philip. The king could not claim the merit of the invention, which justly belonged to the emperor. At the same time, his responsibility for the unutterable woe caused by the continuance of the scheme is not a jot diminished.^d

THE COMPROMISE OF FEBRUARY, 1566

At length the moment came when the people had reached that pitch of despair which is the great force of the oppressed. Up to the present moment the prince of Orange and the counts Egmont and Horn, with their partisans and friends, had sincerely desired the public peace, and acted in the common interest of the king and the people. But all the nobles had not acted with the same constitutional moderation. Many of those, disappointed on personal accounts, others professing the new doctrines, and the rest variously affected by manifold motives, formed a body of violent and sometimes of imprudent malcontents. The marriage of Alessandro prince of Parma, son of the governante, which was celebrated in 1565 at Brussels, brought together an immense number of these dissatisfied nobles.

Nothing seemed wanting but a leader, to give consistency and weight to the confederacy which was as yet but in embryo. This was doubly furnished in the persons of Louis of Nassau and Henry of Brederode. The former, brother of the prince of Orange, was possessed of many of those brilliant qualities which mark men as worthy of distinction in times of peril. Educated at Geneva, he was passionately attached to the reformed religion, and identified in his hatred the Catholic church and the tyranny of Spain. Brave and impetuous, he was, to his elder brother, but as an adventurous partisan compared with a sagacious general. He loved William as well as he did their common cause, and his life was devoted to both.

Henry of Brederode, lord of Vianen and marquis of Utrecht, was descended from the ancient counts of Holland. This illustrious origin, which in his own eyes formed a high claim to distinction, had not procured him any of those employments or dignities which he considered his due.^g

Louis of Nassau, Nicholas de Harnes, and certain other gentlemen met at the baths of Spa. At this secret assembly, the foundations of the Com-

promise were definitely laid.¹ A document was afterwards drawn up, which was circulated for signatures in the early part of 1566. It is a mistake to suppose that this memorable paper was simultaneously signed and sworn to at any solemn scene like that of the Declaration of American Independence, or like some of the subsequent transactions in the Netherland revolt arranged purposely for dramatic effect. Several copies of the Compromise were passed secretly from hand to hand, and in the course of two months some two thousand signatures had been obtained. The original copy bore but three names



A COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

— those of Brederode, Charles of Mansfeld, and Louis of Nassau. The composition of the paper is usually ascribed to Philip van Marnix, lord of Sainte-Aldegonde, although the fact is not indisputable.

At any rate, it is very certain that he was one of the originators and main supporters of the famous league. The language of the document was such that patriotic Catholics could sign as honestly as Protestants. It inveighed bitterly against the tyranny of “a heap of strangers,” who, influenced only by private avarice and ambition, were making use of an affected zeal for the Catholic religion, to persuade the king into a violation of his oaths. It denounced the refusal to mitigate the severity of the edicts. It declared the Inquisition, which it seemed the intention of government to fix permanently upon them, as “iniquitous, contrary to all laws, human and divine, surpassing the greatest barbarism which was ever practised by tyrants, and as redounding to the dishonour of God and to the total desolation of the country.”

The signers protested, therefore, that “having a due regard to their duties as faithful vassals of his majesty, and especially as noblemen, and in order not to be deprived of their estates and their lives by those who, under pretext of religion, wished to enrich themselves by plunder and murder,” they had bound themselves to each other by holy covenant and solemn oath to resist the Inquisition. They mutually promised to op-

pose it in every shape, open or covert, under whatever mask it might assume, whether bearing the name of inquisition, placard, or edict, “and to extirpate and eradicate the thing in any form, as the mother of all iniquity and disorder.” They protested before God and man that they would attempt nothing to the dishonour of the Lord or to the diminution of the king’s grandeur, majesty, or dominion. They declared, on the contrary, an honest purpose to “maintain the monarch in his estate, and to suppress all seditions,

¹ This appears from the sentence pronounced against De Hames (Toisin d’Or) by the Blood-Council on the 17th May, 1568. “*Charge d’avoir este ung des auteurs de la seditieuse et pernicieuse conjuration et ligue des confederéz (qu’ils appellent Compromis) et dicelle premierement avoir jecté les fondemens à la fontaine de Spa, avecq le Compte Loys de Nassau et aultres et après environ le mois de Decembre, 1565, l’arreste la signe et jure en ceste ville de Bruxelles en sa maison et a icelle attiré et induict plusieurs aultres.*” — *Registre des Condamnés et Bannis a cause des Troubles des Pays-Bas dep. l’an 1568 à 1572.*

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tumults, monopolies, and factions." They engaged to preserve their confederation, thus formed, forever inviolable, and to permit none of its members to be persecuted in any manner, in body or goods, by any proceeding founded on the Inquisition, the edicts, or the present league.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Compromise was in its origin a covenant of nobles. It was directed against the foreign influence by which the Netherlands were exclusively governed, and against the Inquisition, whether papal, episcopal, or by edict. There is no doubt that the country was controlled entirely by Spanish masters, and that it was intended to reduce the ancient liberty of the Netherlands into subjection to a junta of foreigners sitting at Madrid. Nothing more legitimate could be imagined than a constitutional resistance to such a policy.^d

Men of all ranks and classes offered their signatures, and several Catholic priests among the rest. The prince of Orange and the counts Egmont, Horn, and Meghem declined becoming actual parties to this bold measure; and when the question was debated as to the most appropriate way of presenting an address to the governante, these noblemen advised the mildest and most respectful demeanour on the part of the purposed deputation.

At the first intelligence of these proceedings, the duchess of Parma, absorbed by terror, had no resource but to assemble hastily such members of the council of state as were at Brussels; and she entreated, by the most pressing letters, the prince of Orange and Count Horn to resume their places at this council. But three courses of conduct seemed applicable to the emergency: to take up arms; to grant the demands of the confederates; or to temporise and to amuse them with a feint of moderation, until the orders of the king might be obtained from Spain. It was not, however, till after a lapse of four months that the council finally met to deliberate on these important questions; and during this long interval at such a crisis, the confederates gained constant accession to their numbers, and completely consolidated their plans.

The opinions in the council were greatly divided as to the mode of treatment towards those whom one party considered patriots acting in their constitutional rights, and the other as rebels in open revolt against the king. The princes of Orange and Barlaymont were the principal leaders and chief speakers at either side. But the reasonings of the former, backed by the urgency of events, carried the majority of the suffrages; and a promised redress of grievances was agreed on beforehand, as the anticipated answer to the coming demands.

THE "REQUEST" OF THE "BEGGARS"

Even while the council of state held its sittings, the report was spread through Brussels that the confederates were approaching. And at length they did enter the city, to the amount of some hundreds of the representatives of the first families in the country.¹ On the following day, the 5th of April, 1566, they walked in solemn procession to the palace. Their demeanour was highly imposing, from their mingled air of forbearance and determination. All Brussels thronged out to gaze and sympathise with this extraordinary spectacle, of men whose resolute step showed they were no common suppliants, but whose modest bearing had none of the seditious air of faction. The government received the distinguished petitioners with courtesy, listened

[¹ The total number was about four hundred instead of the thirty-five thousand soldiers the regent had been warned to expect. — Blok.^e]

to their detail of grievances [called "the Request"], and returned a moderate, conciliatory, but evasive answer.

The confederation, which owed its birth to and was cradled in social enjoyments, was consolidated in the midst of a feast. The day following this first deputation to the government, Brederode gave a grand repast to his associates in the hôtel Kuilenburg. Three hundred guests were present. Inflamed by joy and hope, their spirits rose high under the influence of wine, and temperance gave way to temerity. In the midst of their carousing, some of the members remarked that, when the governante received the written petition, Count Barlaymont observed to her that she had "nothing to fear from such a band of beggars" (*las de gueux*). The fact was that many of the confederates were, from individual extravagance and mismanagement, reduced to such a state of poverty as to justify in some sort the sarcasm. The chiefs of the company being at that very moment debating on the name which they should choose for this patriotic league, the title of *gueux* was instantly proposed, and adopted with acclamation.¹

The reproach it was originally intended to convey became neutralised, as its general application to men of all ranks and fortunes concealed its effect as a stigma on many to whom it might be seriously applied. Neither were examples wanting of the most absurd and apparently dishonouring nicknames being elsewhere adopted by powerful political parties. "Long live the *gueux*!" was the toast given and tumultuously drunk by this madbrained company; and Brederode, setting no bounds to the boisterous excitement which followed, procured immediately and slung across his shoulders a wallet such as was worn by pilgrims and beggars; drank to the health of all present, in a wooden cup or porringer; and loudly swore that he was ready to sacrifice his fortune and life for the common cause. Each man passed round the bowl, which he first put to his lips, repeated the oath, and thus pledged himself to the compact.

The tumult caused by this ceremony, so ridiculous in itself but so sublime in its results, attracted to the spot the prince of Orange and counts Egmont and Horn, whose presence is universally attributed by the historians

[¹ Notwithstanding the scepticism of Gachard^k it is probable that the seigneur of Barlaymont will retain the reputation of originating the famous name of the "beggars." Gachard cites Wesenbeke,^l Bor,^m Le Petit,ⁿ Meteren,^o among contemporaries, and Strada,^h and Van der Vynckt^p among later writers, as having sanctioned the anecdote in which the taunt of Barlaymont is recorded. The learned and acute critic is disposed to question the accuracy of the report, both upon *a priori* grounds, and because there is no mention made of the circumstance either in the official or confidential correspondence of the duchess Margaret with the king. It is possible, however, that the duchess in her agitation did not catch the expression of Barlaymont, or did not understand it, or did not think it worth while to chronicle it, if she did. It must be remembered that she was herself not very familiar with the French language, and that she was writing to a man who thought that "*pistolle* meant some kind of knife." She certainly did not and could not report everything said upon that memorable occasion. On the other hand, some of the three hundred gentlemen present might have heard and understood better than Madame de Parma the sarcasm of the finance minister, whether it were uttered upon their arrival in the council-chamber, or during their withdrawal into the hall. The testimony of Pontus Payen,^q a contemporary, almost always well informed, and one whose position as a Catholic Walloon, noble and official, necessarily brought him into contact with many personages engaged in the transactions which he describes, is worthy of much respect. It is to be observed, too, that this manuscript alludes to a repetition by Barlaymont of his famous sarcasm upon the same day. To the names of contemporary historians, cited by Gachard, may be added those of Van der Haer^r and of two foreign writers, President De Thou^s and Cardinal Bentivoglio,^t Hooft,^u not a contemporary certainly, but born within four or five years of the event, relates the anecdote, but throws a doubt upon its accuracy. Those inclined to acquit the baron of having perpetrated the immortal witticism will give him the benefit of the doubt if they think it a reasonable one. That it is so, they have the high authority of M. Gachard and of the provost Hooft. — MOTLEY.^a]

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to accident. They entered; and Brederode, who did the honours of the mansion, forced them to be seated, and to join in the festivity. The appearance of three such distinguished personages heightened the general excitement; and the most important assemblage that had for centuries met together in the Netherlands mingled the discussion of affairs of state with all the burlesque extravagance of a debauch.

But this frantic scene did not finish the affair. What they resolved on while drunk, they prepared to perform when sober. Rallying-signs and watchwords were adopted and soon displayed. It was thought that nothing better suited the occasion than the immediate adoption of the costume as well as the title of beggary. In a very few days the city streets were filled with men in grey cloaks, fashioned on the model of those used by mendicants and pilgrims. Each confederate caused this uniform to be worn by every member of his family, and replaced with it the livery of his servants. Several fastened to their girdles or their sword-hilts small wooden drinking-cups, clasp-knives, and other symbols of the begging fraternity; while all soon wore on their breasts a medal of gold or silver, representing on one side the effigy of Philip, with the words, "Faithful to the king," and on the reverse, two hands clasped, with the motto, "*Jusqu'à la besace*" (even to the wallet). From this origin arose the application of the word *gueux*, in its political sense, as common to all the inhabitants of the Netherlands who embraced the cause of the Reformation, and took up arms against their tyrant.

Having presented two subsequent remonstrances to the governante and obtained some consoling promises of moderation, the chief confederates quitted Brussels, leaving several directors to sustain their cause in the capital; while they themselves spread into the various provinces, exciting the people to join the legal and constitutional resistance with which they were resolved to oppose the march of bigotry and despotism.

A new form of edict was now decided on by the governante and her council; and after various insidious and illegal but successful tricks, the consent of several of the provinces was obtained to the adoption of measures that, under a guise of comparative moderation, were little less abominable than those commanded by the king. These were formally signed by the council, and despatched to Spain to receive Philip's sanction, and thus acquire the force of law. The embassy to Madrid was confided to the marquis of Bergen and the baron of Montigny, the latter of whom was brother to Count Horn, and had formerly been employed on a like mission. Montigny appears to have had some qualms of apprehension in undertaking this new office. His good genius seemed for a while to stand between him and the fate which awaited him. An accident which happened to his colleague allowed an excuse for retarding his journey. But the governante urged him away: he



A MAN OF INFERIOR RANK, SIXTEENTH CENTURY

set out, and reached his destination — not to defend the cause of his country at the foot of the throne, but to perish a victim to his patriotism.

The situation of the patriot lords was at this crisis peculiarly embarrassing. The conduct of the confederates was so essentially tantamount to open rebellion, that the prince of Orange and his friends found it almost impossible to preserve a neutrality between the court and the people. All their wishes urged them to join at once in the public cause; but they were restrained by a lingering sense of loyalty to the king, whose employments they still held, and whose confidence they were, therefore, nominally supposed to share. Be their individual motives or reasoning what they might, they at length adopted the alternative, and resigned their places. Count Horn retired to his estates; Count Egmont repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen], under the pretext of being ordered thither by his physicians; the prince of Orange remained for a while at Brussels.

In the meanwhile the confederation gained ground every day. Its measures had totally changed the face of affairs in all parts of the nation. The general discontent now acquired stability and consequent importance. The chief merchants of many of the towns enrolled themselves in the patriot band.

THE CALVINIST OUTBREAK

An occasion so favourable for the rapid promulgation of the new doctrines was promptly taken advantage of by the French Huguenots and their Protestant brethren of Germany. The disciples of reform poured from all quarters into the Low Countries, and made prodigious progress, with all the energy of proselytes, and too often with the fury of fanatics. The three principal sects into which the reformers were divided were those of the Anabaptists, the Calvinists, and the Lutherans. The first and least numerous were chiefly established in Friesland. The second were spread over the eastern provinces. Their doctrines being already admitted into some kingdoms of the north, they were protected by the most powerful princes of the empire. The third, and by far the most numerous and wealthy, abounded in the southern provinces, and particularly in Flanders. They were supported by the zealous efforts of French, Swiss, and German ministers; and their dogmas were nearly the same as those of the established religion of England. The city of Antwerp was the central point of union for the three sects; but the only principle they held in common was their hatred against popery, the Inquisition, and Spain.

The governante had now issued orders to the chief magistrates to proceed with moderation against the heretics — orders which were obeyed in their most ample latitude by those to whose sympathies they were so congenial. Until then, the Protestants were satisfied to meet by stealth at night; but under this negative protection of the authorities they now boldly assembled in public. Field-preachings commenced in Flanders; and the minister who first set this example was Herman Stricker, a converted monk, a native of Overijssel, a powerful speaker and a bold enthusiast. He soon drew together an audience of seven thousand persons. A furious magistrate rushed among this crowd, and hoped to disperse them sword in hand; but he was soon struck down, mortally wounded, with a shower of stones. Irritated and emboldened by this rash attempt, the Protestants assembled in still greater numbers near Alost; but on this occasion they appeared with poniards, guns, and halberds. They entrenched themselves under the protection of wagons and all sorts of obstacles to a sudden attack; placed outposts and

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videttes; and thus took the field in the doubly dangerous aspect of fanaticism and war.

Similar assemblies soon spread over the whole of Flanders, inflamed by the exhortations of Stricker and another preacher, called Peter Dathen, of Poperinghe. It was calculated that fifteen thousand men attended some of these preachings; while a third apostle of Calvinism, Ambrose Ville, a Frenchman, successfully excited the inhabitants of Tournay, Valenciennes, and Antwerp, to form a common league for the promulgation of their faith. The sudden appearance of Brederode at the latter place decided their plan, and gave the courage to fix on a day for its execution. An immense assemblage simultaneously quitted the three cities at a preconcerted time; and when they united their forces at the appointed rendezvous, the preachings, exhortations, and psalm-singing commenced, under the auspices of several Huguenot and German ministers, and continued for several days in all the zealous extravagance which may be well imagined to characterise such a scene.

The citizens of Antwerp were terrified for the safety of the place, and courier after courier was despatched to the governante at Brussels to implore her presence. The duchess, not daring to take such a step without the authority of the king, sent Count Meghem as her representative, with proposals to the magistrates to call out the garrison. The populace soon understood the object of this messenger; and assailing him with a violent outcry, forced him to fly from the city. Then the Calvinists petitioned the magistrates for permission to openly exercise their religion, and for the grant of a temple in which to celebrate its rites. The magistrates in this conjuncture renewed their application to the governante, and entreated her to send the prince of Orange, as the only person capable of saving the city from destruction. The duchess was forced to adopt this bitter alternative; and the prince, after repeated refusals to mix again in public affairs, yielded at length, less to the supplications of the governante than to his own wishes to do another service to the cause of his country. At half a league from the city he was met by Brederode, with an immense concourse of people of all sects and opinions, who hailed him as a protector from the tyranny of the king, and a saviour from the dangers of their own excess. Nothing could exceed the wisdom, the firmness, and the benevolence with which he managed all conflicting interests and preserved tranquillity amidst a chaos of opposing prejudices and passions.

From the first establishment of the field-preachings the governante had implored the confederate lords to aid her for the re-establishment of order. Brederode seized this excuse for convoking a general meeting of the associates, which consequently took place at the town of St. Trond, in the district of Liège (July 13th, 1566). Full two thousand of the members appeared on the summons. The language held in this assembly was much stronger and less equivocal than that formerly used. The delay in the arrival of the king's answer presaged ill as to his intentions; while the rapid growth of the public power seemed to mark the present as the time for successfully demanding all that the people required. Several of the Catholic members, still royalists at heart, were shocked to hear a total liberty of conscience spoken of as one of the privileges sought for. The young count of Mansfeld, among others, withdrew immediately from the confederation; and thus the first stone seemed to be removed from this imperfectly constructed edifice.

The prince of Orange and Count Egmont were applied to, and appointed by the governante, with full powers to treat with the confederates. Twelve of

the latter, among whom were Louis of Nassau, Brederode, and Kuilenburg [or Culenborg], met them by appointment at Duffle, a village not far from Meehlin. The result of the conference was a respectful but firm address to the governante, repelling her accusations of having entered into foreign treaties; declaring their readiness to march against the French troops, should they set foot in the country; and claiming, with the utmost force of reasoning, the convocation of the states-general. This was replied to by an entreaty that they would still wait patiently for twenty-four days, in hopes of an answer from the king; and she sent the marquis of Bergen in all speed to Madrid, to support Montigny in his efforts to obtain some prompt decision from Philip.

The king, who was then at Segovia, assembled his council, consisting of the duke of Alva and eight other grandees. The two deputies from the Netherlands attended the deliberations, which were held for several successive days; but the king was never present. The whole state of affairs being debated with what appears a calm and dispassionate view, considering the hostile prejudices of this council, it was decided to advise the king to adopt generally a more moderate line of conduct in the Netherlands, and to abolish the Inquisition; at the same time prohibiting under the most awful threats all confederation, assemblage, or public preachings, under any pretext whatever.

The king's first care on receiving this advice was to order, in all the principal towns of Spain and the Netherlands, prayer and procession to implore the divine approbation on the resolutions which he had formed. He appeared then in person at the council of state, and issued a decree, by which he refused his consent to the convocation of the states-general, and bound himself to take several German regiments into his pay. He ordered the duchess of Parma, by a private letter, to immediately cause to be raised three thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot, and he remitted to her for this purpose three hundred thousand florins in gold. He next wrote with his own hand to several of his partisans in the various towns, encouraging them in their fidelity to his purposes, and promising them his support. He rejected the adoption of the moderation recommended to him; but he consented to the abolition of the Inquisition in its most odious sense, re-establishing that modified species [the Episcopal inquisition] which had been introduced into the Netherlands by Charles V. The people of that devoted country were thus successful in obtaining one important concession from the king, and in meeting unexpected consideration from this Spanish council. Whether these measures had been calculated with a view to their failure, it is not now easy to determine: at all events they came too late [Aug. 12th, 1566]. When Philip's letters reached Brussels, the iconoclasts or image-breakers were abroad.

It requires no profound research to comprehend the impulse which leads a horde of fanatics to the most monstrous excesses. That the deeds of the iconoclasts arose from the spontaneous outburst of mere vulgar fury, admits of no doubt.^g

The historian Strada^h was a contemporary of these scenes and has vividly described them, from the Spanish and Jesuit viewpoint. The old translation of Sir Robert Stapleton well accords with the spirit.^a

STRADA'S ACCOUNT OF THE IMAGE-BREAKING FRENZY (1566)

The people, partly corrupted with heresie, partly dreading the Inquisition, exceedingly favoured the hereticks that fought to overthrow that judicature. Upon Assumption-eve, they began to rifle the low-countrey churches; first

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rising in the lower Flanders. In these parts a few of the raskall sort of hereticks met and joyned themselves with some companies of thieves, upon the day appointed for proclaiming war against heaven, led on by no commander but impietie; their arms were staves, hatchets, hammers, and ropes, fitter to pull down houses than to fight withall; some few of them had swords and muskets. Thus accoutred, as if they had been furies vomited from hell, they broke into the towns and villages about St. Omer, and if they had found the doors of churches or monasteries shut, forced them open, fighting away their religious inhabitants; and overturning the altars, they defaced the monuments of saints, and broke to pieces their sacred images. Whatsoever they saw dedicated to God, and to the blessed, they pulled it down and trod it under their feet to dirt, whilst their ringleaders clapt them on the backs and encouraged them with all their force to destroy the idols.

The hereticks, glad of this successe, with unanimous consent, shouted and cried aloud—"Let us to Ypres!" that being a city much frequented by the Calvinists. And they were drawn thither, as well out of hope of protection, as out of hatred they bare to the bishop of that city, Martin Rithovins, an eminently virtuous and learned man, and therefore meriting the spleen of hereticks. Whereupon they ran violently thither, gathering upon the way such vagabonds and beggars as joyned with them out of hope of plunder. And as a snowball rolling from the top of a hill grows still greater by the accesse of new snow, through which it passes, and wherein it is involved; so these thievish vagabonds multiplying by the way, the farther they go the more they rage, and the more considerable their thievish strength appears.

And when they had pillaged a few small villages about Ypres, upon the very day of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the citizens of Ypres opening their gates unto them, they entered the town, and went directly to the cathedral church, where everyone fell to work. Some set ladders to the walls, with hammers and staves battering the pictures. Others broke asunder the iron work, seats, and pulpits. Others, casting ropes about the great statues of our Saviour Christ and the saints, pulled them down to the ground. Others stole the consecrated plate, burnt the sacred books, and stript the altars of their holy ornaments; and that, with so much securitie, with so little regard of the magistrate or prelates, as you would think they had been sent for by the common counsell, and were in pay with the citie. With the same fury they likewise burnt the bishop of Ypres' library and destroyed the rest of the churches and religious houses of the town, reacting their villanies, and because the first prospered, still presuming. This sacrilegious robbery continued a whole day. Part of the people being amazed to see them, not taking them for men, but devils in human shapes; and part rejoicing, that now those things were done which they themselves had long ago designed. Nor had the magistrate and senators any greater care of religion.

The Sack of the Antwerp Cathedral

Upon the 21st of August, the hereticks, increasing in their number, came into the great church with concealed weapons; as if they had resolved, after some light skirmishes for a few days past, to come now to a battel. And expecting till even-song was done, they shouted with a hideous cry—"Long live the Gheuses!" nay, they commanded the image of the Blessed Virgin to repeat their acclamation, which, if she refused to do, they madly swore they would beat and kill her.

Hearing the clock strike the last houre of the day, and darkness adding

confidence, one of them (lest their wickedness should want formality) began to sing a Geneva Psalme, and as if the trumpet had sounded a charge, the spirit moving them altogether, they fell upon the effigies of the mother of God, and upon the pictures of Christ and his saints: some tumbled them down and trod upon them; others thrust swords into their sides; others chopped off their heads with axes — with so much concord and forecast in their sacrilege that you would think everyone had his severall work assigned him. For the very harlots, those common appurtenances to thieves and drunkards, catching up the wax candles from the altars, and from the vestry, held them to light the men that were at work.¹ Part whereof, getting upon the altars, cast down the sacred plate, broke asunder the picture frames, defaced the painted walls; part, setting up ladders, shattered the goodly organes, broke the windows flourished with a new kind of paint.

Huge statues of saints that stood in the walls upon pedestalls, they unfastened and hurled down, among which, an ancient and great crucifix with the two thieves hanging on each hand of our Saviour, that stood right against the high altar, they pulled down with ropes and hewed it in pieces; but touched not the two thieves, as if they onely worshipped them, and desired them to be their good lords. Nay, they presumed to break open the conservatory of the celestial bread; and putting in their polluted hands, to pull out the blessed body of Our Lord.



THE PORT OF ANTWERP IN 1520
(Facsimile of a drawing by Albert Dürer)

Those base offscourings of men trod upon the Deity adored and dreaded by the angels. The pixes and chalices which they found in the vestry they filled with wine prepared for the altar, and drank them off in derision. They greased their shoes with the chrisme or holy oyl; and after the spoyle of all these things, laughed and were very merry at the matter. My meaning is not lest I should scandalise mankind, nor suits it with history to repeat all these foul actions wherewith, in the destruction of holy things, these traitours to God and his saints glutted their cruelty.

But the greatest wonder was to see them make so quick dispatch that one of the fairest and greatest churches of Europe, full of pictures and statues, richly adorned with about seventy-five altars, by a few men (for they were not above one hundred as the governess wrote to the king that she was certainly informed), should before midnight, when they began but in the evening, have nothing at all left entire or unprofaned. Truly if the hundred men had not an hundred hands apiece, that in so short a space demolished such a

[¹ Gresham, the English agent, is quoted by his biographer Burgon, as follows: "And coming into Oure Lady Church, yt looked like hell where were above 1,000 torches brannying and syche a noise! as yf heven and erth had gone together, with fallying of images and fallying down of costly works."]

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multitude of things, it is not unreasonable to believe (which I know some at that time suspected) that devils, mixing with them, joyned in dispatching their own work; or at least that the furious violence which (in scorn of religion) stript the altars, mangled the statues and pictures, defaced the tombes, and in foure houres' time robbed and laid waste so goodly a church, could not have any other cause but the immediate repulsion of those rebellious and infernall spirits, that add both rage and strength to sacrilegious villains, offering an acceptable sacrifice to hell.

While this was done at and about Antwerp, the rage of these traitours was no lesse, upon the very same dayes at Ghent, Oudenarde, and other towns in Flanders, from the river of Lys as farre as Schelde and Dender, all the churches and holy ornaments going to wrack. For this destruction was more like an earthquake, that devours all at once, than like the plague that steals upon a country by degrees. Insomuch, as the same tainture and whirlwind of religion, in an instant, miserably involved and laid waste Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, Friesland, Overysse, and almost all the low countreys except three or four provinces — *viz.*, Namur, Luxemburg, Artois, and part of Hainault. And as of old, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, they tell us that twelve cities were swallowed by an earthquake in one night, so in the low countreys, not the like number of cities, but provinces, by the spirit, struggling and bursting out from hell, were devoured, with so sudden, with so great a ruine, that the Netherlands, which had as many populous cities, towns, and villages, as any part of Europe, within ten days was overwhelmed in this calamitie; the particular province of Flanders having four hundred consecrated houses either profaned or burnt to the ground.^h

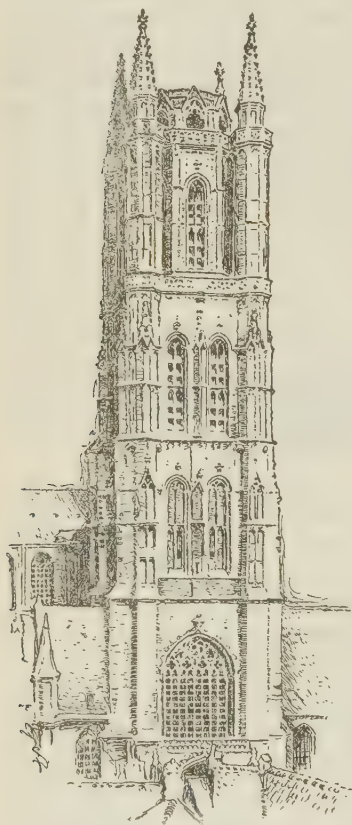
RESULTS OF THE OUTBREAK; THE ACCORD

Such, in general outline and in certain individual details, was the celebrated iconomachy of the Netherlands.¹ The movement was a sudden explosion of popular revenge against the symbols of that Church by which the reformers had been enduring such terrible persecution. It was also an expression of the general sympathy for the doctrines which had taken possession of the national heart. It was the deprivation of that instinct which had in the beginning of the summer drawn Calvinists and Lutherans forth in armed bodies, twenty thousand strong, to worship God in the open fields. The difference between the two phenomena was that the field-preaching was a crime committed by the whole mass of the reformers — men, women, and children confronting the penalties of death, by a general determination; while the image-breaking was the act of a small portion of the populace. A hundred persons belonging to the lowest order of society sufficed for the desecration of the Antwerp churches. It was, said Orange, "a mere handful of rabble" who did the deed. Sir Richard Clough saw ten or twelve persons entirely sack church after church, while ten thousand spectators looked on, indifferent or horror-struck. The bands of iconoclasts were of the lowest character, and few in number. Perhaps the largest assemblage was that which ravaged the province of Tournay, but this was so weak as to be entirely routed by a small and determined force. The duty of repression devolved upon both Catholics and Protestants. Neither party stirred. All seemed overcome with special wonder as the tempest swept over the land.

[¹ This incident is not to be confused with the iconoclasm of the eighth century, which was far more bloody: it is described in the history of the Eastern Empire, volume VII, chapter 7, and in the history of the Papacy, volume VIII.]

The ministers of the reformed religion, and the chiefs of the liberal party, all denounced the image-breaking. The prince of Orange, in his private letters, deplored the riots, and stigmatised the perpetrators.

The next remarkable characteristic of these tumults was the almost entire abstinence of the rioters from personal outrage and from pillage. The testimony of a very bitter, but honest Catholic at Valenciennes, is remarkable upon this point: "Certain chroniclers," said he, "have greatly mistaken the character of this image-breaking. It has been said that the Calvinists killed a hundred priests in this city, cutting some of them into pieces, and burning others over a slow fire. I remember very well everything which happened upon that abominable day, and I can affirm that not a single priest was injured. The Huguenots took good care not to injure in any way the living images." This was the case everywhere. Catholic and Protestant writers agree that no deeds of violence were committed against man or woman.



TOWER OF ST. BAVO, WHERE THE PURITANICAL OUTRAGES TOOK PLACE

It would be also very easy to accumulate a vast weight of testimony as to their forbearance from robbery. They destroyed for destruction's sake, not for purposes of plunder. Although belonging to the lowest classes of society, they left heaps of jewelry, of gold and silver plate, of costly embroidery, lying unheeded upon the ground. They felt instinctively that a great passion would be contaminated by admixture with paltry motives. In Flanders a company of rioters hanged one of their own number for stealing articles to the value of five shillings.

At Tournay, the greatest scrupulousness was observed upon this point. The floor of the cathedral was strewn with "pearls and precious stones, with chalices and reliquaries of silver and gold"; but the ministers of the reformed religion, in company with the magistrates, came to the spot, and found no difficulty, although utterly without power to prevent the storm, in taking quiet possession of the wreck. Who will dare to censure in

very severe language this havoc among stocks and stones in a land where so many living men and women, of more value than many statues, had been slaughtered by the Inquisition, and where Alva's "blood tribunal" was so soon to eclipse even that terrible institution in the number of its victims and the amount of its confiscations?

Yet the effect of the riots was destined to be most disastrous for a time to the reforming party. It furnished plausible excuses for many lukewarm friends of their cause to withdraw from all connection with it. Egmont denounced the proceedings as highly flagitious, and busied himself with punishing the criminals in Flanders. The regent was beside herself with indignation and terror. Philip, when he heard the news, fell into a paroxysm of frenzy.

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"It shall cost them dear!" he cried, as he tore his beard for rage; "it shall cost them dear! I swear it by the soul of my father!"

Nevertheless, the first effect of the tumults was a temporary advantage to the reformers. A great concession was extorted from the fears of the duchess regent, who was certainly placed in a terrible position.

On the 25th of August came the crowning act of what the reformers considered their most complete triumph, and the regent her deepest degradation. It was found necessary, under the alarming aspect of affairs, that liberty of worship, in places where it had been already established, should be accorded to the new religion. Articles of agreement to this effect were accordingly drawn up and exchanged between the government and Louis of Nassau, attended by fifteen others of the confederacy. A corresponding pledge was signed by them that, so long as the regent was true to her engagement, they would consider their previously existing league annulled, and would assist cordially in every endeavour to maintain tranquillity and support the authority of his majesty. The important "accord" was then duly signed by the duchess. It declared that the Inquisition was abolished, that his majesty would soon issue a new general edict, expressly and unequivocally protecting the nobles against all evil consequences from past transactions, that they were to be employed in the royal service, and that public preaching according to the forms of the new religion was to be practised in places where it had already taken place. Letters general were immediately despatched to the senates of all the cities, proclaiming these articles of agreement and ordering their execution. Thus for a fleeting moment there was a thrill of joy throughout the Netherlands. The Inquisition was thought forever abolished, the era of religious reformation arrived.^d

A BRIEF RESPITE

Soon after this the several governors repaired to their respective provinces, and their efforts for the re-establishment of tranquillity were attended with various degrees of success. Several of the ringleaders in the late excesses were executed; and this severity was not confined to the partisans of the Catholic church. The prince of Orange and Count Egmont, with others of the patriot lords, set the example of this just severity.

Again the Spanish council appears to have interfered between the people of the Netherlands and the enmity of the monarch; and the offered mediation of the emperor was recommended to his acceptance, to avoid the appearance of a forced concession to the popular will. Philip was also strongly urged to repair to the scene of the disturbances; and a main question of debate was whether he should march at the head of an army or confide himself to the loyalty and good faith of his Belgian subjects. But the indolence or the pride of Philip was too strong to admit of his taking so vigorous a measure; and all these consultations ended in two letters to the government. In the first he declared his firm intention to visit the Netherlands in person; refused to convoke the states-general; passed in silence the treaties concluded with the Protestants and the confederates; and finished by a declaration that he would throw himself wholly on the fidelity of the country. In his second letter, meant for the government alone, he authorised her to assemble the states-general if public opinion became too powerful for resistance, but on no account to let it transpire that he had under any circumstances given his consent.

During these deliberations in Spain, the Protestants in the Netherlands

amply availed themselves of the privileges they had gained. They erected numerous wooden churches with incredible activity. Young and old, noble and plebeian, of these energetic men, assisted in the manual labours of these occupations: and the women freely applied the produce of their ornaments and jewels to forward the pious work. But the furious outrages of the iconoclasts had done infinite mischief to both political and religious freedom: many of the Catholics, and particularly the priests, gradually withdrew themselves from the confederacy, which thus lost some of its most firm supporters. And, on the other hand, the severity with which some of its members pursued the guilty offended and alarmed the body of the people, who could not distinguish the shades of difference between the love of liberty and the practice of licentiousness.

The governante and her satellites adroitly took advantage of this state of things to sow dissension among the patriots. Autograph letters from Philip to the principal lords were distributed among them with such artful and mysterious precautions as to throw the rest into perplexity, and give each suspicions of the other's fidelity. The report of the immediate arrival of Philip had also considerable effect over the less resolute or more selfish; and the confederation was dissolving rapidly under the operations of intrigue, self-interest, and fear.¹ Even Count Egmont was not proof against the subtle seductions of the wily monarch, whose severe yet flattering letters half frightened and half soothed him into a relapse of royalism. But with the prince of Orange Philip had no chance of success. It is unquestionable that, by his means of acquiring information what they might, he did succeed in procuring minute intelligence of all that was going on in the king's most secret council.²

William summoned his brother Louis, the counts Egmont, Horn, and Hoogstraten, to a secret conference at Dendermonde; and he there submitted to them letters which he had received from Spain, confirmatory of his worst fears. Louis of Nassau voted for open and instant rebellion; William recommended a cautious observance of the projects of government, not doubting but that a fair pretext would be soon given to justify the most vigorous overt acts of revolt: but Egmont at once struck a death-blow to the energetic project of one brother and the cautious amendment of the other, by declaring his present resolution to devote himself wholly to the service of the king, and on no inducement whatever to risk the perils of rebellion. He expressed his perfect reliance on the justice and the goodness of Philip, when once he should see the determined loyalty of those whom he had hitherto had so much reason to suspect; and he exhorted the others to follow his example.

[¹ The nobles made a great mistake in permitting the dissolution of the confederation at this juncture. They should not have trusted a promise forced from a hard-pressed and reluctant government. They actually threw their best weapon away, voluntarily. They thought that all was won — at least the majority thought so, and thus they separated rejoicing over the success finally obtained. — BLOK.^a]

[² Philip had here to do with a head which, in cunning, was superior to his own. The prince of Orange had, for a long time, held watch over him and his privy council in Madrid and Segovia, through a host of spies, who reported to him everything of importance that was transacted there. The court of this most secret of all despots had become accessible to his intriguing spirit, and his money; in this manner, he had gained possession of several autograph letters of the regent, which she had secretly written to Madrid, and had caused copies to be circulated in triumph in Brussels, and, in a measure, under her own eyes, inasmuch that she saw with astonishment in everybody's hands what she thought was preserved with so much care, and entreated the king for the future to destroy her despatches immediately they were read. William's vigilance did not confine itself simply to the court of Spain: he had spies in France, and even in more distant courts. He is also charged with not having been overscrupulous in regard to the means by which he acquired his intelligence. — SCHILLER.^b]

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The two brothers and Count Horn implored him in their turn to abandon this blind reliance on the tyrant; but in vain. His new and unlooked-for profession of faith completely paralysed their plans. He possessed too largely the confidence of both the soldiery and the people to make it possible to attempt any serious measure of resistance in which he would not take a part. The meeting broke up without coming to any decision. All those who bore a part in it were expected at Brussels to attend the council of state; Egmont alone repaired thither.

EARLY FAILURES OF THE REBELS

The governante now applied her whole effort to destroy the union among the patriot lords. She in the mean time ordered levies of troops to the amount of some thousands, the command of which was given to the nobles on whose attachment she could reckon. The most vigorous measures were adopted. Noircarmes, governor of Hainault, appeared before Valenciennes, which being in the power of the Calvinists had assumed a most determined attitude of resistance. He vainly summoned the place to submission, and to admit a royalist garrison; and on receiving an obstinate refusal, he commenced the siege in form. An undisciplined rabble of between three thousand and four thousand gueux, under the direction of John de Soreas, gathered together in the neighbourhood of Lille and Tournay, with a show of attacking these places. But the governor of the former town dispersed one party of them; and Noircarmes surprised and almost destroyed the main body—their leader falling in the action.

These were the first encounters of the civil war, which raged without cessation for upwards of eighty years in these devoted countries, and which is universally allowed to be the most remarkable that ever desolated any isolated portion of Europe. Fierce events succeeded each other with frightful rapidity.

While Valenciennes prepared for a vigorous resistance, a general synod of the Protestants was held at Antwerp, and Brederode undertook an attempt to see the governante, and lay before her the complaints of this body; but she refused to admit him into the capital. He then addressed to her a remonstrance in writing, in which he reproached her with her violation of the treaties, on the faith of which the confederates had dispersed, and the majority of the Protestants laid down their arms. He implored her to revoke the new proclamations, by which she prohibited them from the free exercise of their religion; and above all things he insisted on the abandonment of the siege of Valenciennes, and the disbanding of the new levies. The governante's reply was one of haughty reproach and defiance. The gauntlet was now thrown down; no possible hope of reconciliation remained; and the whole country flew to arms. A sudden attempt on the part of the royalists, under Count Meghem, against Bois-le-duc, was repulsed by eight hundred men, commanded by an officer named Bomberg, in the immediate service of Brederode, who had fortified himself in his garrison town of Vianen.

The prince of Orange maintained at Antwerp an attitude of extreme firmness and caution.¹ His time for action had not yet arrived; but his advice and protection were of infinite importance on many occasions. John van Marnix, lord of Toulouse, brother of Philip of Sainte-Aldegonde, took posses-

[¹ The Calvinists and beggars implored William to take the leadership. They blamed his refusal to act for their defeats, and were so exasperated at his caution that the Antwerp Calvinists threatened even to kill him. But he was immovable.]

sion of Osterweel on the Schelde, a quarter of a league from Antwerp, and fortified himself in a strong position. But he was impetuously attacked by Lannoy of Beauvoir with a considerable force, and perished, after a desperate defence, with full one thousand of his followers. Three hundred who laid down their arms were immediately after the action butchered in cold blood.

Antwerp was on this occasion saved from the excesses of its divided and furious citizens, and preserved from the horrors of pillage, by the calmness and intrepidity of the prince of Orange. Valenciennes at length capitulated to the royalists, disheartened by the defeat and death of Marnix, and terrified by a bombardment of thirty-six hours. The governor, two preachers, and about forty of the citizens were hanged by the victors, and the reformed religion was prohibited. Noircarmes promptly followed up his success. Maestricht, Turnhout, and Bois-le-duc submitted at his approach; and the insurgents were soon driven from all the provinces, Holland alone excepted. Brederode fled to Germany, where he died the following year.¹

The governante showed, in her success, no small proofs of decision. She and her counsellors, acting under orders from the king, were resolved on embarrassing to the utmost the patriot lords; and a new oath of allegiance, to be proposed to every functionary of the state, was considered as a certain means for attaining this object without the violence of an unmerited dismissal. The terms of this oath were strongly opposed to every principle of patriotism and toleration. Count Mansfeld was the first of the nobles who took it. The duke of Aerschot, counts Meghem, Barlaymont, and Egmont, followed his example. The counts of Horn, Hoogstraten, Brederode, and others, refused on various pretexts. Every artifice and persuasion was tried to induce the prince of Orange to subscribe to this new test; but his resolution had been for some time formed. He saw that every chance of constitutional resistance to tyranny was for the present at an end. The time for petitioning was gone by. The confederation was dissolved. A royalist army was in the field; the duke of Alva was notoriously approaching at the head of another, more numerous. It was worse than useless to conclude a hollow convention with the governante, of mock loyalty on his part and mock confidence on hers. Many other important considerations convinced William that his only honourable, safe, and wise course was to exile himself from the Netherlands altogether, until more propitious circumstances allowed of his acting openly, boldly, and with effect.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE WITHDRAWS (1567)

Before he put this plan of voluntary banishment into execution, he and Egmont had a parting interview, at the village of Willebroeck, between Antwerp and Brussels. Count Mansfeld, and Berti, secretary to the governante, were present at this memorable meeting. The details of what passed were reported to the confederates by one of their party, who contrived to conceal himself in the chimney of the chamber. Nothing could exceed the

[¹ The utter annihilation of the popular party at this period proves how erroneous is the assertion of the Jesuit Strada^b and others, who state that the revolt of the Netherlands was to be attributed not to the Inquisition or the introduction of the new bishops, but solely to the machinations of some impoverished and disappointed nobles. In the first formation of the confederacy the nobles rather obeyed than excited the popular impulse which, instead of contributing to sustain, they, by their vacillation and dissensions, served but to divide and weaken. So far as they were concerned, the movement was now entirely at an end; and it is to their selfishness, treachery, or inconstancy that the temporary ruin of the people's cause is to be ascribed. — DAVIES.]

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energetic warmth with which the two illustrious friends reciprocally endeavoured to turn each other from their respective line of conduct; but in vain. Egmont's fatal confidence in the king was not to be shaken; nor was Nassau's penetrating mind to be deceived by the romantic delusion which led away his friend. They separated with most affectionate expressions; and Nassau was even moved to tears. His parting words were to the following effect: "Confide, then, since it must be so, in the gratitude of the king; but a painful presentiment (God grant it may prove a false one!) tells me that you will serve the Spaniards as the bridge by which they will enter the country, and which they will destroy as soon as they have passed over it!"¹

On the 11th of April, a few days after this conference, the prince of Orange set out for Germany, with his three brothers and his whole family, with the exception of his eldest son, Philip William count of Buren, whom he left behind a student in the university of Louvain. He believed that the privileges of the college and the franchises of Brabant would prove a sufficient protection to the youth; and this appears the only instance in which William's vigilant prudence was deceived. The departure of the prince seemed to remove all hope of protection or support from the unfortunate Protestants, now the prey of their implacable tyrant. The confederation of the nobles was completely broken up. The counts of Hoogstraten, Bergen, and Kuilenburg followed the example of the prince of Orange, and escaped to Germany; and the greater number of those who remained behind took the new oath of allegiance, and became reconciled to the government.

This total dispersion of the confederacy brought all the towns of Holland into obedience to the king. But the emigration which immediately commenced threatened the country with ruin.² England and Germany swarmed with Dutch and Belgian refugees; and all the efforts of the governante could not restrain the thousands that took to flight. She was not more successful in her attempts to influence the measures of the king. She implored him, in repeated letters, to abandon his design of sending a foreign army into the country, which she represented as being now quite reduced to submission and tranquillity. She added that the mere report of this royal invasion (so to call it) had already deprived the Netherlands of many thousands of its best inhabitants; and that the appearance of the troops would change it into a desert. These arguments, meant to dissuade, were the very means of encouraging Philip in his design. He conceived his project to be now ripe for the complete suppression of freedom.

On the 5th of May, 1567, Alva, the celebrated captain whose reputation was so quickly destined to sink into the notoriety of an executioner, began his memorable march.⁹

[¹ Hooft "alludes to a rumour, according to which Egmont said to Orange at parting, "Adieu, landless prince!" and was answered by his friend with "Adieu, headless count!" "*Men voeghet by dat zy voorts elkandre, Prins zonder goet, Graaf zonder hooft, zouden adieu gezet hebben.*" The story has been often repeated, yet nothing could well be more insipid than such an invention. Hooft observes that the whole conversation was reported by a person whom the Calvinists had concealed in the chimney of the apartment where the interview took place. It would be difficult to believe in such epigrams even had the historian himself been in the chimney. He, however, only gives the anecdote as a rumor, which he does not himself believe. — MOTLEY.⁴]

[² Blok "accepts an estimate that, in thirty or forty years, four hundred thousand people emigrated.]



CHAPTER VI

ALVA

[1567-1573 A.D.]

The revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, in 1568, changed the political aspect of the greater part of the world. It is because of this revolt, and the war of eighty years following, that the people of the United States are not a Spanish-speaking nation, but are, instead, an English-speaking one.

Had the reigning family and the authorities of Spain exercised wise forethought in their dealings with the Netherland people, Spanish domination — assisted by Dutch co-operation under Spanish supremacy — would have rendered the whole of this territory Spanish many years before the English would have become strong enough to attempt the conquest and the independent settling of any part of the American continent. — VERSTEEG.^b

It was determined at last that the Netherland heresy should be conquered by force of arms. The invasion resembled both a crusade against the infidel and a treasure-hunting foray into the auriferous Indies, achievements by which Spanish chivalry had so often illustrated itself. The banner of the cross was to be replanted upon the conquered battlements of three hundred infidel cities, and a torrent of wealth, richer than ever flowed from Mexican or Peruvian mines, was to flow into the royal treasury from the perennial fountains of confiscation. Who so fit to be the Tancred and the Pizarro of this bicoloured expedition as the duke of Alva, the man who had been devoted from his earliest childhood, and from his father's grave, to hostility against unbelievers, and who had prophesied that treasure would flow in a stream, a yard deep, from the Netherlands so soon as the heretics began to meet with their deserts?

Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alva,¹ was now in his sixtieth year. He was the most successful and experienced general of Spain, or of Europe. In the only honourable profession of the age, he was the most thorough and the most pedantic professor. Since the days of Demetrius Poliorcetes, no man had besieged so many cities. Since the days of Fabius Cunctator, no

[¹ The name is also spelled Alba, the Spanish pronunciation still remaining Alva.]

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general had avoided so many battles, and no soldier, courageous as he was, ever attained to a more sublime indifference to calumny or depreciation.

He was born in 1508, of a family which boasted imperial descent. A Palæologus, brother of a Byzantine emperor, had conquered the city of Toledo, and transmitted its appellation as a family name. The father of Fernando, Don Garcia, had been slain on the isle of Gerbes, in battle with the Moors, when his son was but four years of age. The child was brought up by his grandfather, Don Frederick, and trained from his tenderest infancy to arms. His maiden sword was fleshed at Fuenterrabia, where, although but sixteen years of age, he was considered to have contributed in no small degree to the success of the Spanish arms. In 1530 he accompanied the emperor in his campaign against the Turk. His mad ride from Hungary to Spain and back again, accomplished in seventeen days for the sake of a brief visit to his newly married wife, is not the least attractive episode in the history of an existence which was destined to be so dark and sanguinary. In 1546 and 1547 he was generalissimo in the war against the Smalkaldian League.

Having accompanied Philip to England in 1554, on his matrimonial expedition, he was destined in the following years, as viceroy and generalissimo of Italy, to be placed in a series of false positions. A great captain engaged in a little war, the champion of the cross in arms against the successor of St. Peter, he had extricated himself, at last, with his usual adroitness, but with very little glory. While he had been paltering with a dotard, whom he was forbidden to crush, Egmont had struck down the chosen troops of France, and conquered her most illustrious commanders. Here was the unpardonable crime which could only be expiated by the blood of the victor. Unfortunately for his rival, the time was now approaching when the long-deferred revenge was to be satisfied.

On the whole, the duke of Alva was inferior to no general of his age. As a disciplinarian he was foremost in Spain, perhaps in Europe. As a statesman, he had neither experience nor talent. As a man, his character was simple. He did not combine a great variety of vices, but those which he had were colossal, and he possessed no virtues. He was neither lustful nor intemperate, but his professed eulogists admitted his enormous avarice, while the world has agreed that such an amount of stealth and ferocity, of patient vindictiveness and universal bloodthirstiness, were never found in a savage beast of the forest, and but rarely in a human bosom. As difficult of access as Philip himself, he was even more haughty to those who were admitted to his presence. He addressed everyone with the depreciating second person plural. Possessing the right of being covered in the presence of the Spanish monarch, he had been with difficulty brought to renounce it before the German emperor.

In person he was tall, thin, erect, with a small head, a long visage, lean yellow cheeks, dark twinkling eyes, a dust complexion, black bristling hair, and a long sable-silvered beard, descending in two waving streams upon his breast.

Such being the design, the machinery was well selected. The best man in Europe to lead the invading force was placed at the head of ten thousand picked veterans. The privates in this exquisite little army, said the enthusiastic connoisseur Brantôme,^c who travelled post into Lorraine, expressly to see them on their march, all wore engraved or gilded armour, and were in every respect equipped like captains. They were the first who carried muskets, a weapon which very much astonished the Flemings when it first

rattled in their cars. The musketeers, he observed, might have been mistaken for princes, with such agreeable and graceful arrogance did they present themselves. Each was attended by his servant or esquire, who carried his piece for him, except in battle, and all were treated with extreme deference by the rest of the army, as if they had been officers. The cavalry, amounting to about twelve hundred, was under the command of the natural son of the duke, Don Fernando de Toledo, prior of the knights of St. John.

With an army thus perfect, on a small scale, in all its departments — and furnished, in addition, with a force of two thousand prostitutes, as regularly enrolled, disciplined, and distributed as the cavalry or the artillery — the duke embarked upon his momentous enterprise.

The duchess had in her secret letters to Philip continued to express her disapprobation of the enterprise thus committed to Alva. She had bitterly complained that now, when the country had been pacified by her efforts, another should be sent to reap all the glory, or perhaps to undo all that she had so painfully and so successfully done. She stated to her brother, in most unequivocal language, that the name of Alva was odious enough to make the whole Spanish nation detested in the Netherlands. She also wrote personally to Alva, imploring, commanding,



THE DUKE OF ALVA

(1508-1582)

and threatening, but with equally ill success. As to the effects of his armed invasion upon the temper of the provinces, he was supremely indifferent. He came as a conqueror, not as a mediator. "I have tamed people of iron in my day," said he contemptuously; "shall I not easily crush these men of butter?"

THE ARRIVAL OF ALVA (1567)

At Thionville he was officially waited upon by Barlaymont and Noircarmes, on the part of the regent. He at this point, moreover, began to receive deputations from various cities, bidding him a hollow and trembling welcome, and deprecating his displeasure for anything in the past which might seem offensive. To all such embassies he replied in vague and conventional language; saying, however, to his confidential attendants: "I am here: so

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much is certain; whether I am welcome or not is to me a matter of little consequence."

At Tirlemont, on the 22nd of August, he was met by Count Egmont, who had ridden forth from Brussels to show him a becoming respect, as the representative of his sovereign. The count was accompanied by several other noblemen, and brought to the duke a present of several beautiful horses. Alva received him, however, but coldly, for he was unable at first to adjust the mask to his countenance as adroitly as was necessary. "Behold the greatest of all the heretics," he observed to his attendants, as soon as the nobleman's presence was announced, and in a voice loud enough for him to hear. After a brief interval, however, Alva seems to have commanded himself. He passed his arm lovingly over that stately neck which he had already devoted to the block, and the two rode along side by side in friendly conversation; Alva, still attended by Egmont, rode soon afterwards through the Louvain gate into Brussels.

The day of doom for all the crimes which had ever been committed in the course of ages seemed now to have dawned upon the Netherlands. The sword which had so long been hanging over them seemed about to descend. Throughout the provinces there was but one feeling — cold and hopeless dismay. Those who still saw a possibility of effecting their escape from the fated land swarmed across the frontier. All foreign merchants deserted the great marts. The cities became as still as if the plague-banner had been unfurled on every house-top. Meantime the captain-general proceeded methodically with his work. He distributed his troops through Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, and other principal cities. As a measure of necessity and mark of the last humiliation, he required the municipalities to transfer their keys to his keeping.

In order that Egmont, Horn, and other distinguished victims might not take alarm, and thus escape the doom deliberately arranged for them, royal assurances were despatched to the Netherlands, cheering their despondency and dispelling their doubts. With his own hand Philip wrote a letter, full of affection and confidence, to Egmont. He wrote it after Alva had left Madrid upon his mission of vengeance. The same stealthy measures were pursued with regard to others. The prince of Orange was not likely to be lured into the royal trap, however cautiously baited. Unfortunately he could not communicate his wisdom to his friends.

It is difficult to comprehend so very sanguine a temperament as that to which Egmont owed his destruction. It was not the prince of Orange alone who had prophesied his doom. Warnings had come to the count from every quarter, and they were now frequently repeated. Certainly he was not without anxiety, but he had made his decision — determined to believe in the royal word and in the royal gratitude for his services rendered.

The duke manifested the most friendly dispositions, taking care to send him large presents of Spanish and Italian fruits, received frequently by the government couriers. Lapped in this fatal security, Egmont not only forgot his fears, but unfortunately succeeded in inspiring Count Horn with a portion of his confidence. The admiral left his retirement at Weert to fall into the pit which his enemies had been so skilfully preparing at Brussels. September 9th, the grand prior, Don Fernando, gave a magnificent dinner, to which Egmont and Horn, together with Noirearmes, the viscount of Ghent, and many other noblemen were invited.

At four o'clock, the dinner being finished, Horn and Egmont, accompanied by the other gentlemen, proceeded to the "Jassy" house, then occupied

by Alva, to take part in the deliberations proposed. They were received by the duke with great courtesy. The council lasted till near seven in the evening. As it broke up, Don Sancho de Avila, captain of the duke's guard, requested Egmont to remain for a moment after the rest. After an insignificant remark or two, the Spanish officer, as soon as the two were alone, requested Egmont to surrender his sword. At the same moment the doors of the adjacent apartment were opened, and Egmont saw himself surrounded by a company of Spanish musketeers and halberdmen. Finding himself thus entrapped, he gave up his sword, saying bitterly, as he did so, that it had at least rendered some service to the king in times which were past. Count Horn was arrested upon the same occasion. Upon the 23rd of September both were removed under a strong guard to the castle of Ghent. The consternation was universal throughout the provinces when the arrests became known.

The unfortunate envoys, the marquis of Bergen and the baron of Montigny, had remained in Spain under close observation. Of those doomed victims who, in spite of friendly remonstrances and of ominous warnings, had thus ventured into the lion's den, no retreating footmarks were ever to be seen. Their fate, now that Alva had at last been despatched to the Netherlands, seemed to be sealed, and the marquis of Bergen, accepting the augury in its most evil sense, immediately afterwards had sickened unto death. Before his limbs were cold, a messenger was on his way to Brussels, instructing the regent to sequester his property, and to arrest, upon suspicion of heresy, the youthful kinsman and niece, who, by the will of the marquis, were to be united in marriage and to share his estate. The baron of Montigny was closely confined in the alcazar of Segovia, never to leave a Spanish prison alive.

THE BLOODY "COUNCIL OF TROUBLES"

In the same despatch of the 9th of September, in which the duke communicated to Philip the capture of Egmont and Horn, he announced to him his determination to establish a new court for the trial of crimes committed during the recent period of troubles. This wonderful tribunal was accordingly created with the least possible delay. It was called the council of Troubles, but it soon acquired the terrible name, by which it will be forever known in history, of the Blood Council. It superseded all other institutions. Every court, from those of the municipal magistracies up to the supreme councils of the provinces, were forbidden to take cognisance in future of any cause growing out of the late troubles. Not only citizens of every province, but the municipal bodies and even the sovereign provincial estates themselves, were compelled to plead, like humble individuals, before this new and extraordinary tribunal.

It is unnecessary to allude to the absolute violation which was thus committed of all charters, laws, and privileges, because the very creation of the council was a bold and brutal proclamation that those laws and privileges were at an end. The constitution or maternal principle of this suddenly erected court was of a twofold nature. It defined and it punished the crime of treason. The definitions, couched in eighteen articles, declared it to be treason to have delivered or signed any petition against the new bishops, the Inquisition, or the edicts; to have tolerated public preaching under any circumstances; to have omitted resistance to the image-breaking, to the field-preaching, or to the presentation of the Request by the nobles, and "either through sympathy or surprise" to have asserted that the king did

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not possess the right to deprive all the provinces of their liberties, or to have maintained that this present tribunal was bound to respect in any manner any laws or any charters. In these brief and simple but comprehensive terms was the crime of high treason defined. The punishment was still more briefly, simply, and comprehensively stated, for it was instant death in all cases. So well, too, did this new and terrible engine perform its work that, in less than three months from the time of its erection, eighteen hundred human beings had suffered death by its summary proceedings; some of the highest, the noblest, and the most virtuous in the land among the number. Yet, strange to say, this tremendous court, thus established upon the ruins of all the ancient institutions of the country, had not been provided with even a nominal authority from any source whatever. The Blood Council was merely an informal club, of which the duke was perpetual president, while the other members were all appointed by himself.

No one who was offered the office refused it. Noircarmes and Barlaymont accepted with very great eagerness. Several presidents and councillors of the different provincial tribunals were appointed, but all the Netherlanders were men of straw. Two Spaniards, Del Rio and Vargas, were the only members who could vote; while their decisions were subject to reversal by Alva. Del Rio was a man without character or talent, a mere tool in the hands of his superiors, but Juan de Vargas was a terrible reality.

No better man could have been found in Europe for the post to which he was thus elevated. To shed human blood was, in his opinion, the only important business and the only exhilarating pastime of life. His youth had been stained with other crimes. He had been obliged to retire from Spain, because of his violation of an orphan child to whom he was guardian; but, in his manhood, he found no pleasure but in murder. He executed Alva's bloody work with an industry which was almost superhuman, and with a merriment which would have shamed a demon. His execrable jests ring through the blood and smoke and death-cries of those days of perpetual sacrifice. The figure of Vargas rises upon us through the mist of three centuries with terrible distinctness. Even his barbarous grammar has not been forgotten, and his crimes against syntax and against humanity have acquired the same immortality.

Among the ciphers who composed the rest of the board was the Flemish councillor Hessels. Hessels was accustomed to doze away his afternoon hours at the council table, and when awakened from his nap in order that he might express an opinion on the case then before the court, was wont to rub his eyes and to call out "*Ad patibulum, ad patibulum!*" ("to the gallows with him, to the gallows with him!") with great fervour, but in entire ignorance of the culprit's name or the merits of the case. His wife, naturally disturbed that her husband's waking and sleeping hours were alike absorbed with this hangman's work, more than once ominously expressed her hope to him that he, whose head and heart were thus engrossed with the gibbet, might not one day come to hang upon it himself; a gloomy prophecy which the future most terribly fulfilled.

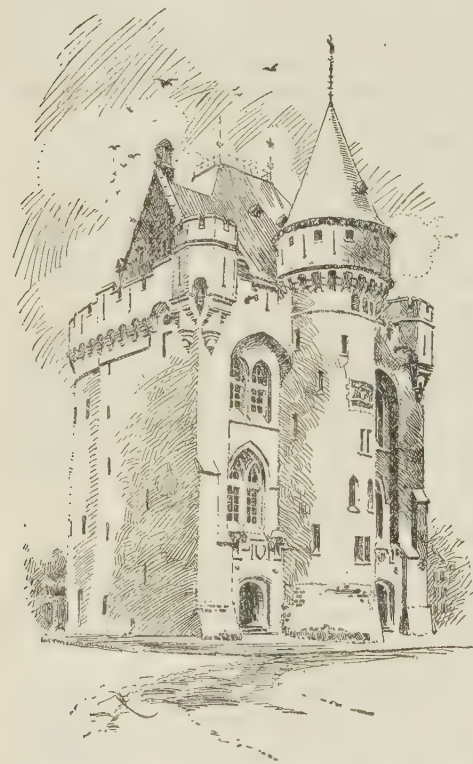
The council of Blood, thus constituted, held its first session on the 20th of September, 1567, at the lodgings of Alva. There was a rude organisation by which a crowd of commissioners, acting as inferior officers of the council, were spread over the provinces, whose business was to collect information concerning all persons who might be incriminated for participation in the recent troubles. The greatest crime, however, was to be rich, and one which could be expiated by no virtues, however signal. Alva was bent upon

proving himself as accomplished a financier as he was indisputably a consummate commander, and he had promised his master an annual income of 500,000 ducats from the confiscations which were to accompany the executions.

It was necessary that the blood torrent should flow at once through the Netherlands, in order that the promised golden river, a yard deep, according to his vaunt, should begin to irrigate the thirsty soil of Spain. It is obvious, from the fundamental laws which were made to define treason at the same moment in which they established the council, that any man might be at any instant summoned to the court.

Every man, whether innocent or guilty, whether papist or Protestant, felt his head shaking on his shoulders. If he were wealthy, there seemed no remedy but flight, which was now almost impossible, from the heavy penalties affixed by the new edict upon all carriers, ship-masters, and wagoners, who should aid in the escape of heretics.

The register of every city, village, and hamlet throughout the Netherlands showed the daily lists of men, women, and children thus sacrificed at the shrine of the demon who had obtained the mastery over this unhappy land. It was not often that an individual was of sufficient importance to be tried — if trial it could be called — by himself. It was found more expeditious to send them in batches to the furnace. Thus, for example, on the 4th of January, eighty-four inhabitants of Valenciennes were condemned; on another day, ninety-five miscellaneous individuals from different places in Flanders; on another, forty-six inhabitants of Mechlin; on another, thirty-five persons from different localities; and so on.



PORTE DE HAL, BRUSSELS, ERECTED 1381. USED BY ALVA AS A BASTILLE (1568-1573)

The sentences were occasionally in advance of the docket. Thus upon one occasion a man's case was called for trial, but before the investigation was commenced it was discovered that he had been already executed. A cursory examination of the papers proved, moreover, as usual, that the culprit had committed no crime. "No matter for that," said Vargas, jocosely; "if he has died innocent, it will be all the better for him when he takes his trial in the other world."

But however the councillors might indulge in these gentle jests among themselves, it was obvious that innocence was in reality impossible, according to the rules which had been laid down regarding treason. The practice was in accordance with the precept, and persons were daily executed with senseless pretexts, which was worse than executions with no pretexts at all. Thus Peter de Witt of Amsterdam was beheaded, because at one of the

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tumults in that city he had persuaded a rioter not to fire upon a magistrate. This was taken as sufficient proof that he was a man in authority among the rebels, and he was accordingly put to death. Madame Juriaen, who, in 1566, had struck with her slipper a little wooden image of the Virgin, together with her maid-servant, who had witnessed without denouncing the crime, were both drowned by the hangman in a hogshead placed on the scaffold. Death, even, did not in all cases place a criminal beyond the reach of the executioner. Egbert Meynartzoon, a man of high official rank, had been condemned, together with two colleagues, on an accusation of collecting money in a Lutheran church. He died in prison of dropsy. The sheriff consoled himself by placing the body on a chair, and having the dead man beheaded in company with his colleagues.

Thus the whole country became a charnel-house; the death-bell tolled hourly in every village; not a family but was called to mourn for its dearest relatives, while the survivors stalked listlessly about, the ghosts of their former selves, among the wrecks of their former homes. The spirit of the nation, within a few months after the arrival of Alva, seemed hopelessly broken.

DEPARTURE OF THE REGENT (DECEMBER, 1567)

The duchess of Parma had been kept in a continued state of irritation. She had not ceased for many months to demand her release from the odious position of a cipher in a land where she had so lately been sovereign, and she had at last obtained it. Philip transmitted his acceptance of her resignation by the same courier who brought Alva's commission to be governor-general in her place. The letters to the duchess were full of conventional compliments for her past services, accompanied, however, with a less barren and more acceptable acknowledgment, in the shape of a life income of 14,000 ducats instead of the eight thousand hitherto enjoyed by her highness.

The horrors of the succeeding administration proved beneficial to her reputation. Upon the dark ground of succeeding years the lines which recorded her history seemed written with letters of light. Yet her conduct in the Netherlands offers but few points for approbation, and many for indignant censure. That she was not entirely destitute of feminine softness and sentiments of bounty, her parting despatch to her brother proved. In that letter she recommended to him a course of clemency and forgiveness, and reminded him that the nearer kings approached to God in station, the more they should endeavour to imitate him in his attributes of benignity. But the language of this farewell was more tender than had been the spirit of her government. One looks in vain, too, through the general atmosphere of kindness which pervades the epistle, for a special recommendation of those distinguished and doomed seigniors, whose attachment to her person and whose chivalrous and conscientious endeavours to fulfil her own orders had placed them upon the edge of that precipice from which they were shortly to be hurled.

Meantime the second civil war in France had broken out. The hollow truce by which the Guise party and the Huguenots had partly pretended to deceive each other was hastened to its end, among other causes, by the march of Alva to the Netherlands. The Huguenots had taken alarm, for they recognised the fellowship which united their foes in all countries against the Reformation, and Condé and Coligny knew too well that the same influence which had brought Alva to Brussels would soon create an exterminating

army against their followers. Hostilities were resumed with more bitterness than ever. The duke of Alva not only furnished Catherine de' Medici with advice, but with two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the count of Arenberg, attended by a choice band of the Catholic nobility of the Netherlands.

Alva was not meantime unmindful of the business which had served as a pretext in the arrest of the two counts. The fortifications of the principal cities were pushed on with great rapidity. The memorable citadel of Antwerp in particular had already been commenced in October under the superintendence of the celebrated engineers, Pacheco and Gabriel de Cerbelloni. In a few months it was completed, at a cost of 1,400,000 florins, of which sum the citizens, in spite of their remonstrances, were compelled to contribute more than one quarter. To four of the five bastions, the captain-general, with characteristic ostentation, gave his own names and titles. One was called the Duke, the second Ferdinando, a third Toledo, a fourth Alva, while the fifth was baptised with the name of the ill-fated engineer, Pacheco.

On the 19th of January, 1568, the prince of Orange, his brother Louis of Nassau, his brother-in-law Count van den Berg, the count Hoogstraten, the count Kuilenburg, and the baron of Montigny were summoned in the name of Alva to appear before the Blood Council, within thrice fourteen days from the date of the proclamation, under pain of perpetual banishment with confiscation of their estates. It is needless to say that these seigniors did not obey the summons. They knew full well that their obedience would be rewarded only with death. The prince replied to this summons by a brief and somewhat contemptuous plea to the jurisdiction. As a knight of the Fleece, as a member of the German Empire, as a sovereign prince in France, as a citizen of the Netherlands, he rejected the authority of Alva and of his self-constituted tribunal. His innocence he was willing to establish before competent courts and righteous judges.

From the general tenor of the document, it is obvious both that the prince was not yet ready to throw down the gauntlet to his sovereign, nor to proclaim his adhesion to the new religion. On departing from the Netherlands in the spring, he had said openly that he was still in possession of sixty thousand florins yearly, and that he should commence no hostilities against Philip, so long as he did not disturb him in his honour or his estates.

His character had, however, already been attacked, his property threatened with confiscation. His closest ties of family were now to be severed by the hand of the tyrant. His eldest child, the count of Buren, torn from his protection, was to be carried into indefinite captivity in a foreign land. It was a remarkable oversight, for a person of his sagacity, that, upon his own departure from the provinces, he should leave his son, then a boy of thirteen years, to pursue his studies at the college of Louvain. Thus exposed to the power of the government, he was soon seized as a hostage for the good behaviour of the father. A changeling, as it were, from his cradle, he seemed completely transformed by his Spanish tuition, for he was educated and not sacrificed by Philip. When he returned to the Netherlands, after a twenty years' residence in Spain, it was difficult to detect in his gloomy brow, saturnine character, and Jesuitical habits a trace of the generous spirit which characterised that race of heroes of Orange-Nassau.

Events now marched with rapidity. Early in the year, the most sublime sentence of death was promulgated which has ever been pronounced since the creation of the world. The Roman tyrant wished that his enemies' heads were all upon a single neck, that he might strike them off at a blow:

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the Inquisition assisted Philip to place the heads of all his Netherland subjects upon a single neck for the same fell purpose. Upon the 16th of February, 1568, a sentence of the holy office condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics. From this universal doom only a few persons, especially named, were excepted. A proclamation of the king, dated ten days later, confirmed this decree of the Inquisition, and ordered it to be carried into instant execution, without regard to age, sex, or condition.

This is probably the most concise death-warrant that was ever framed. Three millions of people, men, women, and children, were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines; and, as it was well known that these were not harmless thunders, like some bulls of the Vatican, but serious and practical measures, which were to be enforced, the horror which they produced may be easily imagined. It was hardly the purpose of government to compel the absolute completion of the wholesale plan in all its length and breadth; yet, in the horrible times upon which they had fallen, the Netherlanders might be excused for believing that no measure was too monstrous to be fulfilled. At any rate, it was certain that when all were condemned, any might at a moment's warning be carried to the scaffold, and this was precisely the course adopted by the authorities.

Men in the highest and humblest positions were daily and hourly dragged to the stake. Alva, in a single letter to Philip, coolly estimated the number of executions which were to take place immediately after the expiration of holy week "at eight hundred heads." Many a citizen, convicted of a hundred thousand florins and of no other crime, saw himself suddenly tied to a horse's tail with his hands fastened behind him, and so dragged to the gallows. But although wealth was an unpardonable sin, poverty proved rarely a protection. Reasons sufficient could always be found for dooming the starveling labourer as well as the opulent burgher. To avoid the disturbances created in the streets by the frequent harangues or exhortations addressed to the bystanders by the victims on their way to the scaffold, a new gag was invented. The tongue of each prisoner was screwed into an iron ring, and then seared with a hot iron. The swelling and inflammation which were the immediate result, prevented the tongue from slipping through the ring, and of course effectually precluded all possibility of speech.^d

TRIAL AND FATE OF EGMONT AND HORN (1568)

The two counts had been confined in the citadel of Ghent for more than eight months. Their trial commenced in due form before the council of Twelve. The indictment against Egmont consisted of ninety counts, and that against Horn of sixty. Every action, however innocent, every omission of duty, was interpreted on the principle, which had been laid down in the opening of the indictment, that the two counts, in conjunction with the prince of Orange, had planned the overthrow of the royal authority in the Netherlands, and the usurpation of the government of the country; the expulsion of Granvella, the embassy of Egmont to Madrid, the confederacy of the *guoux*, the concessions which they made to the Protestants in the provinces under their government — all were made to have a connection with, and a reference to, this deliberate design. The accusations were sent to each of the prisoners, who were required to reply to them within five days.

The first step was to demur against the tribunal which was to try them, since, by the privilege of their order, they, as knights of the Golden Fleece, were amenable only to the king himself, the grand master. But this

demurrer was overruled, and they were required to produce their witnesses, in default of which they were to be proceeded against *in contumaciam*. Egmont had satisfactorily answered to eighty-two counts, while Count Horn had refuted the charges against him, article by article. The accusation and the defence are still extant; on that defence every impartial tribunal would have acquitted them both.

Egmont's wife, by birth a duchess of Bavaria, succeeded in obtaining the intercessions of almost every German court in behalf of her husband. Alva rejected them, with a declaration that they had no force in such a case as the present. On the 1st of June, 1568, the council of Twelve declared them guilty, and on the 4th of that month sentence of death was pronounced against them.

The execution of twenty-five noble Netherlanders, who were beheaded in three successive days, in the market-place at Brussels, was the terrible prelude.

The duke had reason to hasten the execution of the sentence. Count Louis of Nassau had given battle to the count of Arenberg, near the monastery of Heiligerlee in Groningen, and had the good fortune to defeat him. Immediately after his victory, he had advanced against Groningen, and laid siege to it. The success of his arms had raised the courage of his faction, and the prince of Orange, his brother, was close at hand with an army to support him.

On the day after the sentence was passed, the two counts were brought, under an escort of three thousand Spaniards, from Ghent to Brussels. During the night between the 4th and 5th of June the sentences were brought to the prisoners, after they had already gone to rest. Egmont called for pen and ink, and wrote two letters, one to his wife, the other to the king; the latter was as follows:

SIRE : I have learned, this evening, the sentence which your majesty has been pleased to pronounce upon me. Although I have never had a thought, and believe myself never to have done a deed which could tend to the prejudice of your majesty's person or service, or to the detriment of our true ancient and Catholic religion, nevertheless I take patience to bear that which it has pleased the good God to send. If, during these troubles in the Netherlands, I have done or permitted aught which had a different appearance, it has been with the true and good intent to serve God and your majesty, and the necessity of the times. Therefore, I pray your majesty to forgive me, and to have compassion on my poor wife, my children, and my servants; having regard to my past services. In which hope I now commend myself to the mercy of God.

From Brussels,

Ready to die, this 5th June, 1568.

Your majesty's very humble and loyal vassal and servant,

LAMORAL D'EGMONT.

The family of the count was subsequently reinstated in all his property, fiefs, and rights, which, by virtue of the sentence, had escheated to the royal treasury.

Egmont paced the scaffold with noble dignity, and lamented that it had not been permitted him to die a more honourable death for his king and his country. Up to the last he seemed unable to persuade himself that the king was in earnest, and that his severity would be carried any further than the mere terror of execution. He then clenched his teeth, threw off his mantle and robe, knelt upon the cushion and prepared himself for the last prayer. He drew a silk cap over his eyes, and awaited the stroke. Over the corpse and the streaming blood a black cloth was immediately thrown.

All Brussels thronged around the scaffold, and the fatal blow seemed to fall on every heart. Loud sobs alone broke the appalling silence. The

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duke himself, who watched the execution from a window of the town-house, wiped his eyes as his victim died.¹

Shortly afterwards, Count Horn advanced on the scaffold. Of a more violent temperament than his friend, he burst forth in bitter reproaches against the king, and the bishop with difficulty prevailed upon him to make a better use of his last moments than to abuse them in imprecations on his enemies. At last, however, he became more collected, and made his confession to the bishop, which at first he was disposed to refuse. He mounted the scaffold with the same attendants as his friend. In passing, he saluted many of his acquaintances; his hands were, like Egmont's, free. When he had ascended, he cast his eyes upon the corpse which lay under the cloth, and asked one of the by-standers if it was the body of his friend. On being answered in the affirmative, he said some words in Spanish, threw his cloak from him, and knelt upon the cushion. All shrieked aloud as he received the fatal blow.

The heads of both were fixed upon poles which were set upon the scaffold, where they remained until past three in the afternoon, when they were taken down, and, with the two bodies, placed in leaden coffins and deposited in a vault. In spite of the number of spies and executioners who surrounded the scaffold, the citizens of Brussels would not be prevented from dipping their handkerchiefs in the streaming blood, and carrying home with them these precious memorials.²

Egmont is a great historical figure, but he was certainly not a great man. His execution remains an enduring monument not only of Philip's cruelty and perfidy but of his dulness. The king had everything to hope from Egmont and nothing to fear. Granvella knew the man well, and, almost to the last, could not believe in the possibility of so unparalleled a blunder as that which was to make a victim, a martyr, and a popular idol of a personage brave indeed, but incredibly vacillating and inordinately vain, who, by a little management, might have been converted into a most useful instrument for the royal purposes.

He had no sympathy with the people, but he loved, as a grand seignior, to be looked up to and admired by a gaping crowd. He was an unwavering Catholic, held sectaries in utter loathing, and, after the image-breaking, took a positive pleasure in hanging ministers, together with their congregations, and in pressing the besieged Christians of Valenciennes to extremities. Upon more than one occasion he pronounced his unequivocal approval of the infamous edicts, and he exerted himself at times to enforce them within his province. The transitory impression made upon his mind by the lofty nature of Orange was easily effaced in Spain by court flattery and by royal bribes. Upon the departure of Orange, Egmont was only too eager to be employed by Philip in any work which the monarch could find for him to do. Yet this was the man whom Philip chose, through the executioner's sword, to convert into a popular idol, and whom Poetry has loved to contemplate as a romantic champion of freedom.

As for Horn, he was a person of mediocre abilities and thoroughly

[¹ Even Bentivoglio becomes softened in relating the pathetic scene. "I hear," wrote Morillon to Granvella (June 7th, 1568), "that his excellency shed tears as big as pease during the execution." (*At jecté des larmes aussi grosses que pois.*)—VAN GROEN PRINSTERER *Archives*. The prebendary goes on to say that "he had caused the story of the duke's tenderness to be trumpeted in many places" (*a fait sonner où il luy a semblé convenir, quia multorum animi exacerbeti*). Morillon also quotes Alva as having had the effrontery to say that he desired a mitigation of the punishment, but that the king had answered that he could forgive offences against himself, but the crimes committed against God were unpardonable.²]

commonplace character. His high rank and his tragic fate are all which make him interesting. The most interesting features in his character are his generosity toward his absent brother and the manliness with which, as Montigny's representative at Tournay, he chose rather to confront the anger of the government, and to incur the deadly revenge of Philip, than make himself the executioner of the harmless Christians in Tournay. In this regard, his conduct is vastly more entitled to our respect than that of Egmont, and he was certainly more deserving of reverence from the people, even though deserted by all men while living, and left headless and solitary in his coffin at St. Gudule. The hatred for Alva, which sprang from the graves of these illustrious victims, waxed daily more intense.^d

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN (1568)

Everything seemed now ripe, both at home and abroad, to favour the enterprise on which the prince of Orange was determined to risk his fortune and his life. But his principal resources were to be found in his genius and courage, and in the heroic devotion partaken by his whole family in the cause of their country. His brother, Count John, advanced him a considerable sum of money; the Flemings and Hollanders, in England and elsewhere, subscribed largely; the prince himself, after raising loans in every possible way on his private means, sold his jewels, his plate, and even the furniture of his houses, and threw the amount into the common fund.

The queen of England, the French Huguenots, and the Protestant princes of Germany all lent him their aid in money or in men; and he opened his first campaign with great advantage. He formed his army into four several corps, intending to enter the country on as many different points, and by a sudden irruption on that most vulnerable to rouse at once the hopes and the co-operation of the people. His brothers Louis and Adolphus, at the head of one of these divisions, had already penetrated into Friesland, and there commenced the contest. The count of Arenberg, governor of this province, assisted by the Spanish troops under Gonsalvo de Braccamonte, had quickly opposed the invaders. They had met on the 23d of May near the abbey of Heiligerlee, which gave its name to the battle; and after a short contest the royalists were defeated with great loss. The count of Arenberg and Adolphus of Nassau encountered in single combat, and fell by each other's hands.¹ The victory was dearly purchased by the loss of this gallant prince, the first of his illustrious family.

Alva immediately hastened to the scene of this first action, and soon forced Count Louis to another at a place called Jemmingen, near the town of Embden, on the 21st of July. Their forces were nearly equal — about fourteen thousand at either side: but all the advantage of discipline and skill was in favour of Alva, and the consequence was the total rout of the patriots with a considerable loss in killed and the whole of the cannon and baggage. The entire province of Friesland was thus again reduced to obedience, and Alva hastened back to Brabant to make head against the prince of Orange. The latter had now under his command an army of twenty-eight thousand men — an imposing force in point of numbers, being double that which his rival was able to muster. He soon made himself master of the towns of Tongres and St. Trond, and the whole province of Liège was in his power. He advanced boldly against Alva, and for several months did all that

[¹ This is Strada's ^a account, but others differ so much that it is possible only to say that both men died in the battle.]

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manœuvring could do to force him to a battle. But the wily veteran knew his trade too well; he felt sure that in time the prince's force would disperse for want of pay and supplies; and he managed his resources so ably that with little risk and scarcely any loss he finally succeeded in his object. In the month of October the prince found himself forced to disband his large but undisciplined force;¹ and he retired into France to recruit his funds and consider on the best measures for some future enterprise.

The insolent triumph of Alva knew no bounds. The rest of the year was consumed in new executions. The hôtel Kuilenburg, the early cradle of Brederode's confederacy, was rased to the ground, and a pillar erected on the spot commemorative of the deed; while Alva, resolved to erect a monument of his success as well as of his hate, had his own statue in brass, formed of the cannons taken at Jemmingen, set up in the citadel of Antwerp, with various symbols of power and an inscription of inflated pride.²

OPPRESSIVE TAXATION; THE AMNESTY

The maintenance of the army required from two to four million florins (over a million guineas), and it was the royal treasury that had to pay the costs. Philip, deceived by the popular attitude or overwhelmed by the enormity of the burden imposed upon him, enjoined his general to seek in Belgium the needed resources. A plan of taxation was even drawn up in Madrid,² and sent to the governor, with orders to put it into immediate execution. It confined itself to two measures, which were to be general: first, the immediate levy of a duty amounting to the hundredth part of the value of all property, real and personal; and for the future a fixed tax of one twentieth on the sale of all real estate and one tenth on the sale of all merchandise and personal property. These were the taxes known as the hundredth, twentieth, and tenth pennies.

The duke of Alva called a general assembly of the states-general at Brussels, in March, 1569, and himself proposed the imposition of these taxes; but immediately lively protests came from all quarters. It was evident that a tax of a tenth on all sales would deal a mortal blow to commerce, and consequently to the general prosperity of the country, already compromised by internal troubles and by the commotions agitating the rest of Europe. The king's partisans were the first to try to turn the governor from a measure³ as imprudent as it was impracticable and Viglius above all distinguished himself by his frankness. He succeeded in convincing the duke, who contented himself with a subsidy of two millions, to which the assembly consented. But the king and his council were far from satisfied with this transaction, which, far from furnishing the means to pay debts already contracted, was not even sufficient to guarantee the maintenance of the troops in the future.

Philip had moreover some reason to accuse his general, the latter having shown on this occasion no disposition to follow the course prescribed for him. The monarch had sent with the scheme of taxation a proclamation of

[¹ He melted his last plate to satisfy his clamorous German mercenaries; then, with twelve hundred men, he joined the Huguenots in Gascony and fought under the duke of Zweibrücken [or Deux Ponts]. The campaign there was also a failure. The emperor was reconciled with Philip, and even Queen Elizabeth of England for the present wished him well.]

[² Morley,⁴ however, states that this plan of taxation was due entirely to the duke of Alva and that the authorities at Madrid had nothing to do with it.]

[³ Blok also points out that a cherished scheme of Alva's was the unifying of all the provinces under one ruler with one capital and one law. This meant a sacrifice of dearly bought and ancient municipal, religious, and individual privileges that aroused ferocious protest. The experiment, however, failed even of trial, on account of new complications.]

amnesty which was to reassure the minds of the people at the very moment when they were to be called on to make new sacrifices. But the duke of Alva thought this amnesty premature. He withheld its publication; and when it was finally proclaimed the following year (1570), it contained so many restrictions that the tardy and incomplete pardon made no favourable impression.

The situation, daily becoming more difficult, was further complicated by an open rupture with England, which dealt a fatal blow to the prosperity of Antwerp and Bruges. Elizabeth, who had succeeded Mary, had long shown herself hostile to Philip. She made the duke of Alva feel her ill-will by the retention of 800,000 gulden sent him by a ship that had put into Plymouth (1568). Elizabeth had appropriated this sum, charging herself, however, with its repayment to the Italian merchants from whom the king had borrowed it. But the duke, who was awaiting this money in order to pay his troops, had been furious and had seized the property and ships of the English in Belgian ports. Whereupon the queen had retaliated and, not content with forbidding all trade with the Low Countries, offered asylum to the privateers which the discontented faction began to fit out and which caused some serious losses to commerce.

Thus came into existence the Beggars of the Sea—a band of bold, adventurous men, whose leaders were the emigrant nobles, the rest sailors from the coast. The success of their first attempts at piracy excited fresh clamours against the government in Belgium; and later deeds of a less doubtful character were to efface these obscure beginnings and to assign to their names a very different place in history.

While unrest and discontent thus increased around the Spanish governor, William of Nassau preserved a threatening attitude. This prince and his brother Louis were equally allied with Lutheran princes of Germany and with the leaders of the Calvinist party in France. They had even fought for the cause of the latter; for in spite of their exile they took part in all the great Protestant enterprises, identifying their cause with that of the cult they professed and seeking, in each European commotion, in some way to advance their own interests. Their hopes revived when the celebrated Coligny and the Huguenots came to an understanding with King Charles IX (1570). A plan was then formed to lead into the Belgian provinces a number of those old bands which for years had been fighting in France. Coligny and his brothers-at-arms were to enter Hainault with their French soldiers, while the prince of Orange at the head of a German army penetrated into Limburg and Brabant. Charles IX gave his consent to this project; the old-time jealousy against Spain made him desire the abasement and humiliation of Philip.

The duke of Alva saw the storm approaching. Pressed by the need of money and by the orders from the court, he made fresh attempts to obtain the consent of the states to the taxes the king wished to establish, but the resistance was the same as in former years. Thereupon he took it upon himself to direct without their consent the collection of the tenth and twentieth penny, violating thus all the rights of the provinces, but imputing the bold step to stern necessity. He consented, however, that a deputation should be sent to the king—in protest. Philip received the deputies with the greatest demonstrations of good will. It is related that he first tried to make them accept the tax as a war contribution; but, finally yielding to their remonstrances, he agreed to its provisional suspension.^k

One of those frightful inundations to which the northern provinces were so constantly exposed occurred in 1572, carrying away the dikes, and

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destroying lives and property to a considerable amount. In Friesland alone twenty thousand men were victims to this calamity. But no suffering could affect the inflexible sternness of the duke of Alva; and to such excess did he carry his persecution that Philip himself began to be discontented, and thought his representative was overstepping the bounds of delegated tyranny. He even reproached him sharply in some of his despatches. The governor replied in the same strain; and such was the effect of this correspondence that Philip resolved to remove him from his command. But the king's marriage with Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II, obliged him to defer his intentions for a while; and he at length named John de la Cerda, duke of Medina-Celi, as Alva's successor. Upwards of a year, however, elapsed before this new governor was finally appointed; and he made his appearance on the coast of Flanders with a considerable fleet, on the 11th of May, 1572. He was afforded on this very day a specimen of the sort of people he came to contend with; for his fleet was suddenly attacked by that of the patriots, and many of his vessels were burned and taken before his eyes, with their rich cargoes and considerable treasures intended for the service of the state.¹

The duke of Medina-Celi proceeded rapidly to Brussels, where he was ceremoniously received by Alva, who however refused to resign the government, under the pretext that the term of his appointment had not expired, and that he was resolved first to completely suppress all symptoms of revolt in the northern provinces. He succeeded in effectually disgusting La Cerda, who demanded and obtained his own recall to Spain. Alva, left once more in undisputed possession of his power, turned it with increased vigour into new channels of oppression. He was soon again employed in efforts to effect the levying of his favourite taxes; and such was the resolution of the tradesmen of Brussels that, sooner than submit, they almost universally closed their shops altogether. Alva, furious at this measure, caused sixty of the citizens to be seized, and ordered them to be hanged opposite their own doors. The gibbets were actually erected, when, on the very day fixed for the executions, he received despatches that wholly disconcerted him, and stopped their completion.²

In the night arrived the intelligence that the town of Briel had been captured. The duke, feeling the full gravity of the situation, postponed the chastisement which he had thus secretly planned to a more convenient season, in order, without an instant's hesitation, to avert the consequences of this new movement on the part of the rebels.

THE SEA BEGGARS TAKE BRIEL

Allusion has been made to those formidable partisans of the patriot cause, the marine outlaws. Cheated of half their birthright by nature, and now driven forth from their narrow isthmus by tyranny, the exiled Hollanders took to the ocean. Its boundless fields, long arable to their industry, became more fruitful than ever now that oppression was transforming a peaceful seafaring people into a nation of corsairs.

The beggars of the sea asked their alms through the mouths of their

[¹ It was the richest booty which the insurgents had yet acquired by sea or land. The fleet was laden with spices, money, jewelry, and the richest merchandise. Five hundred thousand crowns of gold were taken, and it was calculated that the plunder altogether would suffice to maintain the war for two years at least. One thousand Spanish soldiers and a good amount of ammunition were also captured. — MOTLEY,^d]

cannon. Unfortunately, they but too often made their demands upon both friend and foe. Every ruined merchant, every banished lord, every reckless mariner, who was willing to lay the commercial world under contribution to repair his damaged fortunes, could, without much difficulty, be supplied with a vessel and crew at some northern port, under colour of cruising against the viceroy's government. Nor was the ostensible motive simply a pretext. To make war upon Alva was the leading object of all these freebooters, and they were usually furnished by the prince of Orange, in his capacity of sovereign, with letters of marque for that purpose. The prince, indeed, did his utmost to control and direct an evil which had inevitably grown out of the horrors of the time. His admiral, William de la Marek, was, however, incapable of comprehending the lofty purposes of his superior. A wild, sanguinary, licentious noble, wearing his hair and beard unshorn, according to ancient Batavian custom, until the death of his relative Egmont should have been expiated, a worthy descendant of the Wild Boar of Ardennes, this hirsute and savage corsair seemed an embodiment of vengeance. He had sworn to wreak upon Alva and upon popery the deep revenge owed to them by the Netherland nobility, and in the cruelties afterwards practised by him upon monks and priests, the Blood Council learned that their example had made at least one ripe scholar among the rebels. He was lying at this epoch with his fleet on the southern coast of England, from which advantageous position he was now to be ejected in a summary manner.

The negotiations between the duke of Alva and Queen Elizabeth had now assumed an amicable tone, and were fast ripening to an adjustment. It was urged that the continued countenance afforded by the English people to the Netherland cruisers must inevitably lead to a war with Philip. In the latter days of March, 1572, therefore, a sentence of virtual excommunication was pronounced against De la Marek and his rovers. A peremptory order of Elizabeth forbade any of her subjects to supply them with meat, bread, or beer. The command being strictly complied with, their further stay was rendered impossible. Twenty-four vessels accordingly set sail from Dover in the very last days of March. Being almost in a state of starvation, these adventurers determined to make a sudden foray upon the coasts of North Holland. On Palm Sunday they captured two Spanish merchantmen. Soon afterwards, however, the wind becoming contrary, they abandoned their original intention, dropped down towards Zealand, and entered the broad mouth of the river Maas.

Among the ships was that of William of Blois, seigneur of Treslong. This adventurous noble, whose brother had been executed by the duke of Alva in 1568, had himself fought by the side of Count Louis at Jemmingen, and, although covered with wounds, had been one of the few who escaped alive from the horrible carnage. During the intervening period he had become one of the most famous rebels on the ocean, and he had always been well known in Briel, where his father had been governor for the king. Treslong, who was really the hero of this memorable adventure, persuaded De la Marek to send a message to the city of Briel, demanding its surrender. This was a bold summons to be made by a handful of men.

The city of Briel (or Brill) was not populous but it was well walled and fortified. It was, moreover, a most commodious port. The whole rebel force was divided into two parties, one of which under Treslong made an attack upon the southern gate. Treslong, after a short struggle, succeeded in forcing his entrance. De la Marek and his men made a bonfire at the northern gate, and then battered down the half-burned portal with the end

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of an old mast. Thus rudely and rapidly did the Netherland patriots conduct their first successful siege. The two parties, not more perhaps than two hundred and fifty men in all, met before sunset in the centre of the city, and the foundation of the Dutch Republic was laid. The weary spirit of freedom, so long a fugitive over earth and sea, had at last found a resting place, which rude and even ribald hands had prepared.

The panic created by the first appearance of the fleet had been so extensive that hardly fifty citizens had remained in the town. The rest had all escaped, with as much property as they could carry away. The admiral, in the name of the prince of Orange, as lawful stadholder of Philip, took formal possession of an almost deserted city. No indignity was offered to the inhabitants of either sex, but as soon as the conquerors were fairly established in the best houses of the place, the inclination to plunder the churches could no longer be restrained. The altars and images were all destroyed, the rich furniture and gorgeous vestments appropriated to private use. Adam van Haren appeared on his vessel's deck attired in a magnificent high mass chasuble. Treslong thenceforth used no drinking cups in his cabin save the golden chalices of the sacrament. Unfortunately, their hatred to popery was not confined to such demonstrations. Thirteen unfortunate monks and priests, who had been unable to affect their escape, were arrested and thrown into prison, from whence they were taken a few days later, by order of the ferocious admiral, and executed under circumstances of great barbarity.

The news of this important exploit spread with great rapidity. Alva, surprised at the very moment of venting his rage on the butchers and grocers of Brussels, deferred this savage design in order to deal with the new difficulty. He had certainly not expected such a result from the ready compliance of Queen Elizabeth with his request. The punsters of Brussels were sure not to let such an opportunity escape them, for the name of the captured town was susceptible of a quibble, and the event had taken place upon All Fools' Day.

On April Fool's Day,
Duke Alva's spectacles were stolen away

became a popular couplet. The word "spectacles," in Flemish, as well as the name of the suddenly surprised city, being Brill, this allusion to the duke's loss and implied purblindness was not destitute of ingenuity.

The duke, however, lost not an instant in attempting to repair the disaster. Count Bossu, who had acted as stadholder of Holland and Zealand under Alva's authority, since the prince of Orange had resigned that office, was ordered at once to recover the conquered seaport, if possible. The patriots, being very few in number, were at first afraid to venture outside the gates to attack the much superior force of their invaders. A carpenter, however, dashed into the water with his axe in his hand, and swimming to the Nieuwland sluice hacked it open with a few vigorous strokes. The sea poured in at once, making the approach to the city upon the north side impossible. Bossu then led his Spaniards along the Nieuwland dike to the southern gate, where they were received with a warm discharge of artillery, which completely staggered them. Meantime, Treslong and Robol had, in the most daring manner, rowed out to the ships which had brought the enemy to the island, cut some adrift, and set others on fire. The Spaniards at the southern gate caught sight of their blazing vessels, saw the sea rapidly rising over the dike, became panic-struck at being thus enclosed between fire and water, and dashed off in precipitate retreat along the slippery causeway and through the slimy

and turbid waters, which were fast threatening to overwhelm them.¹ Many were drowned or smothered in their flight, but the greater portion of the force effected their escape in the vessels which still remained within reach. This danger averted, Admiral de la Marek summoned all the inhabitants, a large number of whom had returned to the town after the capture had been fairly established, and required them, as well as all the population of the island, to take an oath of allegiance to the prince of Orange as stadholder for his majesty.

THE REVOLT OF THE TOWNS

The example thus set by Briel and later by Flushing was rapidly followed. The first half of the year 1572 was distinguished by a series of triumphs rendered still more remarkable by the reverses which followed at its close. Of a sudden, almost as it were by accident, a small but important seaport, the object for which the prince had so long been hoping, was secured. Instantly afterwards, half the island of Walcheren renounced the yoke of Alva. Next, Enkhuizen, the key to the Zuyder Zee, the principal arsenal and one of the first commercial cities in the Netherlands, rose against the Spanish admiral, and hung out the banner of Orange on its ramparts. The revolution effected here was purely the work of the people — of the mariners and burghers of the city. By the same spontaneous movement, nearly all the important cities of Holland and Zealand raised the standard of him in whom they recognised their deliverer. The revolution was accomplished under nearly similar circumstances everywhere. With one fierce bound of enthusiasm the nation shook off its chain.

Nor was it in Holland and Zealand alone that the beacon fires of freedom were lighted. City after city in Gelderland, Overijssel, and the see of Utrecht; all the important towns of Friesland, some sooner, some later, some without a struggle, some after a short siege, some with resistance by the functionaries of government, some by amicable compromise — accepted the garrisons of the prince, and formally recognised his authority. Out of the chaos which a long and preternatural tyranny had produced, the first struggling elements of a new and a better world began to appear. It were superfluous to narrate the details which marked the sudden restoration of liberty in these various groups of cities. Traits of generosity marked the change of government in some, circumstances of ferocity disfigured the revolution in others. The combats were perpetual and sanguinary, the prisoners on both sides instantly executed. On more than one occasion, men were seen assisting to hang with their own hands and in cold blood their own brothers, who had been taken prisoners in the enemy's ranks. When the captives were too many to be hanged, they were tied back to back, two and two, and thus hurled into the sea. The islanders found a fierce pleasure in these acts of cruelty. A Spaniard had ceased to be human in their eyes. On one occasion, a surgeon at Veer cut the heart from a Spanish prisoner, nailed it on a vessel's prow, and invited the townsmen to come and fasten their teeth in it, which many did with savage satisfaction. In other parts of the country the revolution was, on the whole, accomplished with comparative calmness. Even traits of generosity were not uncommon.

A new board of magistrates had been chosen in all the redeemed cities, by popular election. They were required to take an oath of fidelity to the king of Spain, and to the prince of Orange as his stadholder; to promise

[¹ "*Door slyk, door slop, door dik en dun*" are the homely but vigorous expressions of the Netherland chronicler Bor.]

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resistance to the duke of Alva, the tenth penny, and the Inquisition; "to support every man's freedom and the welfare of the country — to protect widows, orphans, and miserable persons, and to maintain justice and truth."

Diedrich Sonoy arrived on the 2nd of June at Enkhuizen. He was provided by the prince with a commission, appointing him lieutenant-governor of North Holland or Waterland. Thus, to combat the authority of Alva, was set up the authority of the king.¹ The stadholderate over Holland and Zealand to which the prince had been appointed, in 1559, he now reassumed. Upon this fiction reposed the whole provisional polity of the revolted Netherlands.

The written instructions given by the prince to his lieutenant Sonoy were to "see that the word of God was preached, without, however, suffering any hindrance to the Roman Church in the exercise of its religion; to restore fugitives and the banished for conscience' sake, and to require of all magistrates and officers of guilds and brotherhoods an oath of fidelity." The prince likewise prescribed the form of that oath, repeating therein, to his eternal honour, the same strict prohibition of intolerance. "Likewise," said the formula, "shall those of 'the religion' offer no let or hindrance to the Roman churches."

The prince was still in Germany, engaged in raising troops and providing funds. He directed, however, the affairs of the insurgent provinces in their minutest details, by virtue of the dictatorship inevitably forced upon him both by circumstances and by the people. In the meantime, Louis of Nassau, the Bayard of the Netherlands, performed a most unexpected and brilliant exploit. He had been long in France, negotiating with the leaders of the Huguenots, and, more secretly, with the court. He was supposed by all the world to be still in that kingdom, when the startling intelligence arrived that he had surprised and captured the important city of Mons, the capital of Hainault.

THE STATES-GENERAL AT DORT (1572)

Meantime, the duke, who was literally "without a single real" was forced at last to smother his pride in the matter of the tenth penny. On the 24th of June he summoned the states of Holland to assemble on the 15th of the ensuing month. In the missive issued for this purpose he formally agreed to abolish the whole tax, on condition that the states-general of the Netherlands would furnish him with a yearly supply of two millions of florins.

The states of Holland met, indeed, on the appointed day of July, but they assembled not in obedience to Alva but in consequence of a summons from William of Orange. The prince had again assembled an army in Germany, consisting of fifteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse, besides a number of Netherlands, mostly Walloons, amounting to nearly three thousand more. Before taking the field, however, it was necessary that he should guarantee at least three months' pay to his troops. This he could no longer do, except by giving bonds endorsed by certain cities of Holland as his securities. He had accordingly addressed letters in his own name to all the principal cities, fervently adjuring them to remember, at last, what was due to him, to the fatherland, and to their own character.

"Let not a sum of gold," said he, in one of these letters, "be so dear to you, that for its sake you will sacrifice your lives, your wives, your children, and all your descendants, to the latest generations; that you will bring sin

[¹ With this attitude of loyalty to a sovereign and resistance to his ministers, should be compared the similar beginnings of the French and American Revolutions.]

and shame upon yourselves, and destruction upon us who have so heartily striven to assist you. Think what scorn you will incur from foreign nations, what a crime you will commit against the Lord God, what a bloody yoke you will impose forever upon yourselves and your children, if you now seek for subterfuges; if you now prevent us from taking the field with the troops which we have enlisted. On the other hand, what inexpressible benefits you will confer on your country, if you now help us to rescue that fatherland from the power of Spanish cultures and wolves."

This and similar missives, circulated throughout the province of Holland, produced a deep impression. In accordance with his suggestions, the deputies from the nobility and from twelve cities of that province assembled on the 15th of July, at Dort. Strictly speaking, the states or government of Holland, the body which represented the whole people, consisted of the nobles and six great cities. On this occasion, however, Amsterdam, being still in the power of the king, could send no deputies; while, on the other hand, all the small towns were invited to send up their representatives to the congress. Eight accepted the proposal; the rest declined to appoint delegates, partly from motives of economy, partly from timidity.

These states were the legitimate representatives of the people, but they had no legislative powers. The people had never pretended to sovereignty, nor did they claim it now. The source from which the government of the Netherlands was supposed to proceed was still the divine mandate. The prince represented the royal authority, the nobles represented both themselves and the people of the open country, while the twelve cities represented the whole body of burghers. Together, they were supposed to embody all authority, both divine and human, which a congress could exercise. Thus the whole movement was directed against Alva and against Count Bossu, appointed stadholder by Alva in the place of Orange. Philip's name was destined to figure for a long time at the head of documents by which moneys were raised, troops levied, and taxes collected, all to be used in deadly war against himself.

The states were convened on the 15th of July, when Paul Buys, pensionary of Leyden, the tried and confidential friend of Orange, was elected advocate of Holland. The convention was then adjourned till the 18th, when Sainte-Aldegonde made his appearance, with full powers to act provisionally in behalf of his highness. The impassioned eloquence of Sainte-Aldegonde produced a profound impression. The men who had obstinately refused the demands of Alva now unanimously resolved to pour forth their gold and their blood at the call of Orange. "Truly," wrote the duke, a little later, "it almost drives me mad to see the difficulty with which your majesty's supplies are furnished, and the liberality with which the people place their lives and fortunes at the disposal of this rebel." It seemed strange to the loyal governor that men should support their liberator with greater alacrity than that with which they served their destroyer! All seemed determined, rather than pay the tenth to Alva, to pay the whole to the prince.

The states, furthermore, by unanimous resolution, declared that they recognised the prince as the king's lawful stadholder over Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, and that they would use their influence with the other provinces to procure his appointment as protector of all the Netherlands during the king's absence. His highness was requested to appoint an admiral, on whom, with certain deputies from the water-cities, the conduct of the maritime war should devolve. With regard to religion, it was firmly established that the public exercises of divine worship should be permitted

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not only to the Reformed Church but to the Roman Catholic — the clergy of both being protected from all molestation.

After these proceedings, Count de la Marck made his appearance before the assembly. His commission from Orange was read to the deputies, and by them ratified. The prince, in that document, authorised his "dear cousin" to enlist troops, to accept the fealty of cities, to furnish them with garrisons, to re-establish all the local laws, municipal rights, and ancient privileges which had been suppressed.

FIRST SUCCESSES

Meanwhile the war had opened vigorously in Hainault. Louis of Nassau had no sooner found himself in possession of Mons than he had despatched Genlis to France for those reinforcements which had been promised by royal lips. On the other hand, [Alva's son] Don Frederick held the city closely beleaguered; sharp combats before the walls were of almost daily occurrence.

On the 7th of July William crossed the Rhine at Duisburg, with fourteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse, enlisted in Germany, besides a force of three thousand Walloons. On the 23rd of July he took the city of Roermond, after a sharp cannonade, at which place his troops already began to disgrace the honourable cause in which they were engaged, by imitating the cruelties and barbarities of their antagonists; many priests and monks were put to death by the soldiery under circumstances of great barbarity. The prince, incensed at such conduct, but being unable to exercise very stringent authority over troops whose wages he was not yet able to pay in full, issued a proclamation denouncing such excesses and commanding his followers, upon pain of death, to respect the rights of all individuals, whether papist or Protestant, and to protect religious exercises both in Catholic and Reformed churches.

It was hardly to be expected that the troops enlisted by the prince in the same great magazine of hireling soldiers, Germany, whence the duke also derived his annual supplies, would be likely to differ very much in their propensities from those enrolled under Spanish banners; yet there was a vast contrast between the characters of the two commanders. One leader inculcated the practice of robbery, rape, and murder, as a duty, and issued distinct orders to butcher "every mother's son" in the cities which he captured; the other restrained every excess to the utmost of his ability, protecting not only life and property but even the ancient religion.

The prince had been delayed for a month at Roermond; because, as he expressed it, "he had not a single sou," and because, in consequence, the troops refused to advance into the Netherlands. Having at last been furnished with the requisite guarantees from the Holland cities for three months' pay, on the 27th of August he crossed the Maas and took his circuitous way through Diest, Tirlemont, Sichem, Dendermonde, Louvain, Mechlin, Oudenarde, Nivelles. Many cities and villages accepted his authority and admitted his garrisons.

Louvain purchased its neutrality for the time with 16,000 ducats; Brussels obstinately refused to listen to him, and was too powerful to be forcibly attacked at that juncture; other important cities, convinced by the arguments and won by the eloquence of the various proclamations which he scattered as he advanced, ranged themselves spontaneously and even enthusiastically upon his side. How different would have been the result of his campaign but for the unexpected earthquake which at that instant was to

appal Christendom, and to scatter all his well-matured plans and legitimate hopes. His chief reliance, under providence and his own strong heart, had been upon French assistance.

On the 11th of August, Coligny had written hopefully of his movements towards the Netherlands, sanctioned and aided by his king. A fortnight from that day occurred the "Paris wedding" [the St. Bartholomew massacre], and the admiral, with thousands of his religious confederates, invited to confidence by superhuman treachery, and lulled into security by the music of August marriage-bells, was suddenly butchered in the streets of Paris by royal and noble hands.

The prince proceeded on his march, but he felt convinced that, with the very arrival of the awful tidings, the fate of that campaign was sealed, and the fall of Mons inevitable. In his own language, he had been struck to the earth "with the blow of a sledge-hammer"; nor did the enemy draw a different augury from the great event. Nothing certainly could, in Philip's apprehension, be more delightful than this most unexpected and most opportune intelligence. Charles IX, whose intrigues in the Netherlands he had long known, had now been suddenly converted by this stupendous crime into his most powerful ally, while at the same time the Protestants of Europe would learn that there was still another crowned head in Christendom more deserving of abhorrence than himself.

Such was the condition of affairs when the prince of Orange arrived at Péronne, between Binche and the duke of Alva's entrenchments. The besieging army was rich in notabilities of elevated rank. Don Frederick of Toledo had hitherto commanded, but on the 27th of August the dukes of Medina-Celi and of Alva had arrived in the camp. Directly afterwards came the warlike archbishop of Cologne, at the head of two thousand cavalry. There was but one chance for the prince of Orange, and experience had taught him, four years before, its slenderness.¹ He might still provoke his adversary into a pitched battle, and he relied upon God for the result. In his own words, "he trusted ever that the great God of armies was with him, and would fight in the midst of his forces."

The Huguenot soldiers within Mons were in despair and mutiny; Louis of Nassau lay in his bed consuming with a dangerous fever; Genlis had been taken prisoner, and his army cut to pieces; Coligny was murdered, and Protestant France paralysed; the troops of Orange, enlisted but for three months, were already rebellious, and sure to break into open insubordination when the consequences of the Paris massacre should become entirely clear to them.

At midnight September 11, the Spaniards made a sudden attack, the sentinels were cut down, the whole army surprised, and for a moment powerless, while, for two hours long, from one o'clock in the morning until three, the Spaniards butchered their foes, hardly aroused from their sleep, ignorant by how small a force they had been thus suddenly surprised, and unable in the confusion to distinguish between friend and foe.

The boldest, led by Julian Romero, made at once for the prince's tent. His guards and himself were in profound sleep, but a small spaniel was a more faithful sentinel. The creature sprang forward, barking furiously at the sound of hostile footsteps, and scratching his master's face with his paws.

[¹ Blok¹ calls attention to the fact that William was now suffering, in addition to his political distresses, a grievous domestic calamity: Anna of Saxony, whom he had taken to wife after some opposition, repeatedly offered submission to Alva, and finally was found guilty of adultery with the father of the great painter Rubens. She was shut up in prison at Dillenburg, in March, 1571, as a madwoman, and died insane. Meanwhile Alva kept paid assassins on the hunt for William's life.]

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There was but just time for the prince to mount a horse which was ready saddled, and to effect his escape through the darkness, before his enemies sprang into the tent. His servants were cut down, his master of the horse and two of his secretaries, who gained their saddles a moment later, all lost their lives; and but for the little dog's watchfulness William of Orange, upon whose shoulders the whole weight of his country's fortunes depended, would have been led within a week to an ignominious death. To his dying day, the prince ever afterwards kept a spaniel of the same race in his bed-chamber. Six hundred of the prince's troops had been put to the sword, while many others were burned in their beds, or drowned in the little rivulet which flowed outside their camp. Only sixty Spaniards lost their lives.

COLLAPSE OF WILLIAM'S PLANS

The whole marrow of William's enterprise had been destroyed in an instant by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He retreated to Péronne and Nivelles, an assassin, named Heist, a German by birth but a French chevalier, following him secretly in his camp, pledged to take his life for a large reward promised by Alva—an enterprise not destined, however, to be successful.

The soldiers flatly refused to remain an hour longer in the field, or even to furnish an escort for Count Louis, if, by chance, he could be brought out of the town. The prince was obliged to inform his brother of the desperate state of his affairs, and to advise him to capitulate on the best terms which he could make. With a heavy heart, he left the chivalrous Louis besieged in the city which he had so gallantly captured, and took his way across the Maas towards the Rhine. A furious mutiny broke out among his troops. His life was, with difficulty, saved from the brutal soldiery infuriated at his inability to pay them except in the overdue securities of the Holland cities. Crossing the Rhine at Orsoy, he disbanded his army.

Yet even in this hour of distress and defeat, the prince seemed more heroic than many a conqueror in his day of triumph. He went to Holland, the only province which remained true, and which still looked up to him as its saviour; but he went thither expecting and prepared to perish. "There I will make my sepulchre," was his simple and sublime expression in a private letter to his brother.

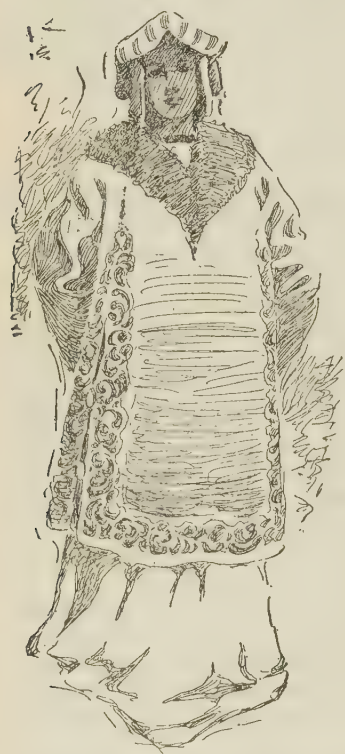
Meanwhile, Count Louis lay confined to his couch with a burning fever. His soldiers refused any longer to hold the city.

On the 19th of September, accordingly, articles of capitulation were signed. The town was given over to Alva, but all the soldiers were to go out with their weapons and property. After Louis and his troops had retired, Noircarmes, in brutal violation of the terms upon which the town had surrendered, now set about the work of massacre and pillage. A commission of Troubles, in close imitation of the famous Blood Council at Brussels, was established, the members of the tribunal being appointed by Noircarmes and all being inhabitants of the town. The council commenced proceedings by condemning all the volunteers, although expressly included in the capitulation. Their wives and children were all banished their property was all confiscated. On the 15th of December the executions commenced.

SPANISH ATROCITIES

The Spaniards had thus recovered Mons, by which event the temporary revolution throughout the whole Southern Netherlands was at an end. The

keys of that city unlocked the gates of every other in Brabant and Flanders. The towns which had so lately embraced the authority of Orange now hastened to disavow the prince and to return to their ancient, hypocritical, and cowardly allegiance. The new oaths of fidelity were in general accepted by Alva, but the beautiful archiepiscopal city of Mechlin was selected for an example and a sacrifice. There were heavy arrears due to the Spanish troops. To indemnify them, and to make good his blasphemous prophecy of divine chastisement for its past misdeeds, Alva now abandoned this town to the license of his soldiery.



A NOBLEWOMAN OF THE SIX-
TEENTH CENTURY.

Three days long the horrible scene continued — one day for the benefit of the Spaniards, two more for that of the Walloons and Germans. All the churches, monasteries, religious houses of every kind were completely sacked. Every valuable article which they contained, the ornaments of altars, the reliquaries, chalices, embroidered curtains, and carpets of velvet or damask, the golden robes of the priests, the repositories of the host, the precious vessels of chrism and extreme unction, the rich clothing and jewelry adorning the effigies of the Holy Virgin — all were indiscriminately rifled by the Spanish soldiers. The holy wafers were trampled under foot, the sacramental wine was poured upon the ground, and, in brief, all the horrors which had been committed by the iconoclasts in their wildest moments, and for a thousandth part of which enormities heretics had been burned in droves, were now repeated in Mechlin by the especial soldiers of Christ, by Roman Catholics who had been sent to the Netherlands to avenge the insults offered to the Roman Catholic faith. The motive, too, which inspired the sacrilegious crew was not fanaticism, but the desire of plunder.

The iconoclasts of 1566 had destroyed millions of property for the sake of an idea, but they had appropriated nothing. Moreover, they had scarcely injured a human being, confining their wrath to graven images. The Spaniards at Mechlin spared neither man nor woman. The murders and outrages would be incredible, were they not attested by most respectable Catholic witnesses. Men were butchered in their houses, in the streets, at the altars. Women were violated by hundreds in churches and in graveyards. Moreover, the deed had been as deliberately arranged as it was thoroughly performed. It was sanctioned by the highest authority.

Zutphen attempted a feeble opposition to the entrance of the king's troops, and received a dreadful chastisement in consequence. Alva sent orders to his son to leave not a single man alive in the city, and to burn every house to the ground. The duke's command was almost literally obeyed. As the work of death became too fatiguing for the butchers, five hundred innocent burghers were tied two and two, back to back, and drowned like dogs in the river Yssel. A few stragglers, who had contrived to elude pursuit at first,

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were afterwards taken from their hiding-places, and hung upon the gallows by the feet, some of which victims suffered days and nights of agony before death came to their relief. Nearly all of the inhabitants of Naarden were similarly destroyed, and for a long time Naarden ceased to exist. Alva wrote, with his usual complacency in such cases, to his sovereign, that they had cut the throats of the burghers and all the garrison, and that they had not left a mother's son alive. The statement was almost literally correct, nor was the cant with which these bloodhounds commented upon their crimes less odious than their guilt.

It is not without reluctance, but still with a stern determination, that the historian should faithfully record these transactions. To extenuate would be base; to exaggerate impossible. It is good that the world should not forget how much wrong has been endured by a single nation at the hands of despotism, and in the sacred name of God. There have been tongues and pens enough to narrate the excesses of the people, bursting from time to time out of slavery into madness. It is good, too, that those crimes should be remembered, and freshly pondered; but it is equally wholesome to study the opposite picture. Tyranny, ever young and ever old, constantly reproducing herself with the same stony features, with the same imposing mask which she has worn through all ages, can never be too minutely examined, especially when she paints her own portrait, and when the secret history of her guilt is furnished by the confessions of her lovers. The perusal of her traits will not make us love popular liberty the less.

The history of Alva's administration in the Netherlands is one of those pictures which strike us almost dumb with wonder. Was it necessary that many generations should wade through this blood in order to acquire for their descendants the blessings of civil and religious freedom?

The hearts of the Hollanders were rather steeled to resistance than awed into submission by the fate of Naarden. A fortunate event, too, was accepted as a lucky omen for the coming contest. A little fleet of armed vessels, belonging to Holland, had been frozen up in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam. Don Frederick, on his arrival from Naarden, despatched a body of picked men over the ice to attack the imprisoned vessels. The crews had, however, fortified themselves by digging a wide trench around the whole fleet, which thus became from the moment an almost impregnable fortress. Out of this frozen citadel a strong band of well-armed and skilful musketeers sallied forth upon skates as the besieging force advanced. A rapid, brilliant, and slippery skirmish succeeded, in which the Hollanders, so accustomed to such sports, easily vanquished their antagonists, and drove them off the field, with the loss of several hundred left dead upon the ice. "'Twas a thing never heard of before to-day," said Alva, "to see a body of arquebusiers thus skirmishing upon a frozen sea." In the course of the next four-and-twenty hours a flood and a rapid thaw released the vessels, which all escaped to Enkhuizen, while a frost, immediately and strangely succeeding, made pursuit impossible.

The Spaniards were astonished at these novel manœuvres upon the ice. It is amusing to read their elaborate descriptions of the wonderful appendages which had enabled the Hollanders to glide so glibly into battle with a superior force, and so rapidly to glance away, after achieving a signal triumph. Nevertheless, the Spaniards could never be dismayed, and were always apt scholars, even if an enemy were the teacher. Alva immediately ordered seven thousand pairs of skates, and his soldiers soon learned to perform military evolutions with these new accoutrements as audaciously, if not as adroitly, as the Hollanders

THE SIEGE OF HAARLEM (1572-1573)

On December 11th, 1572, Don Frederick appeared before the walls of Haarlem and proceeded regularly to invest the place, nor did he cease reinforcing himself until at least thirty thousand men, including fifteen hundred cavalry, had been encamped around the city. Against this immense force, nearly equal in number to that of the whole population of the city, the garrison within the walls never amounted to more than four thousand men, one thousand pioneers or delvers, three thousand fighting men, and about three hundred fighting women. The last was a most efficient corps, all females of respectable character, armed with sword, musket, and dagger. The chief, Kanau Hasselaer, was a widow of distinguished family and unblemished reputation, about forty-seven years of age, who, at the head of her amazons, participated in many of the most fiercely contested actions of the siege, both within and without the walls.

Meantime, the prince of Orange, from his headquarters at Sassenheim, on the southern extremity of the mere, made every effort to throw succour into the place. The famous siege lasted during the winter and early spring. Alva might well write to his sovereign, that "it was a war such as never before was seen or heard of in any land on earth." Yet the duke had known near sixty years of warfare. After nearly six years' experience, he had found its "people of butter" less malleable than even those "iron people" whom he boasted of having tamed.

All efforts at relief failing, however, the ravages of starvation compelled a formal surrender on the 12th of July, 1573. On the following morning the massacre commenced. The plunder had been commuted for two hundred and forty thousand guilders, which the citizens bound themselves to pay in four instalments; but murder was an indispensable accompaniment of victory and admitted of no compromise. The garrison were immediately butchered. Five executioners, with their attendants, were kept constantly at work; and when at last they were exhausted with fatigue, or perhaps sickened with horror, three hundred wretches were tied two and two, back to back, and drowned in the Haarlem Lake.

At last, after twenty-three hundred human creatures had been murdered in cold blood, within a city where so many thousands had previously perished by violent or by lingering deaths, the blasphemous farce of a pardon was enacted. Ten thousand two hundred and fifty-six shots had been discharged against the walls during the siege. Twelve thousand of the besieging army had died of wounds or disease, during the seven months and two days between the investment and the surrender.

REVIVAL OF DUTCH EFFORTS

It was obvious that, if the reduction of Haarlem were a triumph, it was one which the conquerors might well exchange for a defeat. At any rate, it was certain that the Spanish empire was not strong enough to sustain many more such victories. If it had required thirty thousand choice troops, among which were three regiments called by Alva respectively the "Invincibles," the "Immortals," and the "None-such," to conquer the weakest city of Holland in seven months, and with the loss of twelve thousand men; how many men, how long a time, and how many deaths would it require to reduce the rest of that little province? Even the treasures of the New World were inadequate to pay for the conquest of that little sand-bank. Within five

[1572-1573 A.D.]

years, 25,000,000 florins had been sent from Spain for war expenses in the Netherlands. Yet this amount, with the addition of large sums annually derived from confiscations, of five millions at which the proceeds of the hundredth penny was estimated, and the two millions yearly for which the tenth and twentieth pence had been compounded, was insufficient to save the treasury from beggary and the unpaid troops from mutiny.^d

Ter Goes in South Beveland and other towns were about the same period the scenes of gallant actions, and of subsequent cruelties of the most revolting nature, as soon as they fell into the power of the Spaniards. Horrors like these were sure to force reprisals on the part of the maddened patriots. De la Marck carried on his daring exploits with a cruelty which excited the indignation of the prince of Orange, by whom he was removed from his command. The contest was for a while prosecuted, with a decrease of vigour proportioned to the serious losses on both sides; money and the munitions of war began to fail; and though the Spaniards succeeded in taking the Hague, they were repulsed before Alkmaar with great loss, and their fleet was almost entirely destroyed in a naval combat on the Zuyder Zee. The count Bossu, their admiral, was taken in this fight, with about three hundred of his best sailors.ⁱ

The states of the Netherlands had been formally assembled by Alva in September, at Brussels, to devise ways and means for continuing the struggle. It seemed to the prince a good opportunity to make an appeal to the patriotism of the whole country. He furnished the province of Holland, accordingly, with the outlines of an address which was forthwith despatched, in their own and his name, to the general assembly of the Netherlands:

"'Tis only by the Netherlands that the Netherlands are crushed," said the appeal. "Whence has the duke of Alva the power of which he boasts, but from yourselves—from Netherland cities? Whence his ships, supplies, money, weapons, soldiers? From the Netherland people. Why has poor Netherland thus become degenerate and bastard? Whither has fled the noble spirit of our brave forefathers, that never brooked the tyranny of foreign nations, nor suffered a stranger even to hold office within our borders? If the little province of Holland can thus hold at bay the power of Spain, what could not all the Netherlands—Brabant, Flanders, Friesland, and the rest united—accomplish?"

At almost the same time the prince drew up and put in circulation one of the most impassioned productions which ever came from his pen. It was entitled, an "Epistle, in form of supplication, to his royal majesty of Spain, from the prince of Orange and the states of Holland and Zealand." The document produced a profound impression throughout Christendom. It was a loyal appeal to the monarch's loyalty—a demand that the land privileges should be restored, and the duke of Alva removed. It contained a startling picture of his atrocities and the nation's misery, and, with a few energetic strokes, demolished the pretence that these sorrows had been caused by the people's guilt. In this connection the prince alluded to those acts of condemnation which the governor-general had promulgated under the name of pardons, and treated with scorn the hypothesis that any crimes had been committed for Alva to forgive.

After having set forth the tyranny of the government and the innocence of the people, the prince, in his own name and that of the states, announced the determination at which they had arrived:

"The tyrant," he continued, "would rather stain every river and brook with our blood, and hang our bodies upon every tree in the country, than not feed to the full his vengeance, and steep himself to the lips in our misery. Therefore we have taken up arms against the duke of Alva and his adherents, to free ourselves, our wives, and children from his blood-

thirsty hands. If he prove too strong for us, we will rather die an honourable death and leave a praiseworthy fame, than bend our necks and reduce our dear fatherland to such slavery. Herein are all our cities pledged to each other to stand every siege, to dare the utmost, to endure every possible misery, yea, rather to set fire to all our homes, and be consumed with them into ashes together, than ever submit to the decrees of this cruel tyrant."

As Alva's administration drew to a close it was marked by disaster and disgrace on land and sea. The brilliant exploits by which he had struck terror into the heart of the Netherlands, at Hemmingen and in Brabant, had been effaced by the valour of a handful of Hollanders, without discipline or experience. To the patriots, the opportune capture of so considerable a personage as Bossu, the admiral and governor of the northern province, was of great advantage. Such of the hostages from Haarlem as had not yet been executed now escaped with their lives. Moreover, Sainte-Aldegonde, the eloquent patriot and confidential friend of Orange, who was taken prisoner a few weeks later, in an action at Maeslandsloot, was preserved from inevitable destruction by the same cause. The prince hastened to assure the duke of Alva that the same measure would be dealt to Bossu as should be meted to Sainte-Aldegonde. It was, therefore, impossible for the governor-general to execute his prisoner, and he was obliged to submit to the vexation of seeing a leading rebel and heretic in his power, whom he dared not strike. Both the distinguished prisoners eventually regained their liberty.

THE RECALL OF ALVA (1573)

The duke was, doubtless, lower sunk in the estimation of all classes than he had ever been before, during his long and generally successful life. The reverses sustained by his army, the belief that his master had grown cold towards him, the certainty that his career in the Netherlands was closing without a satisfactory result, the natural weariness produced upon men's minds by the contemplation of so monotonous and unmitigated a tyranny during so many years, all contributed to diminish his reputation. He felt himself odious alike to princes and to plebeians. With his cabinet councillors he had long been upon unsatisfactory terms. President Tisnacq had died early in the summer, and Viglius, much against his will, had been induced, provisionally, to supply his place. But there was now hardly a pretence of friendship between the learned Frisian and the Governor. Each cordially detested the other.

The duke had contracted in Amsterdam an enormous amount of debt, both public and private. He accordingly, early in November, caused a proclamation to be made throughout the city by sound of trumpet, that all persons having demands upon him were to present their claims, in person, upon a specified day. During the night preceeding the day so appointed, the duke and his train very noiselessly took their departure, without notice or beat of drum. By this masterly generalship his unhappy creditors were foiled upon the very eve of their anticipated triumph; the heavy accounts which had been contracted on the faith of the king and the governor remained for the most part unpaid, and many opulent and respectable families were reduced to beggary. Such was the consequence of the unlimited confidence which they had reposed in the honour of their tyrant.

On the 17th of November, 1573, Don Luis de Requesens y Cuñiga, grand commander of St. Iago, the appointed successor of Alva, arrived in Brussels, where he was received with great rejoicings. The duke, on the same day, wrote to the king "kissing his feet" for thus relieving him of his functions.

[1573 A.D.]

On the 18th of December, 1573, the duke of Alva departed from the provinces forever. He had kept his bed for the greater part of the time during the last few weeks of his government — partly on account of his gout, partly to avoid being seen in his humiliation; but mainly, it was said, to escape the pressing demands of his creditors. He expressed a fear of travelling homeward through France, on the ground that he might very probably receive a shot out of a window as he went by. He complained pathetically that, after all his labours he had not “gained the approbation of the king,” while he had incurred “the malevolence and universal hatred of every individual in the country.”

On his journey from the Netherlands he is said to have boasted that he had caused eighteen thousand six hundred inhabitants of the provinces to be executed during the period of his government.¹ The number of those who had perished, by battle, siege, starvation, and massacre, defied computation. The duke was well received by his royal master, and remained in favour until a new adventure of Don Frederick brought father and son into disgrace. Having deceived and abandoned a maid of honour, he suddenly espoused his cousin, in order to avoid that reparation by marriage which was demanded for his offence. In consequence, both the duke and Don Frederick were imprisoned and banished, nor was Alva released till a general of experience was required for the conquest of Portugal. Thither, as it were with fetters on his legs, he went. After having accomplished the military enterprise entrusted to him, he fell into a lingering fever, at the termination of which he was so much reduced that he was only kept alive by milk, which he drank from a woman's breast. Such was the gentle second childhood of the man who had almost literally been drinking blood for seventy years. He died on the 12th of December, 1582.

MOTLEY'S ESTIMATE OF ALVA

The duke's military fame was unquestionable when he came to the provinces, and both in stricken fields and in long campaigns he showed how thoroughly it had been deserved; yet he left the Netherlands a baffled man.

As a commander, therefore, he gained, upon the whole, no additional laurels during his long administration of the Netherlands. As a financier, he exhibited a wonderful ignorance of the first principles of political economy.

As an administrator of the civil and judicial affairs of the country, he at once reduced its institutions to a frightful simplicity. He strode with gigantic steps over haughty statutes and popular constitutions; crushing alike the magnates who claimed a bench of monarchs for their jury, and the ignoble artisans who could appeal only to the laws of their land. From the pompous and theatrical scaffolds of Egmont and Horn, to the nineteen halts prepared by Master Karl to hang up the chief bakers and brewers of Brussels on their own thresholds; from the beheading of the twenty nobles on the horse-market, in the opening of the governor's career, to the roasting alive of Uitenhoove at its close; from the block on which fell the honored head of Antony Straalen, to the obscure chair in which the ancient gentlewoman of Amsterdam suffered death for an act of vicarious merey; from one year's end to another's; from the most signal to the most squalid scenes of sacrifice — the eye and hand

[¹ Gachard, after a close study of the documents, thinks that Alva boasted extravagantly and that the eighteen thousand victims of his Blood Council should be reduced to six or eight thousand. He adds grimly that “even the smaller number will suffice to justify the execration to which history has devoted the name of the duke of Alva.”]

of the great master directed, without weariness, the task imposed by the sovereign.

With all the bloodshed at Mons, and Naarden, and Meehlin, and by the council of Tumults, daily, for six years long, still crying from the ground, he taxed himself with a misplaced and foolish tenderness to the people. He assured the king that when Alkmaar should be taken, he would not spare a "living soul among its whole population"; and, as his parting advice, he recommended that every city in the Netherlands should be burned to the ground, except a few which could be occupied permanently by the royal troops. On the whole, so finished a picture of a perfect and absolute tyranny has rarely been presented to mankind by history, as in Alva's administration of the Netherlands.

No mode in which human beings have ever caused their fellow creatures to suffer was omitted from daily practice. Men, women, and children, old and young, nobles and paupers, opulent burghers, hospital patients, lunatics, dead bodies, all were indiscriminately made to furnish food for the scaffold and the stake. Men were tortured, beheaded, hanged by the neck and by the legs, burned before slow fires, pinched to death with red-hot tongs, broken upon the wheel, starved, and flayed alive. Their skins, stripped from the living body, were stretched upon drums, to be beaten in the march of their brethren to the gallows. The bodies of many who had died a natural death were exhumed, and their festering remains hanged upon the gibbet, on pretext that they had died without receiving the sacrament, but in reality that their property might become the legitimate prey of the treasury.

Marriages of long standing were dissolved by order of government, that rich heiresses might be married against their will to foreigners whom they abhorred. Women and children were executed for the crime of assisting their fugitive husbands and parents with a penny in their utmost need, and even for consoling them with a letter in their exile. Such was the regular course of affairs as administered by the Blood Council. The additional barbarities committed amid the sack and ruin of those blazing and starving cities are almost beyond belief; unborn infants were torn from the living bodies of their mothers; women and children were violated by thousands; and whole populations burned and hacked to pieces by soldiers in every mode which cruelty, in its wanton ingenuity, could devise. Such was the administration, of which Vargas affirmed, at its close, that too much mercy, "*nimia misericordia*," had been its ruin.

The character of the duke of Alva, so far as the Netherlands are concerned, seems almost like a caricature. As a creation of fiction, it would seem grotesque: yet even that hardy, historical scepticism which delights in reversing the judgment of centuries, and in re-establishing reputations long since degraded to the dust, must find it difficult to alter this man's position. No historical decision is final; an appeal to a more remote posterity, founded upon more accurate evidence, is always valid; but when the verdict has been pronounced upon facts which are undisputed, and upon testimony from the criminal's lips, there is little chance of a reversal of the sentence.

The time is past when it could be said that the cruelty of Alva, or the enormities of his administration, have been exaggerated by party violence. Human invention is incapable of outstripping the truth upon this subject. To attempt the defence of either the man or his measures at the present day is to convict oneself of an amount of ignorance or of bigotry against which history and argument are alike powerless. The publication of the duke's letters in the correspondence of Simancas and in the Besançon papers,

together with that compact mass of horror long before the world under the title of *Sententien van Alva* in which a portion only of the sentences of death and banishment pronounced by him during his reign have been copied from the official records — these in themselves would be a sufficient justification of all the charges ever brought by the most bitter contemporary of Holland or Flanders. If the investigator should remain sceptical, however, let him examine the *Registre des Condamnés et Bannis à Cause des Troubles des Pays-Bas* in three, together with the Records of the *Conseil des Troubles*, in forty-three folio volumes, in the Royal Archives at Brussels. After going through all these chronicles of iniquity, the most determined historic doubter will probably throw up the case. It is an affectation of philosophical candour to extenuate vices which are not only avowed, but claimed as virtues.^d





CHAPTER VII

PROGRESS TOWARDS UNION

[1573-1579 A.D.]

THE horrors of Alva's administration had caused men to look back with fondness upon the milder and more vacillating tyranny of the duchess Margaret. From the same cause the advent of the grand commander was hailed with pleasure and with a momentary gleam of hope.

Don Luis de Requesens and Cuñiga, grand commander of Castile and late governor of Milan, was a man of mediocre abilities, who possessed a reputation for moderation and sagacity which he hardly deserved. His military prowess had been chiefly displayed in the bloody and barren battle of Lepanto, where his conduct and counsel were supposed to have contributed, in some measure, to the victorious result. His administration at Milan had been characterised as firm and moderate. Nevertheless his character was regarded with anything but favourable eyes in the Netherlands. Men told each other of his broken faith to the Moors in Granada, and of his unpopularity in Milan, where, notwithstanding his boasted moderation, he had, in reality, so oppressed the people as to gain their deadly hatred. They complained, too, that it was an insult to send, as governor-general of the provinces, not a prince of the blood, as used to be the case, but a simple "gentleman of cloak and sword."

It was now evident to the world that the revolt had reached a stage in which it could be terminated only by absolute conquest or concession. The new governor accordingly, in case the Netherlands would abandon every object for which they had been so heroically contending, was empowered to concede a pardon. It was expressly enjoined upon him, however, that no conciliatory measures should be adopted in which the king's absolute supremacy, and the total prohibition of every form of worship but the Roman Catholic, were not assumed as a basis. Now, as the people had been contending at least ten years long for constitutional rights against prerogative,

and at least seven for liberty of conscience against papistry, it was easy to foretell how much effect any negotiations thus commenced were likely to produce.

COST OF THE WAR

The rebellion had been an expensive matter to the Crown. The army in the Netherlands numbered more than sixty-two thousand men, eight thousand being Spaniards, the rest Walloons and Germans. Forty millions of dollars had already been sunk, and it seemed probable that it would require nearly the whole annual produce of the American mines to sustain the war. The transatlantic gold and silver, disinterred from the depths where they had been buried for ages, were employed, not to expand the current of a healthy, life-giving commerce, but to be melted into blood. The sweat and the tortures of the king's pagan subjects in the primeval forests of the New World were made subsidiary to the extermination of his Netherland people and the destruction of an ancient civilisation. To this end had Columbus discovered a hemisphere for Castile and Aragon, and the new Indies revealed their hidden treasures?

Forty millions of ducats had been spent. Six and a half millions of arrearages were due to the army, while its current expenses were six hundred thousand a month. The military expenses alone of the Netherlands were accordingly more than seven millions of dollars yearly, and the mines of the New World produced, during the half-century of Philip's reign, an annual average of only eleven. Against this constantly-increasing deficit, there was not a stiver in the exchequer, nor the means of raising one. The tenth penny had been long virtually extinct, and was soon to be formally abolished. Confiscation had ceased to afford a permanent revenue, and the estates obstinately refused to grant a dollar. Such was the condition to which the unrelenting tyranny and the financial experiments of Alva had reduced the country. It was therefore obvious to Requesens that it would be useful at the moment to hold out hopes of pardon and reconciliation.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

It was, however, not possible to apply these hypocritical measures immediately. The war was in full career and could not be arrested even in that wintry season. The patriots held Mondragon closely besieged in Middelburg, the last point in the Isle of Walcheren which held for the king.¹ There was a considerable treasure in money and merchandise shut up in that city; and, moreover, so deserving and distinguished an officer as Mondragon could not be abandoned to his fate. At the same time, famine was pressing him sorely.

[¹ The Spanish garrison, under Mondragon, had now sustained a blockade of nearly two years, with a constancy and fidelity which the Hollanders themselves could not surpass. Don Sancho de Avila, admiral of the Spanish fleet, had from time to time been able to throw in supplies, but it was invariably a work of much danger and difficulty, and attended with heavy loss both of men and ships, the gueux being constantly victorious in the numerous skirmishes which occurred. The attempt to preserve Middelburg had cost the king of Spain no less a sum than 7 000,000 florins, besides the pay of the soldiers. The gueux (or, as they were usually called, "water gueux"), on the other hand, had no regular fund to depend upon for either pay or subsistence, being chiefly supported by the inhabitants of the places where they anchored, who gave them bread, money, and such other necessities as they could afford; when this resource failed, they went in chase of the merchant ships going to Flanders, and lived upon the booty they thus captured; sometimes, however, they were reduced to extreme scarcity, and even the highest officers were content to subsist for weeks together on nothing but salted herrings.—DAVIES.^c]

On the other hand, the situation of the patriots was not very encouraging. Their superiority on the sea was unquestionable, for the Hollanders and Zealanders were the best sailors in the world, and they asked of their country no payment for their blood but thanks. The land forces, however, were usually mercenaries, who were apt to mutiny at the commencement of an action if, as was too often the case, their wages could not be paid. Holland was entirely cut in twain by the loss of Haarlem and the leaguer of Leyden, no communication between the dis severed portions being possible, except with difficulty and danger. The states, although they had done much for the cause, and were prepared to do much more, were too apt to wrangle about economical details. They irritated the prince of Orange by huxtering about subsidies to a degree which he could hardly brook. He had strong hopes from France.^b

Requesens had first of all to purchase, by victories over the people, the right to offer them peace. He fitted out at Antwerp and at Bergen-op-Zoom an expedition against the Zealand islands. But the indefatigable Boisot headed it off, attacked the fleet from Bergen-op-Zoom before it could effect a junction with the other, and captured a majority of the ships (January, 1574); Middelburg surrendered February 18th. This defeat, which would have discouraged a less able leader, did not stop Requesens.

The bulk of his troops was assembled on the banks of the Schelde awaiting transportation to Zealand. He led them in the direction of the Maas, whither he summoned at the same time the division encamped before Leyden; and thus, placing himself at the head of his entire body of troops, he set out to meet a German army which the prince of Orange was awaiting. This army, ten thousand men strong, had just crossed Limburg under the leadership of Counts Louis and Henry of Nassau. The governor came upon them above Nimeguen on a wide plain known as the Mooker Heath or Mookerheyde. He offered them battle; and the two counts, who accepted it, were disastrously defeated and included in the number of dead. (April 15th, 1574.)

After having re-established by this success the honour of his arms, the governor had to contend, for a time, with mutiny among his soldiers. The Spaniards, to whom twenty-eight months' pay was owing, rebelled against their officers, elected a chief called an *eletto*, and marched upon Antwerp, where the garrison permitted them to enter the town. They were threatening to sack the city when Requesens succeeded in pacifying them by distributing all the money he could get out of the citizens or borrow elsewhere among them. He even pawned his own plate. He then led his men to Leyden and recommenced the siege of that place¹ with such vigour that its inhabitants were soon reduced to the last extremity.

Requesens resolved to convoke the provincial states in order to obtain further subsidies and ask the king for a fleet powerful enough to attain the mastery of the sea. Philip, in truth, did order a fleet to be sent, but an epidemic made such ravages among the sailors that the ships could not sail. As to the states, they assembled at Brussels, May, 1574; but although the governor made them, in the king's name, several important concessions — general and unreserved amnesty, abolition of the new taxes, and suppression of the council of Troubles — yet the public discontent wanted a more extended satisfaction. They demanded the retirement of the foreigners and repression of "the extortions and pillaging" of the soldiers, who treated the king's subjects as "poor slaves and infidels." This was an allusion to the

[¹ In the mean while Admiral Boisot had found and defeated a Spanish fleet of twenty-two ships off Antwerp, sinking fourteen of them and taking Vice-Admiral Haemstede prisoner.]

[1573-1574 A.D.]

cruelties of the Spaniards in America. Besides this they called for the restoration of ignored and broken privileges, and some agreement with the provinces which had taken up arms. The deputies, taken aside one after another, proved inflexible. They refused to vote the money, and the governor got nothing from them but complaints and remonstrances. Such was the bitterness of the language that Requesens was affrighted at the ferment they raised. "God preserve us," he exclaimed, "from such estates!" For a moment he seemed to despair of the future. Nevertheless, he made a sufficiently favourable response to the demands he had received, and obtained a promise of the subsidy.^d

THE SIEGE OF LEYDEN

The invasion of Louis of Nassau had, as already stated, effected the raising of the first siege of Leyden. That leaguer had lasted from the 31st of October, 1573, to the 21st of March, 1574. By an extraordinary and culpable carelessness, the citizens, neglecting the advice of the prince, had not taken advantage of the breathing time thus afforded them to victual the city and strengthen the garrison. On the 26th of May, Valdez reappeared before the place, at the head of eight thousand Walloons and Germans.

In the course of a few days Leyden was thoroughly invested, no less than sixty-two redoubts, some of them having remained undestroyed from the previous siege, now girdling the city. On the other hand, there were no troops in the town, save a small corps of "freebooters," and five companies of the burgher guard. The main reliance of the city was on the stout hearts of its inhabitants within the walls, and on the sleepless energy of William the Silent without. The prince implored them to hold out at least three months, assuring them that he would, within that time, devise the means of their deliverance.

It was now thought expedient to publish the amnesty which had been so long in preparation, and this time the trap was more liberally baited. The pardon, which had passed the seals upon the 8th of March, was formally issued by the grand commander on the 6th of June. By the terms of this document the king invited all his erring and repentant subjects to return to his arms, and to accept a full forgiveness for their past offences, upon the sole condition that they should once more throw themselves upon the bosom of the Mother Church.

It was received with universal and absolute contempt. No man came forward to take advantage of its conditions, save one brewer in Utrecht, and the son of a refugee peddler from Leyden. With these exceptions, the only ones recorded, Holland remained deaf to the royal voice although certain Netherlanders belonging to the king's party, and familiarly called "Glippers," despatched from the camp many letters to their rebellious acquaintances in the city. In these epistles the citizens of Leyden were urgently and even pathetically exhorted to submission.

The prince had his headquarters at Delft and at Rotterdam. He still held in his hand the keys with which he could unlock the ocean gates and let the waters in upon the land, and he had long been convinced that nothing could save the city but to break the dikes. Leyden was not upon the sea, but he could send the sea to Leyden, although an army fit to encounter the besieging force under Valdez could not be levied. The damage to the fields, villages, and growing crops would be enormous; but he felt that no other course could rescue Leyden, and with it the whole of Holland, from destruction.

His clear expositions and impassioned eloquence at last overcame all resistance. By the middle of July the states fully consented to his plan, and its execution was immediately undertaken.

"Better a drowned land than a lost land," cried the patriots, with enthusiasm, as they devoted their fertile fields to desolation. The enterprise for restoring their territory, for a season, to the waves from which it had been so patiently rescued, was conducted with as much regularity as if it had been a profitable undertaking. A capital was formally subscribed, for which a certain number of bonds were issued, payable at a long date. In addition to this preliminary fund, a monthly allowance of forty-five guildens was voted by the states, until the work should be completed, and a large sum was contributed by the ladies of the land, who freely furnished their plate, jewelry, and costly furniture to the furtherance of the scheme.

On the 3rd of August, the prince, accompanied by Paul Buys, chief of the commission appointed to execute the enterprise, went in person, and superintended the rupture of the dikes in sixteen places. The gates at Schiedam and Rotterdam were opened, and the ocean began to pour over the land. While waiting for the waters to rise, provisions were rapidly collected, according to an edict of the prince, in all the principal towns of the neighbourhood. The citizens of Leyden were, however, already becoming impatient, for their bread was gone. They received on the 21st of August a letter, dictated by the prince, who now lay in bed at Rotterdam with a violent fever, assuring them that the dikes were all pierced, and that the water was rising.

In the city itself, a dull distrust succeeded to the first vivid gleam of hope, while the few royalists among the population boldly taunted their fellow citizens to their faces with the absurd vision of relief which they had so fondly welcomed. "Go up to the tower, ye beggars," was the frequent and taunting cry — "go up to the tower, and tell us if ye can see the ocean coming over the dry land to your relief."

The fever of the prince had, meanwhile, reached its height. He lay at Rotterdam, utterly prostrate in body, and with mind agitated nearly to delirium, by the perpetual and almost unassisted schemes which he was constructing. Never was illness more unseasonable. His attendants were in despair, for it was necessary that his mind should for a time be spared the agitation of business. But from his sick bed he continued to dictate words of counsel and encouragement to the city; to Admiral Boisot, commanding the fleet, minute directions and precautions.

By the end of the first week of September, he wrote a long letter to his brother, assuring him of his convalescence and expressing, as usual, a calm confidence in the divine decrees. The preparations for the relief of Leyden, which, notwithstanding his exertions, had grown slack during his sickness, were now vigorously resumed. On the 1st of September, Admiral Boisot arrived out of Zealand with a small number of vessels, and with eight hundred veteran sailors. A wild and ferocious crew were those eight hundred Zealanders. Scarred, hacked, and even maimed, in the unceasing conflicts in which their lives had passed; wearing crescents in their caps, with the inscription, "Rather Turkish than popish"; renowned far and wide, as much for their ferocity as for their nautical skill — the appearance of these wildest of the "sea-beggars" was both eccentric and terrific. They were known never to give nor to take quarter, for they went to mortal combat only, and had sworn to spare neither noble nor simple, neither king, kaiser, nor pope, should they fall into their power.

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More than two hundred vessels had been now assembled, carrying generally ten pieces of cannon, with from ten to eighteen oars, and manned with twenty-five hundred veterans, experienced both on land and water. The work was now undertaken in earnest. The distance from Leyden to the outer dike, over whose ruins the ocean had already been admitted, was nearly fifteen miles. This reclaimed territory, however, was not maintained against the sea by these external barriers alone. The flotilla made its way with ease to the Land-scheiding, a strong dike within five miles of Leyden; but here its progress was arrested. It was necessary to break through a twofold series of defences.

The prince had given orders that the Land-scheiding, which was still one and a half feet above water, should be taken possession of, at every hazard. On the night of the 10th and 11th of September this was accomplished, by surprise, and in a masterly manner. No time was lost in breaking it through in several places, a work which was accomplished under the very eyes of the enemy. The fleet sailed through the gaps; but, after their passage had been effected in good order, the admiral found, to his surprise, that it was not the only rampart to be carried.

The Green-way, another long dike, three-quarters of a mile further inward, now rose at least a foot above the water, to oppose their further progress. Promptly and audaciously Admiral Boisot took possession of this barrier also, levelled it in many places, and brought his flotilla, in triumph, over its ruins. Again, however, he was doomed to disappointment. A large mere, called the Fresh-water Lake, was known to extend itself directly in his path about midway between the Land-scheiding and the city. To this piece of water, into which he had expected to float instantly, his only passage lay through one deep canal. The sea which had thus far borne him on, now diffusing itself over a very wide surface, and under the influence of an adverse wind, had become too shallow for his ships. The canal alone was deep enough, but it led directly towards a bridge, strongly occupied by the enemy. Hostile troops, moreover, to the amount of three thousand, occupied both sides of the canal. The bold Boisot, nevertheless, determined to force his passage, if possible. After losing a few men, and ascertaining the impregnable position of the enemy, he was obliged to withdraw, defeated and almost despairing. A week had elapsed since the great dike had been pierced, and the flotilla now lay motionless in shallow water, having accomplished less than two miles. The wind, too, was easterly, causing the sea rather to sink than to rise. Everything wore a gloomy aspect, when, fortunately, on the 18th, the wind shifted to the northwest, and for three days blew a gale. The waters rose rapidly, and before the second day was closed the armada was afloat again. Some fugitives from Zoetermeer village now arrived, and informed the admiral that, by making a detour to the right, he could completely circumvent the bridge and the mere. They guided him, accordingly, to a comparatively low dike, which led between the villages of Zoetermeer and Ben-thuyzen. A strong force of Spaniards was stationed in each place, but seized with a panic they fled inwardly towards Leyden, and halted at the village of North Aa.

The fleet was delayed at North Aa by another barrier, called the "Kirkway." The waters, too, spreading once more over a wider space, and diminishing under an east wind, which had again arisen, no longer permitted their progress; so that very soon the whole armada was stranded anew. The waters fell to the depth of nine inches, while the vessels required eighteen and twenty.

Meantime, the besieged city was at its last gasp. At the dawn of each day every eye was turned wistfully to the vanes of the steeples. So long as the easterly breeze prevailed, they felt, as they anxiously stood on towers and housetops, that they must look in vain for the welcome ocean. Even the misery endured at Haarlem had not reached that depth and intensity of agony to which Leyden was now reduced.

The pestilence stalked at noonday through the city, and the doomed inhabitants fell like grass beneath its scythe. From six thousand to eight thousand human beings sank before this scourge alone, yet the people resolutely held out. Leyden was sublime in its despair. A few murmurs were, however, occasionally heard at the steadfastness of the magistrates, and a dead body was placed at the door of the burgomaster, as a silent witness against his inflexibility. A party of the more faint-hearted even assailed the heroic Pieter Adriaanszoon van der Werff with threats and reproaches as he passed through the streets. He waved his broad-leaved felt hat for silence, and then exclaimed, in language which has been almost literally preserved:

"What would ye, my friends? Why do ye murmur that we do not break our vows and surrender the city to the Spaniards — a fate more horrible than the agony which she now endures? I tell you I have made an oath to hold the city, and may God give me strength to keep my oath! I can die but once; whether by your hands, the enemy's, or by the hand of God; my life is at your disposal: here is my sword, plunge it into my breast, and divide my flesh among you. Take my body to appease your hunger, but expect no surrender, so long as I remain alive."

The words of the stout burgomaster inspired a new courage. From the ramparts they hurled renewed defiance at the enemy. "Ye call us rat-eaters and dog-eaters," they cried, "and it is true. So long, then, as ye hear dog bark or cat mew within the walls, ye may know that the city holds out. And when all has perished but ourselves, be sure that we will each devour our left arms, retaining our right to defend our women, our liberty, and our religion, against the foreign tyrant. When the last hour has come, with our hands we will set fire to the city, and perish, men, women, and children together, in the flames, rather than suffer our homes to be polluted and our liberties to be crushed."

"As well," shouted the Spaniards, derisively, to the citizens, "as well can the prince of Orange pluck the stars from the sky as bring the ocean to the walls of Leyden."

A violent equinoctial gale, on the night of the 1st and 2nd of October, came storming from the northwest, shifting after a few hours full eight points, and then blowing still more violently from the southwest. The waters of the North Sea were piled in vast masses upon the southern coast of Holland, and then dashed furiously landward, the ocean rising over the earth, and sweeping with unrestrained power across the ruined dikes. The Kirk-way, which had been broken through according to the prince's instructions, was now completely overflowed, and the fleet sailed at midnight, in the midst of the storm and darkness. There was a fierce naval midnight battle — a strange spectacle among the branches of those quiet orchards, and with the chimney stacks of half-submerged farm-houses rising around the contending vessels. The enemy's vessels were soon sunk, their crews hurled into the waves.

As they approached some shallows, which led into the great mere, the Zealanders dashed into the sea, and with sheer strength shouldered every vessel through. The panic, which had hitherto driven their foes before the

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advancing patriots, had reached Zoeterwoude. The Spaniards, in the early morning, poured out from the fortress, and fled precipitately. Their narrow path was rapidly vanishing in the waves, and hundreds sank beneath the constantly-deepening and treacherous flood. The wild Zealanders, too, sprang from their vessels upon the crumbling dike and drove their retreating foes into the sea. They hurled their harpoons at them, with an accuracy acquired in many a polar chase; they plunged into the waves in the keen pursuit, attacking them with boat-hook and dagger.

A few strokes of the oars brought the whole fleet close to Lammen. This last obstacle rose formidable and frowning directly across their path. Swarming as it was with soldiers, and bristling with artillery, it seemed to defy the armada either to carry it by storm or to pass under its guns into the city. Boisot anchored his fleet within a respectful distance, and spent what remained of the day in carefully reconnoitring.

Night descended upon the scene, a pitch dark night, full of anxiety to the Spaniards, to the armada, to Leyden. Strange sights and sounds occurred at different moments to bewilder the anxious sentinels. A long procession of lights issuing from the fort was seen to flit across the black face of the waters, in the dead of night, and the whole of the city wall, between the Cow-gate and the tower of Burgundy, fell with a loud crash.¹ The horror-struck citizens thought that the Spaniards were upon them at last; the Spaniards imagined the noise to indicate a desperate sortie of the citizens. Everything was vague and mysterious. Day dawned, at length, after the feverish night, and the admiral prepared for the assault. Suddenly a man was descried, wading breast-high through the water from Lammen towards the fleet; while, at the same time, one solitary boy was seen to wave his cap from the summit of the fort. After a moment of doubt, the happy mystery was solved. The Spaniards had fled, panic-struck, during the darkness. All obstacles being now removed, the fleet of Boisot swept by Lammen, and entered the city on the morning of the 3rd of October. Leyden was relieved.

The quays were lined with the famishing population, as the fleet rowed through the canals, every human being who could stand coming forth to greet the preservers of the city. Bread was thrown from every vessel among the crowd. The poor creatures who for two months had tasted no wholesome human food, and who had literally been living within the jaws of death, snatched eagerly the blessed gift, at last too liberally bestowed. Many choked themselves to death, in the greediness with which they devoured their bread. Magistrates and citizens, wild Zealanders, emaciated burgher guards, sailors, soldiers, women, children — nearly every living person within the walls all repaired without delay to the great church, stout Admiral Boisot leading the way. After prayers, the whole vast congregation joined in the thanksgiving hymn. Thousands of voices raised the song, but few were able to carry it to its conclusion, for the universal emotion, deepened by the music, became too full for utterance. The hymn was abruptly suspended, while the multitude wept like children.

On the 4th of October, the day following that on which the relief of the city was effected, the wind shifted to the northeast, and again blew a tempest. It was as if the waters, having now done their work, had been rolled back to the ocean by an omnipotent hand; for in the course of a few days the land was bare again, and the work of reconstructing the dikes commenced.

After a brief interval of repose, Leyden had regained its former position.

[¹ According to Hofdyke the fallen portion was only sixteen feet wide.]

The prince, with advice of the states, had granted the city, as a reward for its sufferings, a ten days' annual fair, without tolls or taxes; and, as a further manifestation of the gratitude entertained by the people of Holland and Zealand for the heroism of the citizens, it was resolved that an academy or university should be forthwith established within their walls. The University of Leyden, afterwards so illustrious, was thus founded in the very darkest period of the country's struggle.

The document by which the institution was founded was certainly a masterpiece of ponderous irony, for as the fiction of the king's sovereignty was still maintained, Philip was gravely made to establish the university, as a reward to Leyden for rebellion to himself.



OLD AMSTERDAM GATE, HAARLEM

THE STADHOLDER'S POWERS ENLARGED

Changes fast becoming necessary in the internal government of the provinces were undertaken during 1574. Hitherto the prince had exercised his power under the convenient fiction of the monarch's authority, systematically conducting the rebellion in the name of his majesty, and as his majesty's stadholder. By this process an immense power was lodged in his hands; nothing less, indeed, than the supreme executive and legislative functions of the land.

The two provinces, even while deprived of Haarlem and Amsterdam, now raised 210,000 florins monthly,

whereas Alva had never been able to extract from Holland more than 271,000 florins yearly. In consequence of this liberality, the cities insensibly acquired a greater influence in the government. Moreover, while growing more ambitious, they became less liberal.

The prince, dissatisfied with the conduct of the cities, brought the whole subject before an assembly of the states of Holland, on the 20th of October, 1574. He stated the inconveniences produced by the anomalous condition of the government. He complained that the common people had often fallen into the error that the money raised for public purposes had been levied for his benefit only, and that they had, therefore, been less willing to contribute to the taxes. As the only remedy for these evils, he tendered his

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resignation of all the powers with which he was clothed, so that the estates might then take the government, which they could exercise without conflict or control. For himself, he had never desired power, except as a means of being useful to his country, and he did not offer his resignation from unwillingness to stand by the cause, but from a hearty desire to save it from disputes among its friends. He was ready now, as ever, to shed the last drop of his blood to maintain the freedom of the land.

This straightforward language produced an instantaneous effect. They were embarrassed, for they did not like to relinquish the authority which they had begun to relish, nor to accept the resignation of a man who was indispensable. They felt that to give up William of Orange at that time was to accept the Spanish yoke forever. At an assembly held at Delft on the 12th of November, 1574, they accordingly requested him "to continue in his blessed government, with the council established near him," and for this end they formally offered to him, "under the name of governor or regent," absolute power, authority, and sovereign command. But they made it a condition that the states should be convened and consulted upon requests, impositions, and upon all changes in the governing body. It was also stipulated that the judges of the supreme court and of the exchequer, with other high officers, should be appointed by and with the consent of the states.

The prince expressed himself as willing to accept the government upon these terms. He, however, demanded an allowance of 45,000 florins monthly for the army expenses and other current outlays. Here, however, the states refused their consent. In a mercantile spirit, unworthy the occasion and the man with whom they were dealing, they endeavoured to chaffer where they should have been only too willing to comply, and they attempted to reduce the reasonable demand of the prince to 30,000 florins. The prince denounced the niggardliness of the states in the strongest language, and declared that he would rather leave the country forever, with the maintenance of his own honour, than accept the government upon such disgraceful terms. The states, disturbed by his vehemence, and struck with its justice, instantly, and without further deliberation, consented to his demand. They granted the forty-five thousand florins monthly, and the prince assumed the government, thus remodelled.

During the autumn and early winter of the year 1574, the emperor Maximilian had been actively exerting himself to bring about a pacification of the Netherlands. Ten commissioners, who were appointed by the states for peace negotiations, were all friends of the prince. Among them were Sainte-Aldegonde, Paul Buys, Charles Boisot, and Doctor Junius. The plenipotentiaries of the Spanish government were Leoninus, the seigneur de Rassinghem, Cornelius Suis, and Arnold Sasbout.

The proceedings were opened at Breda upon the 3rd of March, 1575. They ended July 13th, with nothing accomplished. The internal government of the insurgent provinces had remained upon the footing which we have seen established in the autumn of 1574, but in the course of this summer (1575), however, the foundation was laid for the union of Holland and Zeeland, under the authority of Orange. The selfish principle of municipal aristocracy, which had tended to keep asunder these various groups of cities, was now repressed by the energy of the prince and the strong determination of the people.

On the 4th of June this first union was solemnised. Upon the 11th of July, the prince formally accepted the government. Early in this year the prince had despatched Sainte-Aldegonde on a private mission to the elector

palatine. During some of his visits to that potentate he had seen at Heidelberg the princess Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Montpensier, the most ardent of the Catholic princes of France. A woman of beauty, intelligence, and virtue, forced before the canonical age to take the religious vows, she had been placed in the convent of Jouarre, of which she had become abbess. Always secretly inclined to the Reformed religion, she had fled secretly from her cloister, in the year of horrors 1572, and had found refuge at the court of the elector palatine, after which step her father refused to receive her letters, to contribute a farthing to her support, or even to acknowledge her claims upon him by a single line or message of affection.

Under these circumstances the outcast princess, who had arrived at years of maturity, might be considered her own mistress, and she was neither morally nor legally bound, when her hand was sought in marriage by the great champion of the Reformation, to ask the consent of a parent who loathed her religion, and denied her existence. The legality of the divorce from Anna of Saxony had been settled by a full expression of the ecclesiastical authority which she most respected; the facts upon which the divorce had been founded having been proved beyond peradventure.

So far, therefore, as the character of Mademoiselle Bourbon and the legitimacy of her future offspring were concerned, she received ample guarantees. For the rest, the prince, in a simple letter, informed her that he was already past his prime, having reached his forty-second year, and that his fortune was encumbered not only with settlements for his children by previous marriages, but by debts contracted in the cause of his oppressed country. A convention of doctors and bishops of France, summoned by the duke of Montpensier, afterwards confirmed the opinion that the conventional vows of the princess Charlotte had been conformable neither to the laws of France nor to the canons of the Trent Council. She was conducted to Briel by Sainte-Aldegonde, where she was received by her bridegroom, to whom she was united on the 12th of June. The wedding festival was held at Dort with much revelry and holiday-making, "but without dancing."

In this connection, no doubt the prince consulted his inclination only. It was equally natural that he should make many enemies by so impolitic a match.

While these important affairs, public and private, had been occurring in the south of Holland and in Germany, a very nefarious transaction had disgraced the cause of the patriot party in the northern quarter. Diedrich Sonoy, governor of that portion of Holland, a man of great bravery, but of extreme ferocity of character, had discovered an extensive conspiracy among certain of the inhabitants, in aid of an approaching Spanish invasion. The governor, determined to show that the duke of Alva could not be more prompt nor more terrible than himself, improvised, of his own authority, a tribunal in imitation of the infamous Blood Council. Fortunately for the character of the country, Sonoy was not a Hollander, nor was the jurisdiction of this newly established court allowed to extend beyond very narrow limits. Eight vagabonds were, however, arrested and doomed to tortures the most horrible, in order to extort from them confessions implicating persons of higher position in the land than themselves. The individuals who had been thus designated were arrested. Charged with plotting a general conflagration of the villages and farm-houses, in conjunction with an invasion by Hierges and other Papist generals, they indignantly protested their innocence; but two of them, a certain Kopp Corneliszoon, and his son, Nanning Koppezoon, were selected to undergo the most cruel torture which had yet been practised in the Netherlands.

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It was shown that Reformers were capable of giving a lesson even to inquisitors in this diabolical science. The affair now reached the ears of Orange. His peremptory orders, with the universal excitement produced in the neighbourhood, at last checked the course of the outrage. It is no impeachment upon the character of the prince that these horrible crimes were not prevented. It was impossible for him to be omnipresent. Neither is it just to consider the tortures and death thus inflicted upon innocent men an indelible stain upon the cause of liberty. They were the crimes of an individual who had been useful, but who, like the count de la Marek, had now contaminated his hand with the blood of the guiltless. The new tribunal never took root, and was abolished as soon as its initiatory horrors were known.

A SPANISH EXPLOIT

The grand commander had not yet given up the hope of naval assistance from Spain, notwithstanding the abrupt termination to the last expedition which had been organised. It was, however, necessary that a foot-hold should be recovered upon the seaboard, before a descent from without could be met with proper co-operation from the land forces within, and he was most anxious, therefore, to effect the reconquest of some portion of Zeeland. Traitors from Zeeland itself now came forward to teach the Spanish commander how to strike at the heart of their own country. These refugees explained to Requesens that a narrow flat extended under the sea from Philipsland, as far as the shore of Duiveland. A force sent through these dangerous shallows might take possession of Duiveland and lay siege to Zieriksee in the very teeth of the Zeeland fleet, which would be unable to sail near enough to intercept their passage.

Requesens assembled three thousand infantry, partly Spaniards, partly Germans, partly Walloons, besides a picked corps of two hundred sappers and miners. One half was to remain in boats, under the command of Mondragon; the other half, accompanied by two hundred pioneers, to wade through the sea from Philipsland to Duiveland and Schouwen. Each soldier of this detachment was provided with a pair of shoes, two pounds of powder, and rations for three days, in a canvas bag suspended at his neck. The leader of this expedition was Don Osorio de Ulloa. It was a wild night, the 27th of September. Incessant lightning alternately revealed and obscured the progress of the midnight march through the black waters.

As they advanced cautiously, two by two, the daring adventurers found themselves soon nearly up to their necks in the waves, while so narrow was the submerged bank along which they were marching, that a mis-step to the right or left was fatal. Luckless individuals repeatedly sank to rise no more. Meantime, as the sickly light of the waning moon came forth at intervals through the stormy clouds, the soldiers could plainly perceive the files of Zeeland vessels through which they were to march, and which were anchored as close to the flat as the water would allow.

Standing breast-high in the waves, and surrounded at intervals by total darkness, they were yet able to pour an occasional well-directed volley into the hostile ranks. The Zealanders, however, did not assail them with fire-arms alone. They transfixed some with their fatal harpoons; they dragged others from the path with boat-hooks; they beat out the brains of others with heavy flails.

The night wore on, and the adventurers still fought it out manfully, but very slowly, the main body of Spaniards, Germans, and Walloons, soon after

daylight, reaching the opposite shore, having sustained considerable losses, but in perfect order. The pioneers were not so fortunate. The tide rose over them before they could effect their passage, and swept nearly every one away. The rear-guard were fortunately enabled to retrace their steps.

Don Osorio, at the head of the successful adventurers, now effected his landing upon Duiveland. Reposing themselves but for an instant after this unparalleled march through the water, of more than six hours, they took a slight refreshment, prayed to the Virgin Mary and to St. James, and then prepared to meet their new enemies on land. Ten companies of French, Scotch, and English auxiliaries lay in Duiveland, under the command of Charles van Boisot. Strange to relate, by an inexplicable accident, or by treason, that general was slain by his own soldiers, at the moment when the royal troops landed. The panic created by this event became intense, as the enemy rose suddenly, as it were, out of the depths of the ocean to attack them. They magnified the numbers of their assailants, and fled terror-stricken in every direction. The city of Zieriksee was soon afterwards beleaguered.

The siege was protracted till the following June, the city holding out with firmness. Want of funds caused the operations to be conducted with languor, but the same cause prevented the prince from accomplishing its relief. Thus the expedition from Philipsland, the most brilliant military exploit of the whole war, was attended with important results. The communication between Walcheren and the rest of Zealand was interrupted, the province cut in two, a foot-hold on the ocean, for a brief interval at least, acquired by Spain. The prince was inexpressibly chagrined by these circumstances, and felt that the moment had arrived when all honourable means were to be employed to obtain foreign assistance.

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED (1575)

Hitherto the fiction of allegiance had been preserved, and, even by the enemies of the prince, it was admitted that it had been retained with no disloyal intent. The time, however, had come when it was necessary to throw off allegiance, provided another could be found strong enough and frank enough to accept the authority which Philip had forfeited. The question was, naturally, between France and England, unless the provinces could effect their re-admission into the body of the German Empire.

The states were summoned by the prince, to deliberate on this important matter, at Rotterdam. On the 1st of October he formally proposed either to make terms with their enemy (and that the sooner the better), or else, once for all, to separate entirely from the king of Spain, and to change their sovereign. After an adjournment of a few days, the diet again assembled at Delft, and it was then unanimously resolved by the nobles and the cities, that they would forsake the king and seek foreign assistance; referring the choice to the prince, who, in regard to the government, was to take the opinion of the states.

Thus the great step was taken, by which two little provinces declared themselves independent of their ancient master. That declaration, although taken in the midst of doubt and darkness, was not destined to be cancelled, and the germ of a new and powerful commonwealth was planted. So little, however, did these republican fathers foresee their coming republic, that the resolution to renounce one king was combined with a proposition to ask for the authority of another. It was not imagined that those two slender

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columns, which were all that had yet been raised of the future stately peristyle, would be strong enough to stand alone.

Germany, England, France, however, all refused to stretch out their hands to save the heroic but exhaustless little provinces. It was at this moment that a desperate but sublime resolution took possession of the prince's mind. There seemed but one way left to exclude the Spaniards forever from Holland and Zealand, and to rescue the inhabitants from impending ruin. The prince had long brooded over the scheme, and the hour seemed to have struck for its fulfilment. His project was to collect all the vessels, of every description, which could be obtained throughout the Netherlands. The whole population of the two provinces, men, women, and children, together with all the movable property of the country, were then to be embarked on board this numerous fleet, and to seek a new home beyond the seas. The windmills were then to be burned, the dikes pierced, the sluices opened in every direction, and the country restored forever to the ocean, from which it had sprung.¹

It is difficult to say whether the resolution, if providence had permitted its fulfilment, would have been, on the whole, better or worse for humanity and civilisation. The ships which would have borne the prince and his fortunes might have taken the direction of the newly discovered western hemisphere. A religious colony, planted by a commercial and liberty-loving race, in a virgin soil, and directed by patrician but self-denying hands, might have preceded, by half a century, the colony which a kindred race, impelled by similar motives, and under somewhat similar circumstances and conditions, was destined to plant upon the stern shores of New England. Had they directed their course to the warm and fragrant islands of the East, an independent Christian commonwealth might have arisen among those prolific regions, superior in importance to any subsequent colony of Holland, cramped from its birth by absolute subjection to a far-distant metropolis.

DEATH OF REQUESENS (1576)

The unexpected death of Requesens suddenly dispelled these schemes. A violent fever seized him on the 1st, and terminated his existence on the 5th of March, in the fifty-first year of his life.

Requesens was a man of high position by birth and office, but a thoroughly commonplace personage. His talents either for war or for civil employments were not above mediocrity. His sudden death arrested, for a moment, the ebb-tide in the affairs of the Netherlands, which was fast leaving the country bare and desolate, and was followed by a train of unforeseen transactions.

THE RISE OF FLANDERS AND BRABANT

The suddenness of Requesens' illness had not allowed time for even the nomination of a successor, to which he was authorised by letters patent from

¹ Borſ relates that this plan had been definitely formed by the prince. His authority is "a credible gentleman of quality" (*een geloofswaerdig edelmann van qualiteit*) who, at the time, was a member of the estates and government of Holland. Groen van Prinsterer,^a however, rejects the tale as fabulous; or believes, at any rate, that the personage alluded to by Bor took the prince's words too literally. It is probable that the thought was often in the prince's mind, and found occasional expression, although it had never been actually reduced to a scheme. It is difficult to see that it was not consistent with his character, supposing that there had been no longer any room for hope. Hooft^b adopts the story without hesitation. Wagenaar^c alludes to it as a matter of current report.

the king. The government now devolved entirely into the hands of the council of state, which was at that period composed of nine members. The principal of these was Philip de Croy duke of Aerschot; the other leading members were Viglius, counts Mansfeld and Barlaymont; and the council was degraded by numbering, among the rest, Debris and De Roda, two of the notorious Spaniards who had formed part of the council of Blood.

The king resolved to leave the authority in the hands of this incongruous mixture, until the arrival of Don John of Austria, his natural brother, whom he had already named to the office of governor-general. But in the interval

the government assumed an aspect of unprecedented disorder, and widespread anarchy embraced the whole country. The royal troops openly revolted, and fought against each other like deadly enemies. The nobles, divided in their views, arrogated to themselves in different places the titles and powers of command.

The siege of Zieriksee was continued; but speedy dissensions among the members of the government rendered their authority contemptible, if not utterly extinct, in the eyes of the people. The exhaustion of the treasury deprived them of all power to put an end to the mutinous excesses of the Spanish troops, and the latter carried their licentiousness to the utmost bounds. Zieriksee, admitted to a



MARKET-PLACE AND BELL-TOWER AT ALKMAAR

surrender,¹ and saved from pillage by the payment of a large sum, was lost to the royalists within three months, from the want of discipline in its garrison; and the towns and burghs of Brabant suffered as much from the excesses of their nominal protectors as could have been inflicted by the enemy. The mutineers at length, to the number of some thousands, attacked and carried by force the town of Alost² [or Aalst]; imprisoned the chief citizens; and levied contributions on all the country round. It was then that the council of state found itself forced to proclaim them rebels, traitors, and enemies to the king and the country, and called on all loyal subjects to pursue and exterminate them wherever they were found in arms.

This proscription of the Spanish mutineers was followed by the convo-

[¹ The brave admiral Louis Boisot was killed while attempting to relieve the town, which surrendered June 21st, 1576.]

[² According to Blok the soldiers congregated at Alost in such numbers as to leave Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, and Utrecht almost free of foreign soldiery.]

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cation of the states-general; and the government thus hoped to maintain some show of union, and some chance of authority. But a new scene of intestine violence completed the picture of executive inefficiency. On the 4th of September, the grand bailiff of Brabant, as lieutenant of the baron de Hesse [or Hèze], governor of Brussels, entered the council chamber by force, and arrested all the members present, on suspicion of treacherously maintaining intelligence with the Spaniards. Counts Mansfeld and Barlaymont were imprisoned, with some others. Viglius escaped this indignity by being absent from indisposition. This bold measure was hailed by the people with unusual joy, as the signal for that total change in the government which they reckoned on as the prelude to complete freedom.

The states-general were all at this time assembled, with the exception of those of Flanders, who joined the others with but little delay. The general reprobation against the Spaniards procured a second decree of proscription; and their desperate conduct justified the utmost violence with which they might be pursued. They still held the citadels of Ghent and Antwerp, as well as Maestricht, which they had seized on, sacked, and pillaged with all the fury which a barbarous enemy inflicts on a town carried by assault.¹ On the 3rd of November, the other body of mutineers, in possession of Alost, marched to the support of their fellow brigands in the citadel of Antwerp; and both, simultaneously attacking this magnificent city, became masters of it in all points, in spite of a vigorous resistance on the part of the citizens. They then began a scene of rapine and destruction unequalled in the annals of these desperate wars, and the most opulent town in Europe was thus reduced to ruin and desolation by a few thousand frantic ruffians.²

THE SPANISH FURY AT ANTWERP

Five thousand veteran foot soldiers, besides six hundred cavalry, armed to the teeth, sallied from the portals of Alva's citadel. In the counterscarp they fell upon their knees, to invoke, according to custom, the blessing of God upon the devil's work which they were about to commit. The *eletto* bore a standard, one side of which was emblazoned with the crucified Saviour, and the other with the Virgin Mary.

The *eletto* was first to mount the rampart; the next instant he was shot dead, while his followers, undismayed, sprang over his body, and poured into the streets. So soon as it was known that the Spaniards had crossed the rampart, that its six thousand defenders were in full retreat, it was inevitable that a panic should seize the city.

Their entrance once effected, the Spanish force had separated, according to previous arrangement, into two divisions, one half charging up the long street of St. Michael, the other forcing its way through the street of St. Joris. "*Santiago, Santiago! España, España! á sangre, á carne, á fuego, á sacco!*" (St. James, Spain, blood, flesh, fire, sack!) — such were the hideous cries which rang through every quarter of the city, as the savage horde advanced.

[¹ Even Spanish bravery recoiled at so desperate an undertaking, but unscrupulous ferocity supplied an expedient where courage was at fault. Each soldier was commanded to seize a woman, and placing her before his own body, to advance across the bridge. The column, thus bucklered, to the shame of Spanish chivalry, by female bosoms, moved in good order toward the battery. The soldiers levelled their muskets with steady aim over the shoulders or under the arms of the women whom they thus held before them. On the other hand, the citizens dared not discharge their cannon at their own townswomen, among whose numbers many recognised mothers, sisters, or wives. Maestricht was recovered, and an indiscriminate slaughter instantly avenged its temporary loss.²]

Van Ende, with his German troops, had been stationed by the marquis of Havré to defend the St. Joris gate, but no sooner did the Spaniards under Vargas present themselves than he deserted to them instantly with his whole force. United with the Spanish cavalry, these traitorous defenders of Antwerp dashed in pursuit of those who had been only faint-hearted. Thus the burghers saw themselves attacked by many of their friends, deserted by more. Whom were they to trust? Nevertheless, Oberstein's Germans were brave and faithful, resisting to the last, and dying every man in his harness. The tide of battle flowed hither and thither, through every street and narrow lane. The confused mob of fugitives and conquerors, Spaniards, Walloons, Germans, burghers, struggling, shouting, striking, cursing, dying, swayed hither and thither like a stormy sea. Every house became a fortress. It was difficult to carry the houses by storm, but they were soon set on fire.

In a brief interval, the city hall and other edifices on the square were in flames. The conflagration spread with rapidity — house after house, street after street, taking fire. Nearly a thousand buildings, in the most splendid and wealthy quarter of the city, were soon in a blaze, and multitudes of human beings were burned with them. The many tortuous streets which led down a slight descent from the rear of the town-house to the quays were all one vast conflagration. On the other side, the magnificent cathedral, separated from the Grande place by a single row of buildings, was lighted up, but not attacked by the flames. The tall spire cast its gigantic shadow across the last desperate conflict. Women, children, old men were killed in countless numbers, and still, through all this havoc, directly over the heads of the struggling throng, suspended in mid-air above the din and smoke of the conflict, there sounded, every half quarter of every hour, as if in gentle mockery, from the belfry of the cathedral, the tender and melodious chimes.

Never was there a more monstrous massacre, even in the blood-stained history of the Netherlands. It was estimated that, in the course of this and the two following days, not less than eight thousand human beings were murdered.¹ The Spaniards seemed to cast off even the vizard of humanity. Hell seemed emptied of its fiends. Night fell upon the scene before the soldiers were masters of the city; but worse horrors began after the contest was ended. This army of brigands had come thither with a definite, practical purpose, for it was not blood-thirst, nor lust, nor revenge which had impelled them, but it was greediness for gold. The fire, spreading more extensively and more rapidly than had been desired through the wealthiest quarter of the city, had unfortunately devoured a vast amount of property. Six millions, at least, had thus been swallowed; a destruction by which no one had profited. There was, however, much left. The strong boxes of the merchants. the gold, silver, and precious jewelry, the velvets, satins, brocades, laces, and

¹ This is the estimate of Mendoza *j*; *viz.*, two thousand five hundred slain with the sword, and double that number burned and drowned. Cabrera *h* puts the figures at seven thousand and upwards. Borſ and Hooft *h* give the same number of dead bodies actually found in the streets, *viz.*, two thousand five hundred; and, estimating the drowned at as many more, leave the number of the burned to conjecture. Meteren, ¹ who on all occasions seeks to diminish the number of his countrymen slain in battle or massacre, while he magnifies the loss of his opponents, admits that from four to five thousand were slain; adding, however, that but fifteen hundred bodies were found, which were all buried together in two great pits. He thus deducts exactly one thousand from the number of counted corpses, as given by every other authority, Spanish or Flemish. Strada *m* gives three thousand as the number of those slain with the sword. The letter of Jerome de Roda to the king, written from the citadel of Antwerp upon the 6th of November, when the carnage was hardly over, estimates the number of the slain at eight thousand, and one thousand horses. This authority, coming from the very hour and spot, and from a man so deeply implicated, may be considered conclusive. — [Blok *n* puts the number of slain at between six and seven thousand.]

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similar well-concentrated and portable plunder, were rapidly appropriated. So far the course was plain and easy, but in private houses it was more difficult. The cash, plate, and other valuables of individuals were not so easily discovered. Torture was, therefore, at once employed to discover the hidden treasures.

Two days longer the havoc lasted in the city. Of all the deeds of darkness yet compassed in the Netherlands, this was the worst. It was called the Spanish Fury, by which dread name it has been known for ages. The city which had been a world of wealth and splendour was changed to a charnel-house, and from that hour its commercial prosperity was blasted.

Rarely has so small a band obtained in three days' robbery so large an amount of wealth. Four or five millions divided among five thousand soldiers made up for long arrearsages.

In this Spanish Fury many more were massacred in Antwerp than in the St. Bartholomew at Paris. Almost as many living human beings were dashed out of existence now as there had been statues destroyed in the memorable image-breaking of Antwerp, ten years before — an event which had sent such a thrill of horror through the heart of Catholic Christendom.

Marvellously few Spaniards were slain in these eventful days. Two hundred killed is the largest number stated. The discrepancy seems monstrous, but it is hardly more than often existed between the losses inflicted and sustained by the Spaniards in such combats. Their prowess was equal to their ferocity, and this was enough to make them seem endowed with preterhuman powers.

Bor'sⁱ estimate is two hundred Spaniards killed and four hundred wounded. Hooft^h gives the same. Mendozaⁱ allows only fourteen Spaniards to have been killed, and rather more than twenty wounded. Meteren^l as usual, considering the honour of his countrymen at stake, finds a grim consolation in adding a few to the number of the enemies slain, and gives a total of three hundred Spaniards killed. Strada^m gives the two extremes; so that it is almost certain that the number was not less than fourteen nor more than two hundred. These statistics are certainly curious, for it would seem almost impossible that a force numbering between thirty-five hundred and five thousand men (there is this amount of discrepancy in the different estimates) should capture and plunder, with so little loss to themselves, a city of two hundred thousand souls, defended by an army of at least twelve thousand besides a large proportion of burghers bearing weapons. No wonder that the chivalrous Brantôme^o was in an ecstasy of delight at the achievement, and that the Netherlanders, seeing the prowess and the cruelty of their foes, should come to doubt whether they were men or devils.

This disproportion between the number of Spaniards and states' soldiers slain was the same in all the great encounters, particularly in those of the period which now occupies us. In the six months between the end of August, 1576, and the signing of the Perpetual Edict on the 17th of February, 1577, the Spaniards killed twenty thousand, by the admission of the Netherlanders themselves, and acknowledged less than six slain on their own side! So much for the blood expended annually or monthly by the Netherlanders in defence of liberty and religion. As for the money consumed, the usual estimate of the expense of the states' army was from 800,000 to 1,000,000 guildens monthly, according to Meteren.^l The same historian calculates the expense of Philip's army at 42,000,000 crowns for the nine years, from 1567 to 1576, which would give nearly 400,000 dollars monthly, half of which, he says, came from Spain. The Netherlanders, therefore, furnished the other half, so that

200,000 dollars, equal to 500,000 guildens, monthly were to be added to the million required for their own war department. Here then was a tax of one and a half millions monthly, or eighteen millions yearly, simply for the keeping of the two armies on foot to destroy the Netherlanders and consume their substance. The frightful loss by confiscations, plunderings, brand-schettings, and the sackings of cities and villages innumerable, was all in addition, of course, but that enormous amount defies calculation. The regular expense in money which they were to meet, if they could, for the mere pay and provision of the armies, was as above, and equal to at least sixty millions yearly to-day, making allowance for the difference in the value of money. This was certainly sufficient for a population of three millions. Their frequent promise to maintain their liberty with their "goods and their blood" was no idle boast — three thousand men and one and a half million florins being consumed monthly.

THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT (1576)

Meantime the prince of Orange sat at Middelburg, watching the storm. The position of Holland and Zeeland with regard to the other fifteen provinces was distinctly characterised. Upon certain points there was an absolute sympathy, while upon others there was a grave and almost fatal difference. It was the task of the prince to deepen the sympathy, to extinguish the difference. In Holland and Zeeland there was a warm and nearly universal adhesion to the reformed religion, a passionate attachment to the ancient political liberties. The prince, although an earnest Calvinist himself, did all in his power to check the growing spirit of intolerance towards the old religion, omitted no opportunity of strengthening the attachment which the people justly felt for their liberal institutions.

On the other hand, in most of the other provinces, the Catholic religion had been regaining its ascendancy. Even in 1574, the states assembled at Brussels declared to Requesens that they would rather die the death than see any change in their religion. That feeling had rather increased than diminished.

As to political convictions, the fifteen provinces differed much less from their two sisters. There was a strong attachment to their old constitutions, a general inclination to make use of the present crisis to effect their restoration. At the same time, it had not come to be the general conviction, as in Holland and Zeeland, that the maintenance of those liberties was incompatible with the continuance of Philip's authority. The great bond of sympathy, however, between all the seventeen was their common hatred to the foreign soldiery. Upon this deeply embedded, immovable fulcrum of an ancient national hatred, the sudden mutiny of the whole Spanish army served as a lever of incalculable power. The prince seized it as from the hand of God. Thus armed, he proposed to himself the task of upturning the mass of oppression under which the old liberties of the country had so long been crushed. To effect this object, adroitness was as requisite as courage.

The prince, therefore, in all his addresses and documents, was careful to disclaim any intention of disturbing the established religion, or of making any rash political changes.

Having sought to impress upon his countrymen the gravity of the position, he led them to seek the remedy in audacity and in union. He familiarised them with his theory that the legal, historical government of the provinces belonged to the states-general, to a congress of nobles, clergy, and commons,

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appointed from each of the seventeen provinces. He maintained, with reason, that the government of the Netherlands was a representative constitutional government, under the hereditary authority of the king. Letters were addressed to the states of nearly every province. Those bodies were urgently implored to appoint deputies to a general congress, at which a close and formal union between Holland and Zealand with the other provinces might be effected. The place appointed for the deliberations was the city of Ghent. Here, by the middle of October, a large number of delegates had already assembled although the citadel commanding the city was held by the Spaniards.

The massacre at Antwerp and the eloquence of the prince produced a most quickening effect upon the congress at Ghent. Their deliberations had proceeded with decorum and earnestness, in the midst of the cannonading against the citadel, and the fortress fell on the same day which saw the conclusion of the treaty.

This important instrument, by which the sacrifices and exertions of the prince were, for a brief season at least, rewarded, contained twenty-five articles. The prince of Orange, with the states of Holland and Zealand on the one side, and the provinces signing, or thereafter to sign the treaty, on the other, agreed that there should be a mutual forgiving and forgetting, as regarded the past. They vowed a close and faithful friendship for the future. They plighted a mutual promise to expel the Spaniards from the Netherlands without delay. As soon as this great deed should be done, there was to be a convocation of the states-general, on the basis of that assembly before which the abdication of the emperor had taken place.

By this congress, the affairs of religion in Holland and Zealand should be regulated, as well as the surrender of fortresses and other places belonging to his majesty. There was to be full liberty of communication and traffic between the citizens of the one side and the other. It should not be legal, however, for those of Holland and Zealand to attempt anything outside their own territory against the Roman Catholic religion, nor for cause thereof to injure or irritate any one, by deed or word. All the placards and edicts on the subject of heresy, together with the criminal ordinances made by the duke of Alva, were suspended, until the states-general should otherwise ordain. The prince was to remain lieutenant, admiral, and general for his majesty in Holland, Zealand, and the associated places, till otherwise provided by the states-general, after the departure of the Spaniards. The cities and places included in the prince's commission, but not yet acknowledging his authority, should receive satisfaction from him, as to the point of religion and other matters, before subscribing to the union. All prisoners, and particularly the count of Bossu, should be released without ransom. All estates and other property not already alienated should be restored, all confiscations since 1566 being declared null and void. The countess palatine, widow of Brederode, and count of Buren, son of the prince of Orange, were expressly named in this provision. Prelates and ecclesiastical persons, having property in Holland and Zealand, should be reinstated, if possible; but in case of alienation, which was likely to be generally the case, there should be reasonable compensation. It was to be decided by the states-general whether the provinces should discharge the debts incurred by the prince of Orange in his two campaigns. Provinces and cities should not have the benefit of this union until they had signed the treaty, but they should be permitted to sign it when they chose.

This memorable document was subscribed at Ghent on the 8th of Novem-

ber, by Sainte-Aldegonde, with eight other commissioners appointed by the prince of Orange and the estates of Holland on the one side, and by Elbertus Leoninus and other deputies appointed by Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Valenciennes, Lille, Douai, Orchies, Namur, Tournay, Utrecht, and Mechlin on the other side.

The arrangement was a masterpiece of diplomacy on the part of the prince, for it was as effectual a provision for the safety of the reformed religion as could be expected under the circumstances. It was much, considering the change which had been wrought of late years in the fifteen provinces, that they should consent to any treaty with their two heretic sisters. It was much more that the Pacification should recognise the new religion as the established creed of Holland and Zealand, while at the same time the infamous edicts of Charles were formally abolished. In the fifteen Catholic provinces, there was to be no prohibition of private reformed worship. The whole strength of the nation enlisted to expel the foreign soldiery from the soil. This was the work of William the Silent, and the prince thus saw the labour of years crowned with at least a momentary success.

His satisfaction was very great when it was announced to him, many days before the exchange of the signatures, that the treaty had been concluded. He was desirous that the Pacification should be referred for approval, not to the municipal magistrates only, but to the people itself. Proclaimed in the market-place of every city and village, it was ratified, not by votes, but by hymns of thanksgiving, by triumphal music, by thundering of cannon, and by the blaze of beacons, throughout the Netherlands.

Another event added to the satisfaction of the hour. The country so recently and by deeds of such remarkable audacity conquered by the Spaniards in the north, was recovered almost simultaneously with the conclusion of the Ghent treaty. It was a natural consequence of the great mutiny. The troops having entirely deserted Mondragon, it became necessary for that officer to abandon Zieriksee, the city which had been won with so much valour. In the beginning of November, the capital, and with it the whole island of Schouwen, together with the rest of Zealand, excepting Tholen, was recovered by Count Hohenlohe, lieutenant-general of the prince of Orange, and acting according to his instructions.

Thus on this particular point of time many great events had been crowded. At the very same moment Zealand had been redeemed, Antwerp ruined, and the league of all the Netherlands against the Spaniards concluded. It now became known that another and most important event had occurred at the same instant. On the day before the Antwerp massacre, four days before the publication of the Ghent treaty, a foreign cavalier, attended by a Moorish slave and by six men-at-arms, rode into the streets of Luxemburg. The cavalier was Don Ottavio Gonzaga, brother of the prince of Melfi. The Moorish slave was Don John of Austria, the son of the emperor, the conqueror of Granada, the hero of Lepanto. The new governor-general had traversed Spain and France in disguise with great celerity, and in the romantic manner which belonged to his character. He stood at last on the threshold of the Netherlands, but with all his speed he had arrived a few days too late.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

Don John of Austria was now in his thirty-second year, having been born in Ratisbon on the 24th of February, 1545. His father was Charles V, emperor of Germany, king of Spain, dominator of Asia, Africa, and America;

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his mother was Barbara Blomberg, washerwoman of Ratisbon. Introduced to the emperor, originally, that she might alleviate his melancholy by her singing, she soon exhausted all that was harmonious in her nature, for never was a more uncomfortable, unmanageable personage than Barbara in her after life. Married to one Pyramus Kegell, who was made a military commissary in the Netherlands, she was left a widow in the beginning of Alva's administration. Placed under the especial superintendence of the duke, she became the torment of that warrior's life. The terrible governor, who could almost crush the heart out of a nation of three millions, was unable to curb this single termagant.

Notwithstanding every effort to entice, to intimidate, and to kidnap her from the Netherlands, there she remained, through all vicissitudes, even till the arrival of Don John. By his persuasions or commands she was, at last, induced to accept an exile for the remainder of her days in Spain, but revenged herself by asserting that he was quite mistaken in supposing himself the emperor's child; a point, certainly, upon which her authority might be thought conclusive. Thus there was a double mystery about Don John. He might be the issue of august parentage on one side; he was, possibly, sprung of most ignoble blood on both. Base-born at best, he was not sure whether to look for the author of his being in the halls of the Cæsars or the booths of Ratisbon mechanics.

Perhaps there was as much good faith on the part of Don John, when he arrived in Luxemburg, as could be expected of a man coming directly from the cabinet of Philip. The king had secretly instructed him to conciliate the provinces, but to concede nothing. He was directed to restore the government to its state during the imperial epoch. Seventeen provinces, in two of which the population were all dissenters, in all of which the principle of mutual toleration had just been accepted by Catholics and Protestants, were now to be brought back to the condition according to which all Protestants were beheaded, burned, or buried alive. The crusader of Granada and Lepanto, the champion of the ancient church, was not likely to please the rugged Zealanders who had let themselves be hacked to pieces rather than say one Paternoster, and who had worn crescents in their caps at Leyden, to prove their deeper hostility to the pope than to the Turk.

It was with a calm determination to counteract and crush the policy of the youthful governor that William the Silent awaited his antagonist. Were Don John admitted to confidence, the peace of Holland and Zealand was gone. He had arrived, with all the self-confidence of a conqueror; he did not know that he was to be played upon like a pipe, to be caught in meshes spread by his own hands, to struggle blindly, to rage impotently — to die ingloriously.^b

CONCILIATORY POLICY OF DON JOHN

It is probable that his intentions were really honourable and candid. The states-general were not less embarrassed than the prince. His sudden arrival threw them into great perplexity, which was increased by the conciliatory tone of his letter. They had now removed from Ghent to Brussels; and first sending deputies to pay the honours of a ceremonious welcome to Don John, they wrote to the prince of Orange, then in Holland, for his advice in this difficult conjuncture. The prince replied by a memorial of considerable length, dated Middelburg, the 30th of November, in which he gave them the most wise and prudent advice; the substance of which was to receive any propositions coming from the wily and perfidious Philip with the utmost

suspicion, and to refuse all negotiations with his deputy, if the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops was not at once conceded and the acceptance of the pacification guaranteed in its most ample extent.

This advice was implicitly followed; the states in the mean time taking the precaution of assembling a large body of troops at Wavre, between Brussels and Namur, the command of which was given to the count of Lalaing. A still more important measure was the despatch of an envoy to England, to implore the assistance of Elizabeth. She acted on this occasion with frankness and intrepidity; giving a distinguished reception to the envoy Sweveg-hem, and advancing a loan of £100,000, on condition that the states made no treaty without her knowledge or participation.

To secure still more closely the federal union that now bound the different provinces, a new compact was concluded by the deputies on the 9th of January, 1577, known by the title of the Union of Brussels, and signed by the prelates, ecclesiastics, lords, gentlemen, magistrates, and others, representing the states of the Netherlands.^a A copy of this act of union was transmitted to Don John, and after some months of cautious parleying, in the latter part of which the candour of the prince seemed doubtful, and which the native historians do not hesitate to stigmatise as merely assumed, a treaty was signed at Marche-en-Famène, a place between Namur and Luxemburg, in which every point insisted on by the states was, to the surprise and delight of the nation, fully consented to and guaranteed.

This important document is called the Perpetual Edict, bears date the 12th of February, 1577, and contains nineteen articles. They were all based on the acceptance of the Pacification; but one expressly stipulated that the count of Buren should be set at liberty as soon as the prince of Orange, his father, had on his part ratified the treaty.^p

In the Pacification of Ghent, the prince had achieved the price of his lifelong labours. He had banded a mass of provinces, by the ties of a common history, language, and customs, into a league against a foreign tyranny. He had grappled Holland and Zealand to their sister provinces by a common love for their ancient liberties, by a common hatred to a Spanish soldiery. He had exorcised the evil demon of religious bigotry by which the body politic had been possessed so many years; for the Ghent treaty, largely interpreted, opened the door to universal toleration. In the Perpetual Edict the prince saw his work undone. Holland and Zealand were again cut adrift from the other fifteen provinces, and war would soon be let loose upon that devoted little territory.^b

Don John made his solemn entry into Brussels on the 1st of May, and assumed the functions of his limited authority. The conditions of the treaty were promptly and regularly fulfilled. The citadels occupied by the Spanish soldiers were given up to the Flemish and Walloon troops; and the departure of these ferocious foreigners took place at once. The large sums required to facilitate this measure made it necessary to submit for a while to the presence of the German mercenaries.

But Don John's conduct soon destroyed the temporary delusion which had deceived the country. Whether his projects were hitherto only concealed,

[^aThe Ghent Pacification, which was in the nature of a treaty between the prince and the states of Holland and Zealand on the one side, and a certain number of provinces on the other, had only been signed by the envoys of the contracting parties. Though received with deserved and universal acclamation, it had not the authority of a popular document. This, however, was the character studiously impressed upon the Brussels Union. The people, subdivided according to the various grades of their social hierarchy, had been solemnly summoned to council, and had deliberately recorded their conviction.^q]

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or that they were now for the first time excited by the disappointment of those hopes of authority held out to him by Philip, and which his predecessors had shared, it is certain that he very early displayed his ambition, and very imprudently attempted to put it in force. He at once demanded from the council of state the command of the troops and the disposal of the revenues. The answer was a simple reference to the Pacification of Ghent; and the prince's rejoinder was an apparent submission, and the immediate despatch of letters in cipher to the king, demanding a supply of troops sufficient to restore his ruined authority. These letters were intercepted by the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV of France, who immediately transmitted them to the prince of Orange, his old friend and fellow soldier.

Public opinion, to the suspicions of which Don John had been from the first obnoxious, was now unanimous in attributing to design all that was unconstitutional and unfair. His impetuous character could no longer submit to the restraint of dissimulation, and he resolved to take some bold and decided measure. A very favourable opportunity was presented in the arrival of the queen of Navarre, Marguerite of Valois, at Namur, on her way to Spa. The prince, numerously attended, hastened to the former town under pretence of paying his respects to the queen. As soon as she left the place, he repaired to the glacis of the town, as if for the mere enjoyment of a walk, admired the external appearance of the citadel, and expressed a desire to be admitted inside. The young count of Barlaymont, in the absence of his father, the governor of the place, and an accomplice in the plot with Don John, freely admitted him. The prince immediately drew forth a pistol, and exclaimed that that was the first moment of his government, took possession of the place with his immediate guard, and instantly formed them into a devoted garrison.

ORANGE MADE RUWARD; MATTHIAS GOVERNOR

The prince of Orange immediately made public the intercepted letters; and, at the solicitation of the states-general, repaired to Brussels; into which city he made a truly triumphant entry on the 23rd of September, and was immediately nominated governor, protector, or ruward¹ of Brabant — a dignity which had fallen into disuse, but was revived on this occasion, and which was little inferior in power to that of the dictators of Rome.^p A ruward was not exactly dictator, although his authority was universal. He was not exactly protector, nor governor, nor stadholder. His functions were unlimited as to time — therefore superior to those of an ancient dictator; they were commonly conferred on the natural heir to the sovereignty — therefore more lofty than those of ordinary stadholders. The individuals who had previously held the office in the Netherlands had usually reigned

[¹ The fact that the election of Orange as *ruward* or *ruwaert* of Brabant was due to violence, though not mentioned by English and American historians of the Netherlands, has been clearly established by Belgian scholars. In fact, the prince himself, when charged in Philip's ban with securing his election "by force and tumult," did not deny that these means were employed, but declared in his memorable *Apology* that instead of seeking he had refused the office. His subsequent acceptance of it showed that he thought it was time to use this exalted position to baffle the designs of his enemies. The important fact, which even Motley^b does not mention, that Orange owed his election to a popular tumult, is proved by Gachard,^q — *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*; and by De Robaulx de Soumoy,^r the learned editor of *Mémoires de Frédéric Perrenot* (the famous Champagny). It is noticeable that both these competent critics trace the prince's subtle agency in this uprising, as well as in the seizure of the duke of Aerschot and other Catholic leaders, which had such serious results for the cause of liberty and union in the Netherlands. — YOUNG.^s]

afterwards in their own right. Duke Albert, of the Bavarian line, for example, had been ruward of Hainault and Holland for thirty years, during the insanity of his brother, and on the death of Duke William had succeeded to his title. Philip of Burgundy had declared himself ruward of Brabant in 1425, and had shortly afterwards deprived Jacqueline of all her titles and appropriated them to himself.^b

The prince's authority, now almost unlimited, extended over every province of the Netherlands, except Namur and Luxemburg, both of which acknowledged Don John.

The first care of the liberated nation was to demolish the various citadels rendered celebrated and odious by the excesses of the Spaniards. This was done with an enthusiastic industry in which every age and sex bore a part, and which promised well for liberty. Among the ruins of that of Antwerp the statue of the duke of Alva was discovered, dragged through the filthiest streets of the town, and, with all the indignity so well merited by the original, it was finally broken into a thousand pieces.¹

The country, in conferring such extensive powers on the prince of Orange, had certainly gone too far—not for his desert, but for its own tranquillity. It was impossible that such an elevation should not excite the discontent and awaken the energy of the haughty aristocracy of Flanders and Brabant; and particularly of the house of Croy, the ancient rivals of that of Nassau. The then representative of that family seemed the person most suited to counterbalance William's excessive power. The duke of Aerschot was therefore named governor of Flanders: and he immediately put himself at the head of a confederacy of the Catholic party, which quickly decided to offer the chief government of the country, still in the name of Philip, to the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rudolf II, and cousin german to Philip of Spain, a youth but nineteen years of age. A Flemish gentleman named Maelsted was entrusted with the proposal. Matthias joyously consented; and, quitting Vienna with the greatest secrecy, he arrived at Maestricht, without any previous announcement, and expected only by the party that had invited him, at the end of October, 1577.

The prince of Orange, instead of showing the least symptom of dissatisfaction at this underhand proceeding aimed at his personal authority, announced his perfect approval of the nomination, and was the foremost in recommending measures for the honour of the archduke and the security of the country. He drew up the basis of a treaty for Matthias' acceptance, on terms which guaranteed to the council of state and the states-general the virtual sovereignty, and left to the young prince little beyond the fine title which had dazzled his boyish vanity. The prince of Orange was appointed his lieutenant, in all the branches of the administration, civil, military, or financial; and the duke of Aerschot, who had hoped to obtain an entire domination over the puppet he had brought upon the stage, saw himself totally foiled in his project, and left without a chance or a pretext for the least increase to his influence.

But a still greater disappointment attended this ambitious nobleman in the very stronghold of his power. The Flemings, driven by persecution to a state of fury almost unnatural, had, in their antipathy to Spain, adopted a hatred against Catholicism which had its source only in political frenzy, while the converts imagined it to arise from reason and conviction.

Two men had taken advantage of this state of the public mind, and

[¹ The bulk was melted again and reconverted by a most natural metamorphosis into the cannon from which it had originally sprung. — MOTLEY.^b]

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gained over it an unbounded ascendancy. They were Francis van der Kéthulle lord of Ryhove, and Jan van Hembyze [or Imbize], who each seemed formed to realise the beau-ideal of a factious demagogue. They had acquired supreme power over the people of Ghent, and had at their command a body of twenty thousand resolute and well-armed supporters. The duke of Aerschot vainly attempted to oppose his authority to that of these men; and he on one occasion imprudently exclaimed that "he would have them hanged, even though they were protected by the prince of Orange himself." The same night Ryhove summoned the leaders of his bands; and quickly assembling a considerable force, they repaired to the duke's hotel, made him prisoner, and, without allowing him time to dress, carried him away in triumph. At the same time the bishops of Bruges and Ypres, the high bailiffs of Ghent and Courtrai, the governor of Oudenarde, and other important magistrates, were arrested — accused of complicity with the duke, but of what particular offence the lawless demagogues did not deign to specify. The two tribunes immediately divided the whole honours and authority of administration — Ryhove as military, and Hembyze as civil chief.¹

The latter of these legislators completely changed the forms of the government; he revived the ancient privileges destroyed by Charles V, and took all preliminary measures for forcing the various provinces to join with the city of Ghent in forming a federative republic. The states-general and the prince of Orange were alarmed lest these troubles might lead to a renewal of the anarchy from the effects of which the country had but just obtained breathing time. Ryhove consented, at the remonstrance of the prince of Orange, to release the duke of Aerschot; but William was obliged to repair to Ghent in person, in the hope of establishing order. He arrived on the 29th of December, and entered on a strict inquiry with his usual calmness and decision. He could not succeed in obtaining the liberty of the other prisoners, though he pleaded for them strongly. Having severely reprimanded the factious leaders, and pointed out the dangers of their illegal course, he returned to Brussels, leaving the factious city in a temporary tranquillity which his firmness and discretion could alone have obtained.

The archduke Matthias, having visited Antwerp, and acceded to all the conditions required of him, made his public entry into Brussels on the 18th of January, 1578, and was installed in his dignity of governor-general amidst the usual fêtes and rejoicings. Don John of Austria was at the same time declared an enemy to the country, with a public order to quit it without delay; and a prohibition was issued against any inhabitant acknowledging his forfeited authority.

OUTBREAK OF WAR

War was now once more openly declared, some fruitless negotiations having afforded a fair pretext for hostilities. The rapid appearance of a numerous army under the orders of Don John gave strength to the suspicions of his former dissimulation. It was currently believed that large bodies of the Spanish troops had remained concealed in the forests of Luxemburg and Lorraine; while several regiments, which had remained in France in the service of the League, immediately re-entered the Netherlands. Alessandro Farnese prince

[¹ Thus audaciously, successfully, and hitherto without bloodshed, was the anti-Catholic revolution commenced in Flanders. The event was the first of a long and most signal series. The effect of this sudden rising of the popular party was prodigious throughout the Netherlands. At the same time the audacity of such extreme proceedings could hardly be countenanced by any considerable party in the states-general.]

of Parma, son of the former governant, came to the aid of his uncle Don John at the head of a large force of Italians; and these several reinforcements, with the German auxiliaries still in the country, composed an army of twenty thousand men. The army of the states-general was still larger, but far inferior in point of discipline. It was commanded by Antoine de Goignies, a gentleman of Hainault, and an old soldier of the school of Charles V.

After a sharp affair at the village of Riminants, in which the royalists had the worst, the two armies met at Gembloux [or Gemblours] on the 31st of January, 1578.^p

THE DISASTER OF GEMBOUX (1578)

Don John, making a selection of some six hundred cavalry, all picked men, with a thousand infantry, divided the whole into two bodies, which he placed under command of Gonzaga and the famous old Christopher Mondragon. These officers received orders to hang on the rear of the enemy, to harass him, and to do him all possible damage consistent with the possibility of avoiding a general engagement, until the main army under Parma and Don John should arrive. The retiring army of the states was then proceeding along the borders of a deep ravine, filled with mire and water, and as broad as and more dangerous than a river. In the midst of the skirmishing, Alessandro of Parma rode up to reconnoitre. He saw at once that the columns of the enemy were marching unsteadily to avoid being precipitated into this creek. He observed the waving of their spears, the general confusion of their ranks, and was quick to take advantage of the fortunate moment.

He drew up his little force in a compact column. Then, with a few words of encouragement, he launched them at the foe. The violent and entirely unexpected shock was even more successful than the prince had anticipated. The hostile cavalry reeled and fell into hopeless confusion, Egmont in vain striving to rally them to resistance. That name had lost its magic. Goignies also attempted, without success, to restore order among the panic-struck ranks. Assaulted in flank and rear at the same moment, and already in temporary confusion, the cavalry of the enemy turned their backs and fled. The centre of the states' army, thus left exposed, was now warmly attacked by Parma. It had, moreover, been already thrown into disorder by the retreat of its own horse, as they charged through them in rapid and disgraceful panic. The whole army broke to pieces at once, and so great was the trepidation that the conquered troops had hardly courage to run away. They were utterly incapable of combat. Not a blow was struck by the fugitives. Hardly a man in the Spanish ranks was wounded; while, in the course of an hour and a half, the whole force of the enemy was exterminated.

It is impossible to state with accuracy the exact numbers slain. Some accounts spoke of ten thousand killed, or captive, with absolutely no loss on the royal side.

Rarely had a more brilliant exploit been performed by a handful of cavalry. A whole army was overthrown. Everything belonging to the enemy fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Thirty-four standards, many field-pieces, much camp equipage, and ammunition, besides some seven or eight thousand dead bodies, and six hundred living prisoners, were the spoils of that winter's day. Of the captives, some were soon afterwards hurled off the bridge at Namur, and drowned like dogs in the Maas, while the rest were all hanged, none escaping with life. Don John's clemency was not superior to that of his sanguinary predecessors.

[1578 A.D.]

And so another proof was added — if proofs were still necessary — of Spanish prowess. The Netherlanders may be pardoned if their foes seemed to them supernatural, and almost invulnerable. How else could these enormous successes be accounted for? How else could thousands fall before the Spanish swords, while hardly a single Spanish corpse told of effectual resistance? At Jemmingen, Alva had lost seven soldiers, and slain seven thousand; in the Antwerp Fury, two hundred Spaniards, at most, had fallen, while eight thousand burghers and states' troops had been butchered; and now at Gembloux, six, seven, eight, ten — heaven knew how many thousands had been exterminated, and hardly a single Spaniard had been slain! Undoubtedly, the first reason for this result was the superiority of the Spanish soldiers. They were the boldest, the best disciplined, the most experienced in the world. Their audacity, promptness, and ferocity made them almost invincible. Moreover, they were commanded by the most renowned captains of the age.^b

The news of this battle threw the states into the utmost consternation. Brussels being considered insecure, the archduke Matthias and his council retired to Antwerp; but the victors did not feel their forces sufficient to justify an attack upon the capital. They, however, took Louvain, Tirlemont, and several other towns; but these conquests were of little import in comparison with the loss of Amsterdam, which declared openly and unanimously for the patriot cause. The states-general recovered their courage, and prepared for a new contest. They sent deputies to the diet of Worms, to ask succour from the princes of the empire. The count palatine John Kasimir repaired to their assistance with a considerable force of Germans and English, all equipped and paid by Queen Elizabeth. Francis duke of Alençon and of Anjou, and brother of Henry III of France, hovered on the frontiers of Hainault with a respectable army.¹

But all the various chiefs had separate interests and opposite views; while the fanatic violence of the people of Ghent sapped the foundations of the pacification to which the town had given its name.² The Walloon provinces, deep-rooted in their attachment to religious bigotry, which they loved still better than political freedom, gradually withdrew from the common cause; and without yet openly becoming reconciled with Spain, they adopted a neutrality which was tantamount to it. Don John was, however, deprived of all chance of reaping any advantage from these unfortunate dissensions. He was suddenly taken ill in his camp at Bougy; and died [probably of a camp fever], after a fortnight's suffering, on the 1st of October, 1578, in the 33rd year of his age.^c

ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE OF PARMA

On the death of Don John the command of the royal army fell to his nephew Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma. He was descended from Charles V through his mother the duchess Margaret, under whose administration the first troubles had broken out. He had already fought in Belgium on the side of his young and unfortunate relative — they were both of the same

[¹ He had been vainly offered the sovereignty of the provinces, and called to assist under the title of "Protector of Netherlandish liberty." Motley ^b accuses him of being "the most specious personage who had ever entered the Netherlands," and claims that Orange encouraged him only to keep Queen Elizabeth anxious to forestall a French alliance.]

[² All Flanders was prey to a Calvinist terrorism which made the Catholics long for Don John's sovereignty. They had lost faith in Orange. — BLOK.]

age — and the latter, on his death-bed, had named him as his successor. Everything justified the choice — none of the old Spanish generals exceeded the duke in valour, military experience, prudence in council, and resources in danger. To these qualities was joined great executive ability. Perhaps he had more talents than virtues, but his conduct was that of a man who was master of himself, and too used to leading others to let his own faults interfere with his success.

He soon managed to get together, in the provinces that remained loyal to him (Namur and Luxemburg), as many as thirty-two thousand soldiers, almost all foreigners. This would have been but a small force to oppose to the Belgians if harmony had reigned among the latter. But there was already open schism between the Catholics and the Protestants. Hembyze and Ryhove took John Kasimir's troops into the pay of the city and with this reinforcement made themselves master of all *La Flandre Flamingante*, where Protestantism had already spread among the lower classes: all the more eager for the change since they were experiencing a condition of affairs the like of which had never been known before. Everywhere power was seized by the most factious, and such was their violence that French Flanders, Artois, and Hainault became indignant and formed a defensive alliance, seceding in a formal manner from the confederated provinces (January 6th, 1579).^d

THE UNION OF UTRECHT (1579)

The states-general and the whole national party regarded, with prophetic dismay, the approaching dismemberment of their common country. They sent deputation on deputation to the Walloon states, to warn them of their danger, and to avert, if possible, the fatal measure. Treachery and religious fanaticism had undermined the bulwark almost as soon as reared. As, in besieged cities, a sudden breastwork is thrown up internally, when the outward defences are crumbling — so the energy of Orange had been silently preparing the Union of Utrecht, as a temporary defence until the foe should be beaten back and there should be time to decide on their future course of action.

During the whole month of December, an active correspondence had been carried on between the prince and his brother John, with various agents in Gelderland, Friesland, and Groningen, as well as with influential personages in the more central provinces and cities. Gelderland, the natural bulwark to Holland and Zealand, commanding the four great rivers of the country, had been fortunately placed under the government of the trusty John of Nassau, that province being warmly in favour of a closer union with its sister provinces, and particularly with those more nearly allied to itself in religion and in language.

Already in December (1578), Count John, in behalf of his brother, had laid before the states of Holland and Zealand, assembled at Gorkum, the project of a new union with "Gelderland, Ghent, Friesland, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen." The proposition had been favourably entertained, and commissioners had been appointed to confer with other commissioners at Utrecht, whenever they should be summoned by Count John. The prince chose not to be the ostensible mover in the plan himself. He did not wish to startle unnecessarily the archduke Matthias, nor to be cried out upon as infringing the Ghent Pacification, although the whole world knew that treaty to be hopelessly annulled. For these and many other weighty motives he

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proposed that the new union should be the apparent work of other hands, and only offered to him and to the country when nearly completed.

After various preliminary meetings in December and January, the deputies of Gelderland and Zutphen, with Count John, stadholder of these provinces, at their head, met with the deputies of Holland, Zealand, and the provinces between the Ems and the Lauwers, early in January, 1579, and on the 23rd of that month, without waiting longer for the deputies of the other provinces, they agreed provisionally upon a treaty of union which was published afterwards on the 29th, from the town-house of Utrecht.

This memorable document — which is ever regarded as the foundation of the Netherland Republic — contained twenty-six articles. The preamble stated the object of the union. It was to strengthen, not to forsake the Ghent Pacification, already nearly annihilated by the force of foreign soldiery. The contracting provinces agreed to remain eternally united, as if they were but one province. At the same time, it was understood that each was to retain its particular privileges, liberties, laudable and traditionary customs, and other laws. The cities, corporations, and inhabitants of every province were to be guaranteed as to their ancient constitutions. The provinces, by virtue of the union, were to defend each other “with life, goods, and blood,” against all force brought against them in the king’s name or behalf. They were also to defend each other against all foreign or domestic potentates, provinces, or cities, provided such defence were controlled by the “generality” of the union. For the expense occasioned by the protection of the provinces, certain imposts and excises were to be equally assessed and collected. No truce or peace was to be concluded, no war commenced, no impost established affecting the “generality,” but by unanimous advice and consent of the provinces.

Upon other matters the majority was to decide, the votes being taken in the manner then customary in the assembly of states-general. None of the united provinces, or of their cities or corporations, was to make treaties with other potentates or states, without consent of its confederates. If neighbouring princes, provinces, or cities wished to enter into this confederacy, they were to be received by the unanimous consent of the united provinces. A common currency was to be established for the confederacy. In the matter of divine worship, Holland and Zealand were to conduct themselves as they should think proper. The other provinces of the union, however, were either to conform to the “religious peace” already laid down by Archduke Matthias and his council, or to make such other arrangements as each province should for itself consider appropriate for the maintenance of its internal tranquillity — provided always that every individual should remain free in his religion, and that no man should be molested or questioned on the subject of divine worship as had been already established by the Ghent Pacification.

Such were the simple provisions of that instrument which became the foundation of the powerful commonwealth of the United Netherlands. On the day when it was concluded, there were present deputies from five provinces only. Count John of Nassau signed first, as stadholder of Gelderland and Zutphen. His signature was followed by those of four deputies from that double province; and the envoys of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and the Frisian provinces then signed the document.

The prince himself, although in reality the principal director of the movement, delayed appending his signature until May the 3rd, 1579. Herein he was actuated by the reasons already stated, and by the hope which he still entertained that a wider union might be established, with Matthias for its

nominal chief. His enemies, as usual, attributed this patriotic delay to baser motives. They accused him of a desire to assume the governor-generalship himself, to the exclusion of the archduke — an insinuation which the states of Holland took occasion formally to denounce as a calumny. For those who have studied the character and history of the man, a defence against such slander is superfluous. Matthias was but the shadow, Orange the substance. The archduke had been accepted only to obviate the evil effects of a political intrigue, and with the express condition that the prince should be his lieutenant-general in name, his master in fact. Directly after his departure in the following year, the prince's authority, which nominally departed also, was re-established in his own person, and by express act of the states-general.

The Union of Utrecht was the foundation-stone of the Netherland Republic: but the framers of the confederacy did not intend the establishment of a republic, or of an independent commonwealth of any kind. They had not forsworn the Spanish monarch. It was not yet their intention to forswear him. Certainly the act of union contained no allusion to such an important step. On the contrary, in the brief preamble they expressly stated their intention to strengthen the Ghent Pacification, and the Ghent Pacification acknowledged obedience to the king. They intended no political innovation of any kind. No doubt the formal renunciation of allegiance, which was to follow within two years, was contemplated by many as a future probability; but it could not be foreseen with certainty.

The establishment of a republic, which lasted two centuries, which threw a girdle of rich dependencies entirely round the globe, and which attained so remarkable a height of commercial prosperity and political influence, was the result of the Utrecht Union; but it was not a premeditated result. The future confederacy was not to resemble the system of the German Empire, for it was to acknowledge no single head. It was to differ from the Achaean League, in the far inferior amount of power which it permitted to its general assembly, and in the consequently greater proportion of sovereign attributes which were retained by the individual states.

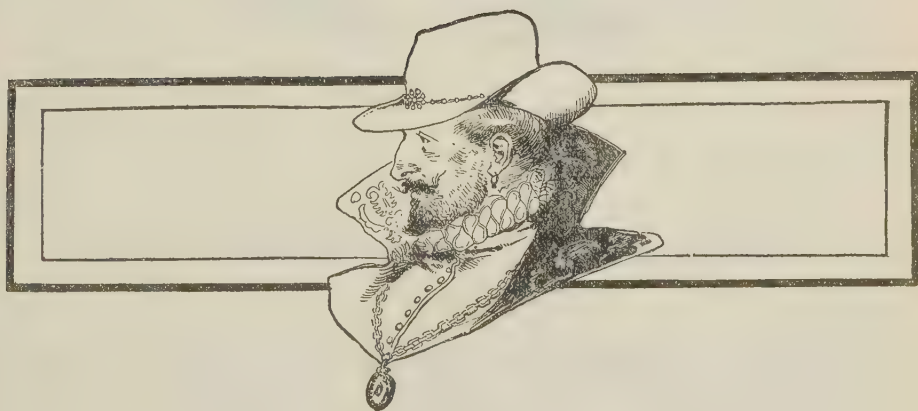
It was, on the other hand, to furnish a closer and more intimate bond than that of the Swiss confederacy, which was only a union for defence and external purposes, of cantons otherwise independent. It was, finally, to differ from the American federal commonwealth in the great feature that it was to be merely a confederacy of sovereignties, not a representative republic. Its foundation was a compact, not a constitution. The contracting parties were states and corporations, who considered themselves as representing small nationalities *de jure et de facto*, and as succeeding to the supreme power at the very instant in which allegiance to the Spanish monarch was renounced. The general assembly was a collection of diplomatic envoys, bound by instruction from independent states. The voting was not by heads, but by states. The deputies were not representatives of the people, but of the states; for the people of the United States of the Netherlands never assembled — as did the people of the United States of America two centuries later — to lay down a constitution, by which they granted a generous amount of power to the union, while they reserved enough of sovereign attributes to secure that local self-government which is the life-blood of liberty.

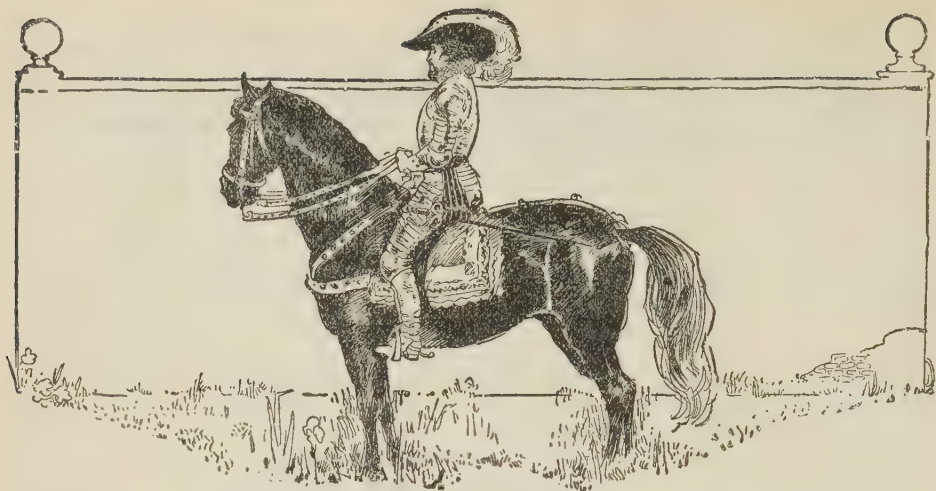
Could the jealousy of great nobles, the rancour of religious differences, the Catholic bigotry of the Walloon population on the one side, contending with the democratic insanity of the Ghent populace on the other, have been restrained within bounds by the moderate counsels of William of Orange,

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it would have been possible to unite seventeen provinces instead of seven, and to save many long and blighting years of civil war.

Thus by the Union of Utrecht on the one hand, and the fast approaching reconciliation of the Walloon provinces on the other, the work of decomposition and of construction went hand in hand.^b





CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST YEARS OF WILLIAM THE SILENT

[1579-1584 A.D.]

By a few wise concessions made in good time at the origin of the troubles and loyally maintained, Philip II might have saved intact the heritage of the house of Burgundy, and also preserved the old religion in the whole extent of the seventeen provinces. As a result of adopting an inexorable system and calling tyranny to his aid, before his death the son of Charles V beheld his inheritance dismembered and Protestantism triumphant and dominant in the new republic of the united provinces. The punishment of the proudest and most powerful king of the sixteenth century was still more cruel.

That Batavian federation, so feeble in its commencement, gradually became one of the most formidable states of Europe, and as stadholders the descendants of the proscribed William the Silent raised themselves above the descendants of his proscriber. They vanquished Spain and dictated laws to it. The Dutch Republic was extending its power and commanding admiration when the Spanish monarchy, exhausted by such a long struggle, was drawing after it in its humiliation and its ruin the states which, unhappily for themselves, had not been able to detach themselves irrevocably from the fatal dominion of Philip II.

After joining the Protestants and valiantly fighting with them, the Belgian malcontents finally abandoned them, thus deserting the great cause of the Netherlands. But this fatal determination, which even the tumults and aggressions of the Calvinist party could scarcely excuse, was cruelly expiated. The submission of the Catholic Belgians to Spain, accomplished too quickly and with too great lack of foresight, was the principal cause of the long decay and dismemberment of the southern Netherlands.^b

[1579 A.D.]

PARMA BESIEGES MAESTRICHT (1579)

After the Union of Utrecht, the North and South ceased to fight together. The duke of Alençon, jealous of the count palatine, had abruptly returned to France, and, as the archduke Matthias possessed neither money nor troops, he was reduced to an absolute nullity. The duke of Parma knew how to profit skilfully by these circumstances. He advanced into Brabant with all his forces and compelled the troops of the states to fall back upon Antwerp. This movement brought to light John Kasimir's German bands, isolated in Flanders and already embroiled with the people of Ghent. Their leader had gone to England, and, without waiting his return, they made terms with Parma and obtained a safe conduct to return to their own country.

Then the duke, now master of the country, came down upon Maestricht.^c The investment of Maestricht was commenced upon the 12th of March, 1579. In the city, besides the population, there were two thousand peasants, both men and women, a garrison of one thousand soldiers, and a trained burgher guard numbering about twelve hundred. The name of the military commandant was Melchior. Sebastian Tappin, a Lorraine officer, was, in truth, the principal director of the operations.

After a heavy cannonade from forty-six great guns, continued for several days, a portion of the brick curtain had crumbled, but through the breach was seen a massive terreplein, well moated, which, after six thousand shots already delivered on the outer wall, still remained uninjured. Four thousand miners, who had passed half their lives in burrowing for coal in that anthracite region, had been furnished by the bishop of Liège, and this force was now set to their subterranean work. A mine having been opened at a distance, the besiegers slowly worked their way towards the Tongres gate, while at the same time the more ostensible operations were in the opposite direction. The besieged had their miners also, for the peasants in the city had been used to work with mattock and pickaxe. The women, too, enrolled themselves into companies, chose their officers — or “mine-mistresses,” as they were called — and did good service daily in the caverns of the earth.

Subterranean Fighting

Thus a whole army of gnomes were noiselessly at work to destroy and defend the beleaguered city. The contending forces met daily, in deadly encounter, within these sepulchral gangways. The citizens secretly constructed a dam across the Spanish mine, and then deluged their foe with hogsheads of boiling water. Hundreds were thus scalded to death. They heaped branches and light fagots in the hostile mine, set fire to the pile, and blew thick volumes of smoke along the passage with organ bellows, brought from the churches for the purpose. Many were thus suffocated.

The discomfited besiegers abandoned the mine where they had met with such able countermining, and sank another shaft, at midnight, in secret. They worked their way, unobstructed, till they arrived at their subterranean port, directly beneath the doomed ravelin. Here they constructed a spacious chamber, supporting it with columns, and making all their architectural arrangements with as much precision and elegance as if their object had been purely æsthetic. Coffers full of powder, to an enormous amount, were then placed in every direction. The explosion was prodigious; a part of the tower fell with the concussion, and the moat was choked with heaps of

rubbish. The assailants sprang across the passage thus afforded, and mastered the ruined portion of the fort.

On the 8th of April, after uniting in prayer, and listening to a speech from Alessandro Farnese, the great mass of the Spanish army advanced to the breach. The tried veterans of Spain, Italy, and Burgundy were met face to face by the burghers of Maestricht, together with their wives and children. All were armed to the teeth, and fought with what seemed superhuman valour. The women, fierce as tigresses defending their young, swarmed to the walls, and fought in the foremost rank. They threw pails of boiling water on the besiegers, they hurled firebrands in their faces, they quoited blazing pitch-hoops with unerring dexterity about their necks. The rusties too, armed with their ponderous flails, worked as cheerfully at this bloody harvesting as if threshing their corn at home.

A new mine — which was to have been sprung between the ravelin and the gate, but which had been secretly countermined by the townspeople, exploded with a horrible concussion, at a moment least expected by the besiegers. Ortiz, a Spanish captain of engineers, who had been inspecting the excavations, was thrown up bodily from the subterranean depth. He fell back again instantly into the same cavern, and was buried by the returning shower of earth which had spouted from the mine. Forty-five years afterwards, in digging for the foundations of a new wall, his skeleton was found. Clad in complete armour, the helmet and cuirass still sound, with his gold chain around his neck, and his mattock and pickaxe at his feet, the soldier lay un mutilated, seeming almost capable of resuming his part in the same war which, even after his half-century sleep, was still ravaging the land.

Five hundred of the Spaniards perished by the explosion, but none of the defenders were injured, for they had been prepared. Recovering from the momentary panic, the besiegers again rushed to the attack. The battle raged. Six hundred and seventy officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, had already fallen, more than half mortally wounded. Four thousand royalists, horribly mutilated, lay on the ground.

Alessandro reluctantly gave the signal of recall at last, and accepted the defeat. For the future he determined to rely more upon the sapper and miner. His numerous army was well housed and amply supplied, and he had built a strong and populous city in order to destroy another. Relief was impossible.

At length, on June 29th, after three months of siege, the Spanish forced their way through a breach, and surprised at last — in its sleep — the city which had so long and vigorously defended itself. The battle, as usual when Netherlands towns were surprised by Philip's soldiers, soon changed to a massacre. Women, old men, and children had all been combatants; and all, therefore, had incurred the vengeance of the conquerors. Women were pursued from house to house, and hurled from roof and window. They were hunted into the river; they were torn limb from limb in the streets. Men and children fared no better; but the heart sickens at the oft-repeated tale. Horrors, alas, were commonplaces in the Netherlands.

On the first day four thousand men and women were slaughtered. The massacre lasted two days longer; nor would it be an exaggerated estimate, if we assume that the amount of victims upon the last two days was equal to half the number sacrificed on the first.¹ It was said that not four hundred

¹ Strada *d* puts the total number of inhabitants of Maestricht slain during the siege at eight thousand, of whom seventeen hundred were women.

[1579 A.D.]

citizens were left alive after the termination of the siege.¹ These soon wandered away, their places being supplied by a rabble rout of Walloon sutlers and vagabonds. Maestricht was depopulated as well as captured.

ORANGE BECOMES STADHOLDER OF FLANDERS

The prince of Orange, as usual, was blamed for the tragical termination to this long drama. All that one man could do he had done to awaken his countrymen to the importance of the siege. He had repeatedly brought the subject solemnly before the assembly, and implored for Maestricht, almost upon his knees. Now that the massacre to be averted was accomplished, men were loud in reproof, who had been silent and passive while there was yet time to speak and to work.

To save himself, they insinuated, he was now plotting to deliver the land into the power of the treacherous Frenchman, and he alone, they asserted, was the insuperable obstacle to an honourable peace with Spain.

A letter brought by an unknown messenger was laid before the states' assembly, in full session, and sent to the clerk's table, to be read aloud. After the first few sentences, that functionary faltered in his recital. Several members also peremptorily ordered him to stop; for the letter proved to be a violent and calumnious libel upon Orange, together with a strong appeal in favour of the peace propositions then under debate at Cologne. The prince alone, of all the assembly, preserving his tranquillity, ordered the document to be brought to him, and forthwith read it aloud himself, from beginning to end. Afterwards, he took occasion to express his mind concerning the ceaseless calumnies of which he was the mark. He especially alluded to the oft-repeated accusation that he was the only obstacle to peace, and repeated that he was ready at that moment to leave the land, and to close his lips forever, if by so doing he could benefit his country and restore her to honourable repose. The outcry, with the protestations of attachment and confidence which at once broke from the assembly, convinced him, however, that he was deeply rooted in the hearts of all patriotic Netherlands, and that it was beyond the power of slanderers to loosen his hold upon their affection.

Meantime, his efforts had again and again been demanded to restore order in that abode of anarchy, the city of Ghent. Early in March however, that master of misrule, Jan van Hembyze, had once more excited the populace to sedition. Again the property of Catholics, clerical and lay, was plundered: again the persons of Catholics, of every degree, were maltreated. The magistrates, with first senator Hembyze at their head, rather encouraged than rebuked the disorder. Hembyze, fearing the influence of the prince, indulged in open-mouthed abuse of a man whose character he was unable even to comprehend. In all the insane ravings, the demagogue was most ably seconded by the ex-monk. Incessant and unlicensed were the invectives hurled by Peter Dathen from his pulpit upon William the Silent's head. He denounced him — as he had often done before — as an atheist in heart; as a

¹ Not more than three or four hundred, says Bor.^e Not more than four hundred, says Hooft.^f Not three hundred, says Meteren.^g This must of course be an exaggeration, for the population had numbered thirty-four thousand at the commencement of the siege. At any rate, the survivors were but a remnant, and they all wandered away. The place, which had been so recently a very thriving and industrious town, remained a desert. During the ensuing winter most of the remaining buildings were torn down, that the timber and woodwork might be used as firewood by the soldiers and vagabonds who from time to time housed there.

man who changed his religion as easily as his garments¹; as a man who knew no God but state expediency, which was the idol of his worship; a mere politician, who would tear his shirt from his back and throw it in the fire, if he thought it were tainted with religion.

Such witless but vehement denunciation from a preacher who was both popular and comparatively sincere could not but affect the imagination of the weaker portion of his hearers. The faction of Hembyze became triumphant. By the influence of Ryhove, however, a messenger was despatched to Antwerp in the name of a considerable portion of the community of Ghent. The counsel and the presence of the man to whom all hearts in every part of the Netherlands instinctively turned in the hour of need were once more invoked.

The prince again addressed them in language which none but he could employ with such effect. He told them that his life, passed in service and sacrifice, ought to witness sufficiently for his fidelity. As for the matter of religion it was almost incredible that there should be any who doubted the zeal which he bore the religion for which he had suffered so much. "I desire," he continued fervently, "that men should compare that which has been done by my accusers during the ten years past with that which I have done. In that which touches the true advancement of religion, I will yield to no man. They who so boldly accuse me have no liberty of speech, save that which has been acquired for them by the blood of my kindred, by my labours, and my excessive expenditures. To me they owe it that they dare speak at all." This letter (which was dated on the 24th of July, 1579) contained an assurance that the writer was about to visit Ghent.

On the following day, Hembyze executed a *coup d'état*. Having a body of near two thousand soldiers at his disposal, he suddenly secured the persons of all the magistrates and other notable individuals not friendly to his policy, and then, in violation of all law, set up a new board of eighteen irresponsible functionaries, according to a list prepared by himself alone.

The prince came to Ghent, August 18th, 1579, great as had been the efforts of Hembyze and his partisans to prevent his coming. His presence was like magic. The demagogue and his whole flock vanished like unclean birds at the first rays of the sun. Orange rebuked the populace in the strong and indignant language that public and private virtue, energy, and a high purpose enabled such a leader of the people to use. He at once set aside the board of eighteen — the Grecian-Roman-Genevese establishment of Hembyze — and remained in the city until the regular election, in conformity with the privileges, had taken place. In company with his clerical companion, Peter Dathen, Hembyze fled to the abode of John Kasimir, who received both with open arms, and allowed them each a pension.

Order being thus again restored in Ghent by the exertions of the prince, when no other human hand could have dispelled the anarchy which seemed to reign supreme, William the Silent, having accepted the government of Flanders, which had again and again been urged upon him, now returned to Antwerp.^h

FURTHER SECESSION FROM THE CAUSE

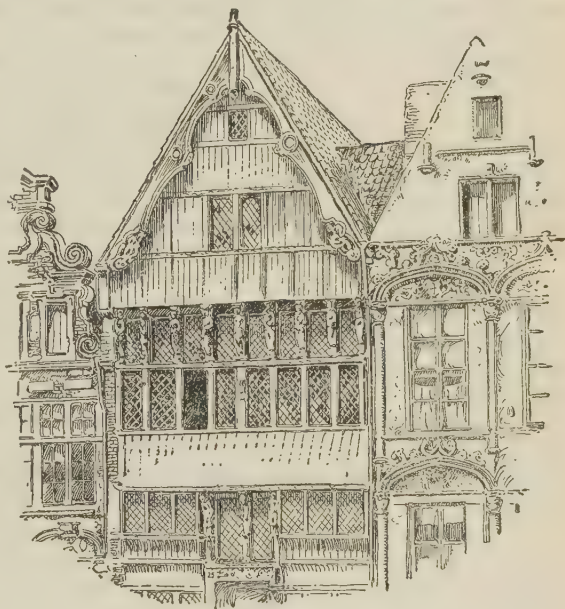
The states-general in session at Antwerp had not made any serious efforts to support the heroic defence of Maestricht, as we have seen. The assembly

[¹ So Strada^d says: "Whether he wrote truth, and was indeed a Calvinist in opinion; or rather by that means sought to ingratiate himself with the men whose service he had use of, some have made a doubt: it is most probable his religion was but pretended, which he could put on like a cloak, to serve him for such a time, and put it off again when it was out of fashion."]

[1579-1580 A.D.]

was divided in opinion and stripped of all authority. Under its very eyes fanatical preachers had incited the populace to fresh violence against the clergy. On Ascension Day, a Catholic procession had been attacked and dispersed in spite of the archduke Matthias' presence. This was an added grievance for the malcontents, and on the 19th of May, 1579, the deputies of Hainault and Artois as well as of French Flanders had concluded a treaty with the duke of Parma. By this treaty the provinces returned to the king's authority and rejected all other creeds than the Catholic religion, but they exacted that he should send his foreign troops out of the country, and he was compelled to put this hard condition into execution immediately after the capture of Maestricht.

It was not the Walloon provinces alone that returned to the king's side; Mechlin passed about the same time over to the duke of Parma, and Bois-le-Duc opened its gate to him as well after a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant townspeople. Similar trouble took place at Bruges, and the preachers were driven out by the inhabitants. But a body of Scotch troops, in the service of the states, threw itself upon the town and prevented its being given over to Parma's soldiers. Some of the nobles¹ who hitherto had fought under the banner of the confederation also came to terms with the duke of Parma when they saw vanish the hopes of pacification roused by a congress assembled at Cologne, through the emperor's efforts. One of them who thus set the example was the duke of Aerschot, who had taken part in the congress as a delegate from the provinces still under arms.



OLD HOUSES OF MECHLIN

These successes, as important as they were rapid, frightened the estates; of the large force they had raised the year before but a small body remained garrisoned in the towns, for whom there was no means of pay. The prince of Orange, who still retained some influence in the assembly, had recourse to the old expedient of offering the Low Countries to a foreign prince; but this time he proposed first to declare the downfall of Philip. This bold resolution was adopted, in May, 1580, and homage given to the same duke of Alençon and Anjou who had already received the title of protector — a man of slight mind, weak and inconstant, from whom neither firmness nor wisdom could be expected. But he could bring a French army with him and thus provide for the immediate defence of the country; this was probably all that

[¹ Among these was the young count Philip of Egmont, whose father had been executed by Alva; Renneberg, the prince's trusted stadholder in Groningen, turned traitor and was put in command of royalist troops.]

he could be counted on to do. William, however, knew how to reserve the right to serve him as counsel and guide.^c

The war continued in a languid and desultory manner in different parts of the country. At an action near Ingelmunster, the brave and accomplished De la Noue was made prisoner and placed in the castle of Limburg. At last, in June, 1585, he was exchanged, on extremely rigorous terms, for Egmont [who had been captured]. During his captivity in this vile dungeon, De la Noue composed not only his famous political and military discourses but several other works.

The siege of Groningen proceeded, and Parma ordered some forces under Martin Schenk to advance to its relief. On the other hand, the meagre states forces under Sonoy, Hohenlohe, Entes, and Count John of Nassau's young son, William Louis, had not yet made much impression upon the city.

After a few trifling operations before Groningen, Hohenlohe was summoned to the neighbourhood of Koeworden, by the reported arrival of Martin Schenk, at the head of a considerable force. On the 15th of June, the count marched all night and a part of the following morning, in search of the enemy. He came up with them upon Hardenberg Heath, in a broiling summer forenoon. Hohenlohe's army was annihilated in an hour's time, the whole population fled out of Koeworden, the siege of Groningen was raised, Renneberg was set free to resume his operations on a larger scale, and the fate of all the north-eastern provinces was once more swinging in the wind. The boors of Drenthe and Friesland rose again. They had already mustered in the field at an earlier season of the year in considerable force. Calling themselves "the desperates," and bearing on their standard an egg-shell with the yolk running out — to indicate that having lost the meat they were yet ready to fight for the shell — they had swept through the open country, pillaging and burning.

A small war now succeeded, with small generals, small armies, small campaigns, small sieges. For the time, the prince of Orange was even obliged to content himself with such a general as Hohenlohe. As usual, he was almost alone. "*Donec eris felix*," said he, emphatically —

*multos numerabis amicos,
Tempora cum erunt nubila, nullus erit,*

and he was this summer doomed to a still harder deprivation by the final departure of his brother John from the Netherlands in August, 1580. The count had been wearied out by petty miseries. His stadholderate of Gelderland¹ had overwhelmed him with annoyance, for throughout the northeastern provinces there was neither system nor subordination. Never had prætor of a province a more penurious civil list. "The baker has given notice," wrote Count John, in November, "that he will supply no more bread after to-morrow, unless he is paid." The states would furnish no money to pay the bill. It was no better with the butcher. "The cook has often no meat to roast," said the count, in the same letter, "so that we are often obliged to go supperless to bed." His lodgings were a half-roofed, half-finished, unfurnished barrack, where the stadholder passed his winter days and evenings in a small, dark, freezing-cold chamber, often without firewood. Having already loaded himself with a debt of 600,000 florins, which he had spent in the states' service, and having struggled manfully against the petty tortures of his situation, he cannot be severely censured for relinquishing his post.

[¹ His office was technically that of "Director of the college of the Nearer Union."]

[1580 A.D.]

Soon afterwards, a special legation, with Sainte-Aldegonde at its head, was despatched to France to consult with the duke of Anjou, and settled terms of agreement with him by the Treaty of Plessis-les-Tours (on the 29th of September, 1580), afterwards definitely ratified by the convention of Bordeaux, signed on the 23rd of the following January.

The states of Holland and Zealand, however, kept entirely aloof from this transaction, being from the beginning opposed to the choice of Anjou. From the first to the last, they would have no master but Orange, and to him, therefore, this year they formally offered the sovereignty of their provinces; but they offered it in vain.

The conquest of Portugal had effected a diversion in the affairs of the Netherlands. It was but a transitory one. From the moment of this conquest, Philip was more disposed, and more at leisure than ever, to vent his wrath against the Netherlands, and against the man whom he considered the incarnation of their revolt.

THE "BAN" AGAINST WILLIAM (1580)

Cardinal Granvella had ever whispered in the king's ear the expediency of taking off the prince by assassination. In accordance with these suggestions and these hopes, the famous ban was drawn up, and dated on the 15th of March, 1580. It was, however, not formally published in the Netherlands until the month of June of the same year.

This edict will remain the most lasting monument to the memory of Cardinal Granvella. It will be read when all his other state-papers and epistles — able as they incontestably are — shall have passed into oblivion. No panegyric of friend, no palliating magnanimity of foe, can roll away this rock of infamy from his tomb. It was by Cardinal Granvella and by Philip that a price was set upon the head of the foremost man of his age, as if he had been a savage beast, and that admission into the ranks of Spain's haughty nobility was made the additional bribe to tempt the assassin.

The ban consisted of a preliminary narrative to justify the penalty.

"For these causes," concluded the ban, "we declare him traitor and miscreant, enemy of ourselves and of the country. As such we banish him perpetually from all our realms, forbidding all our subjects, of whatever quality, to communicate with him openly or privately — to administer to him victuals, drink, fire, or other necessities. We allow all to injure him in property or life. We expose the said William Nassau as an enemy of the human race — giving his property to all who may seize it. And if any one of our subjects or any stranger should be found sufficiently generous of heart to rid us of this pest, delivering him to us, alive or dead, or taking his life, we will cause to be furnished to him immediately after the deed shall have been done, the sum of twenty-five thousand crowns in gold. If he have committed any crime, however heinous, we promise to pardon him; and if he be not already noble, we will ennoble him for his valour."

THE "APOLOGY" OF WILLIAM

Such was the celebrated ban against the prince of Orange. It was answered before the end of the year by the memorable *Apology of the Prince of Orange*, one of the most startling documents in history. No defiance was ever thundered forth in the face of a despot in more terrible tones. It had become sufficiently manifest to the royal party that the prince was not to be

purchased by "millions of money," or by unlimited family advancement — not to be cajoled by flattery or offers of illustrious friendship. It had been decided, therefore, to terrify him into retreat, or to remove him by murder. The government had been thoroughly convinced that the only way to finish the revolt, was to "finish Orange," according to the ancient advice of Antonio Perez. The rupture being thus complete, it was right that the "wretched hypocrite" should answer ban with ban, royal denunciation with sublime scorn. He had ill deserved, however, the title of hypocrite, he said. When the friend of government, he had warned them that by their complicated and perpetual persecutions they were twisting the rope of their own ruin. Was that hypocrisy? Since becoming their enemy, there had likewise been little hypocrisy found in him — unless it was hypocrisy to make open war upon government, to take their cities, to expel their armies from the country.

The proscribed rebel, towering to a moral and even social superiority over the man who affected to be his master by right divine, repudiated the idea of a king in the Netherlands. The word might be legitimate in Castile, or Naples, or the Indies, but the provinces knew no such title. Philip had inherited in those countries only the power of duke or count — a power closely limited by constitutions more ancient than his birthright. Orange was no rebel then — Philip no legitimate monarch. Even were the prince rebellious, it was no more than Philip's ancestor, Albert of Austria, had been towards his anointed sovereign, emperor Adolphus of Nassau, ancestor of William. The ties of allegiance and conventional authority being severed, it had become idle for the king to affect superiority of lineage to the man whose family had occupied illustrious stations when the Habsburgs were obscure squires in Switzerland, and had ruled as sovereign in the Netherlands before that overshadowing house had ever been named.

But whatever the hereditary claims of Philip in the country, he had forfeited them by the violation of his oaths, by his tyrannical suppression of the charters of the land; while by his personal crimes he had lost all pretension to sit in judgment upon his fellow man. Was a people not justified in rising against authority when all their laws had been trodden under foot, "not once only, but a million of times"? — and was William of Orange, lawful husband of the virtuous Charlotte de Bourbon, to be denounced for moral delinquency by a lascivious, incestuous, adulterous, and murderous king? With horrible distinctness he laid before the monarch all the crimes of which he believed him guilty, and having thus told Philip to his beard, "thus didst thou," he had a withering word for the priest who stood at his back. "Tell me," he cried, "by whose command Cardinal Granvella administered poison to Emperor Maximilian? I know what the emperor told me, and how much fear he felt afterwards for the king and for all Spaniards."

He ridiculed the effrontery of men like Philip and Granvella in charging "distrust upon others, when it was the very atmosphere of their own existence." He proclaimed that sentiment to be the only salvation for the country. He reminded Philip of the words which his namesake of Macedon — a school-boy in tyranny, compared to himself — had heard from the lips of Demosthenes — that the strongest fortress of a free people against a tyrant was distrust. That sentiment, worthy of eternal memory, the prince declared that he had taken from the "divine philippic," to engrave upon the heart of the nation, and he prayed God that he might be more readily believed than the great orator had been by his people. He treated with scorn the price set upon his head, ridiculing this project to terrify him, for its want of novelty, and asking the monarch if he supposed the rebel ignorant of the

[1580-1581 A.D.]

various bargains which had frequently been made before with cut-throats and poisoners to take away his life. "I am in the hand of God," said William of Orange; "my worldly goods and my life have been long since dedicated to his service. He will dispose of them as seems best for his glory and my salvation."

On the contrary, however, if it could be demonstrated, or even hoped, that his absence would benefit the cause of the country, he proclaimed himself ready to go into exile. "Would to God," said he, in conclusion, "that my perpetual banishment, or even my death, could bring you a true deliverance from so many calamities. Oh, how consoling would be such banishment — how sweet such a death! For why have I exposed my property? Was it that I might enrich myself? Why have I lost my brothers? Was it that I might find new ones? Why have I left my son so long a prisoner? Can you give me another? Why have I put my life so often in danger? What reward can I hope after my long services, and the almost total wreck of my earthly fortunes, if not the prize of having acquired, perhaps at the expense of my life, your liberty? If then, my masters, you judge that my absence or my death can serve you, behold me ready to obey. Command me — send me to the ends of the earth — I will obey. Here is my head, over which no prince, no monarch, has power but yourselves. Dispose of it for your good, for the preservation of your republic, but if you judge that the moderate amount of experience and industry which is in me, if you judge that the remainder of my property and of my life can yet be a service to you, I dedicate them afresh to you and to the country."¹

His motto — most appropriate to his life and character — "*Je maintiendrai*," was the concluding phrase of the document. His arms and signature were also formally appended, and the *Apology*, translated into most modern languages, was sent to nearly every potentate in Christendom. It had been previously, on the 13th of December, 1580, read before the assembly of the united states at Delft, and approved as cordially as the ban was indignantly denounced.

ALLEGIANCE TO PHILIP FORMALLY RENOUNCED (1581)

During the remainder of the year 1580, and the half of the following year, the seat of hostilities was mainly in the northeast — Parma, while waiting the arrival of fresh troops, being inactive. The operations, like the armies and the generals, were petty. Hohenlohe was opposed to Renneberg. After a few insignificant victories, the latter laid siege to Steenwijk. Upon the 22nd of February, 1581, at the expiration of the third week, Norris succeeded in victualling the town, and Count Renneberg abandoned the siege in despair.

The subsequent career of that unhappy nobleman was brief. On the 19th of July his troops were signally defeated by Sonoy and Norris, the fugitive royalists retreating into Groningen at the very moment when their general, who had been prevented by illness from commanding them, was

¹ The *Apologie* was drawn up by Villiers, a clergyman of learning and talent. No man, however, at all conversant with the writings and speeches of the prince, can doubt that the entire substance of the famous document was from his own hand. The whole was submitted to him for his final emendations, and it seems by no means certain that it derived anything from the hand of Villiers, save the artistic arrangement of the parts, together with certain inflations of style, by which the general effect is occasionally marred. The appearance of the *Apology* created both admiration and alarm among the friends of its author. "Now is the Prince a dead man," cried Sainte-Aldegonde, when he read it in France. Blok^t agrees with Motley^h that "the prince's part in the apology is evident."

receiving the last sacraments. Remorse, shame, and disappointment had literally brought Renneberg to his grave. "His treason," says Bor,^e a contemporary, "was a nail in his coffin," and on his deathbed he bitterly bemoaned his crime. "Groningen! Groningen! would that I had never seen thy walls!" he cried repeatedly in his last hours. He refused to see his sister, whose insidious counsels had combined with his own evil passions to make him a traitor; and he died on the 23rd of July, 1581, repentant and submissive.¹

Philip was in Portugal, preparing for his coronation in that new kingdom — an event to be nearly contemporaneous with his deposition from the Netherland sovereignty, so solemnly conferred upon him a quarter of a century before in Brussels. He committed the profound error of sending the duchess Margaret of Parma to the Netherlands again. The Netherlanders were very moderately excited by the arrival of their former regent, but the prince of Parma was furious. He was unflinching in his determination to retain all the power or none. The duchess, as docile to her son after her arrival as she had been to the king on undertaking the journey, and feeling herself unequal to the task imposed upon her, implored Philip's permission to withdraw, but continued to reside there under an assumed name until the autumn of 1583, when she was at last permitted to return to Italy.

During the summer of 1581 the same spirit of persecution which had inspired the Catholics to inflict such infinite misery upon those of the reformed faith in the Netherlands began to manifest itself in overt acts against the papists by those who had at last obtained political ascendancy over them. Edicts were published in Antwerp, in Utrecht, and in different cities of Holland, suspending the exercise of the Roman worship. These statutes were certainly a long way removed in horror from those memorable placards which sentenced the Reformers by thousands to the axe, the cord, and the stake, but it was still melancholy to see the persecuted becoming persecutors in their turn.

A most important change was now to take place in the prince's condition, a most vital measure was to be consummated by the provinces. The step, which could never be retraced, was, after long hesitation, finally taken upon the 26th of July, 1581, upon which day the united provinces, assembled at the Hague, solemnly declared their independence of Philip, and renounced their allegiance for ever.

This act was accomplished with the deliberation due to its gravity. At the same time it left the country in a very divided condition. The Walloon provinces had already fallen off from the cause, notwithstanding the entreaties of the prince. The other Netherlands, after long and tedious negotiation with Anjou, had at last consented to his supremacy, but from this arrangement Holland and Zealand held themselves aloof. They were willing to contract with him and with their sister provinces — over which he was soon to exercise authority — a firm and perpetual league, but as to their own chief, their hearts were fixed. The prince of Orange should be their lord and master, and none other. It lay only in his self-denying character that he had not been clothed with this dignity long before.

As it was evident that the provinces, thus bent upon placing him at their head, could by no possibility be induced to accept the sovereignty of Anjou — as, moreover, the act of renunciation of Philip could no longer be deferred,

[¹ Renneberg was succeeded as commander of the royalists, by Francesco de Verdugo, but, as Blok² says, guerrilla war prevailed since "both sides were hampered by lack of money and men."]

[1581 A.D.]

the prince of Orange reluctantly and provisionally accepted the supreme power over Holland and Zealand. This arrangement was finally accomplished upon the 24th of July, 1581, and the act of abjuration took place two days afterwards. The offer of the sovereignty over the other united provinces had been accepted by Anjou six months before. Thus the Netherlands were divided into three portions—the reconciled provinces, the united provinces under Anjou, and the northern provinces under Orange; the last division forming the germ, already nearly developed, of the coming republic.

WILLIAM BECOMES SOVEREIGN OF HOLLAND (1581)

The sovereignty thus pressingly offered, and thus limited as to time [to the end of the war], was finally accepted by William of Orange, according to a formal act dated at the Hague, 5th of July, 1581, but no powers were conferred by this new instrument beyond those already exercised by the prince. It was as it were a formal continuance of the functions which he had exercised since 1576 as the king's stadholder, according to his old commission of 1555, although a vast difference existed in reality. The limitation as to time was, moreover, soon afterwards secretly, and without the knowledge of Orange, cancelled by the states. They were determined that the prince should be their sovereign—if they could make him so—for the term of his life.

The offer having thus been made and accepted upon the 5th of July, oaths of allegiance and fidelity were exchanged between the prince and the states upon the 24th of the same month. Two days afterwards, upon the 26th of July, 1581, the memorable declaration of independence was issued by the deputies of the united provinces, then solemnly assembled at the Hague. It was called the Act of Abjuration.

The document by which the provinces renounced their allegiance was not the most felicitous of their state papers. It was too prolix and technical. Its style had more of the formal phraseology of legal documents than befitted this great appeal to the whole world and to all time. Nevertheless, this is but matter of taste. The Netherlanders were so eminently a law-abiding people, that, like the American patriots of the eighteenth century, they on most occasions preferred punctilious precision to florid declamation. They chose to conduct their revolt according to law. At the same time, while thus decently wrapping herself in conventional garments, the spirit of Liberty revealed none the less her majestic proportions.

At the very outset of the Abjuration, these fathers of the republic laid down wholesome truths, which at that time seemed startling blasphemies in the ears of Christendom. "All mankind know," said the preamble, "that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the prince does not fulfil his duty as protector; when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not a prince, but a tyrant. As such, the estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him, and elect another in his room."

Having enunciated these maxims, the estates proceeded to apply them to their own case, and certainly never was an ampler justification for renouncing a prince since princes were first instituted. The states ran through the history of the past quarter of a century, patiently accumulating a load of charges against the monarch, a tithe of which would have furnished cause for his dethronement. Without passion or exaggeration they told

the world their wrongs. The picture was not highly coloured. On the contrary, it was rather a feeble than a striking portrait of the monstrous iniquity which had so long been established over them.

They calmly observed, after this recital, that they were sufficiently justified in forsaking a sovereign who for more than twenty years had forsaken them. Obeying the law of nature — desirous of maintaining the rights, charters, and liberties of their fatherland — determined to escape from slavery to Spaniards — and making known their decision to the world, they declared the king of Spain deposed from his sovereignty, and proclaimed that they should recognise thenceforth neither his title nor jurisdiction. Three days afterwards, on the 29th of July, the assembly adopted a formula by which all persons were to be required to signify their abjuration.¹

Such were the forms by which the united provinces threw off their allegiance to Spain, and *ipso facto* established a republic, which was to flourish for two centuries. This result, however, was not exactly foreseen by the congress which deposed Philip. The fathers of the commonwealth did not baptise it by the name of "republic." They did not contemplate a change in their form of government. They had neither an aristocracy nor a democracy in their thoughts. Like the actors in the American national drama, these Netherland patriots were struggling to sustain, not to overthrow; unlike them, they claimed no theoretical freedom for humanity — promulgated no doctrine of popular sovereignty: they insisted merely on the fulfilment of actual contracts, signed, sealed, and sworn to by many successive sovereigns. The deposition and election could be legally justified only by the inherent right of the people to depose and to elect; yet the provinces, in their declaration of independence, spoke of the divine right of kings, even while dethroning, by popular right, their own king!

So also, in the instructions given by the states to their envoys charged to justify the abjuration before the imperial diet held at Augsburg, twelve months later, the highest ground was claimed for the popular right to elect or depose the sovereign, while at the same time kings were spoken of as "appointed by God." It is true that they were described in the same clause as "chosen by the people" — which was, perhaps, as exact a concurrence in the maxim of *Vox populi vox Dei*, as the boldest democrat of the day could demand.

Such, then, being the spirit which prompted the provinces upon this great occasion, it may be asked who were the men who signed a document of such importance? In whose name and by what authority did they act against the sovereign? The signers of the declaration of independence acted in the name and by the authority of the Netherland people. The states were the constitutional representatives of that people.² The statesmen of that day, discovering, upon cold analysis of facts, that Philip's sovereignty was legally forfeited, formally proclaimed that forfeiture. Then inquiring what had become of the sovereignty, they found it not in the mass of the people, but

¹ It ran as follows: "I solemnly swear that I will henceforward not respect, nor obey, nor recognise the king of Spain as my prince and master; but that I renounce the king of Spain, and abjure the allegiance by which I may have formerly been bound to him. At the same time I swear fidelity to the United Netherlands—to wit, the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Gelderland, Holland, Zealand, etc., and also to the national council established by the estates of these provinces; and promise my assistance according to the best of my abilities against the king of Spain and his adherents."

² Blok points out the great importance in future history of this idea that "the origin of sovereignty was not vested in the lord of the land, but in the states as representing the subjects."

[1581 A.D.]

in the representative body, which actually personated the people. The states of the different provinces — consisting of the knights, nobles, and burghesses of each — sent, accordingly, their deputies to the general assembly at the Hague, and by this congress the decree of abjuration was issued.

The want of personal ambition on the part of William the Silent inflicted perhaps a serious damage upon his country. He believed a single chief requisite for the united states; he might have been, but always refused to become that chief; and yet he has been held up for centuries by many writers as a conspirator and a self-seeking intriguer. "It seems to me," said he, with equal pathos and truth, upon one occasion, "that I was born in this bad planet that all which I do might be misinterpreted." The people worshipped him, and there was many an occasion when his election would have been carried with enthusiasm. Said John of Nassau, "He refuses only on this account — that it may not be thought that, instead of religious freedom for the country, he has been seeking a kingdom for himself and his own private advancement. Moreover, he believes that the connection with France will be of more benefit to the country and to Christianity than if a peace should be made with Spain, or than if he should himself accept the sovereignty, as he is desired to do."

The unfortunate negotiations with Anjou, to which no man was more opposed than Count John, proceeded therefore. In the meantime, the sovereignty over the united provinces was provisionally held by the national council, and, at the urgent solicitation of the states-general, by the prince. The archduke Matthias, whose functions were most unceremoniously brought to an end by the transactions which we have been recording, took his leave of the states, and departed in the month of October. Brought to the country a beardless boy, by the intrigues of a faction who wished to use him as a tool against William of Orange, he had quietly submitted, on the contrary, to serve as the instrument of that great statesman. His personality during his residence was null, and he had to expiate, by many a petty mortification, by many a bitter tear, the boyish ambition which brought him to the Netherlands. The states voted him, on his departure, a pension of fifty thousand guildens annually, which was probably not paid with exemplary regularity.

By midsummer the duke of Anjou made his appearance in the western part of the Netherlands. The prince of Parma had recently come from Cambray with the intention of reducing that important city. On the arrival of Anjou, however, at the head of five thousand cavalry — nearly all of them gentlemen of high degree, serving as volunteers — and of twelve thousand infantry, Alessandro raised the siege precipitately, and retired towards Tournay. Anjou victualled the city, strengthened the garrison, and then, as his cavalry had only enlisted for a summer's amusement, and could no longer be held together, he disbanded his forces. The bulk of the infantry took service for the states under the prince of Espinoy, governor of Tournay. The duke himself, finding that, notwithstanding the treaty of Plessis-les-Tours and the present showy demonstration upon his part, the states were not yet prepared to render him formal allegiance, and being, moreover, in the heyday of what was universally considered his prosperous courtship of Queen Elizabeth, soon afterwards took his departure for England.

Parma, being thus relieved of his interference, soon afterwards laid siege to the important city of Tournay. The prince of Espinoy was absent with the army in the north, but the princess commanded in his absence. She fulfilled her duty in a manner worthy of the house from which she sprang, for the blood of Count Horn was in her veins. The princess appeared daily

among her troops, superintending the defences, and personally directing the officers.

The siege lasted two months. The princess made an honourable capitulation with Parma. She herself, with all her garrison, was allowed to retire with personal property, and with all the honours of war, while the sack of the city was commuted for one hundred thousand crowns, levied upon the inhabitants. The princess, on leaving the gates, was received with such a shout of applause from the royal army that she seemed less like a defeated commander than a conqueror. Upon the 30th November, Parma accordingly entered the place which he had been besieging since the 1st of October.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ANJOU

The states sent a special mission to England, to arrange with the duke of Anjou for his formal installation as sovereign. Sainte-Aldegonde and other commissioners were already there. It was the memorable epoch in the Anjou wooing, when the rings were exchanged between Elizabeth and the duke, and when the world thought that the nuptials were on the point of being celebrated.

Nevertheless, the marriage ended in smoke. There were plenty of tournaments, pageants, and banquets; a profusion of nuptial festivities, in short, where nothing was omitted but the nuptials. By the end of January, 1582, the duke was no nearer the goal than upon his arrival three months before. Acceding, therefore, to the wishes of the Netherland envoys he prepared for a visit to their country, where the ceremony of his joyful entrance (*La Joyeuse Entrée*) as duke of Brabant and sovereign of the other provinces was to take place. No open rupture with Elizabeth occurred.

On the 10th of February, 1582, fifteen large vessels cast anchor at Flushing. The duke of Anjou, attended by the earl of Leicester, the lords Hunsdon, Willoughby, Sheffield, Howard, Sir Philip Sidney, and many other personages of high rank and reputation, landed from this fleet. He was greeted on his arrival by the prince of Orange. Francis Hercules, son of France, duke of Alençon and Anjou, was at that time just twenty-eight years of age; yet not even his flatterers, or his "minions," of whom he had as regular a train as his royal brother, could claim for him the external graces of youth or of princely dignity. It was thought that his revolting appearance was the principal reason for the rupture of the English marriage, and it was in vain that his supporters maintained that if he could forgive her age, she might, in return, excuse his ugliness.

No more ignoble yet more dangerous creature had yet been loosed upon the devoted soil of the Netherlands. With a figure which was insignificant, and a countenance which was repulsive, he had hoped to efface the impression made upon Elizabeth's imagination by the handsomest man in Europe. With a commonplace capacity, and with a narrow political education, he intended to circumvent the most profound statesman of his age. And there, upon the pier at Flushing, he stood between them both; between the magnificent Leicester, whom he had thought to outshine, and the silent prince of Orange, whom he was determined to outwit.

The terms of the treaty concluded at Plessis-les-Tours and Bordeaux were now made public. The duke had subscribed to twenty-seven articles, which made as stringent and sensible a constitutional compact as could be desired by any Netherland patriot. These articles, taken in connection with the ancient charters which they expressly upheld, left to the new sovereign no

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vestige of arbitrary power. He was merely the hereditary president of a representative republic. He was to be duke, count, marquis, or seignior of the different provinces on the same terms which his predecessors had accepted. He was to transmit the dignities to his children. If there were more than one child, the provinces were to select one of the number for their sovereign. He was to maintain all the ancient privileges, charters, statutes, and customs, and to forfeit his sovereignty at the first violation. He was to assemble the states-general at least once a year. He was always to reside in the Netherlands. He was to permit none but natives to hold office. His right of appointment to all important posts was limited to a selection from three candidates, to be proposed by the states of the province concerned, at each vacancy. He was to maintain "the religion" and the "religious peace" in the same state in which they then were, or as should afterwards be obtained by the states of each province, without making any innovation on his own part. Holland and Zealand were to remain as they were, both in the matter of religion and otherwise. His highness was not to permit that anyone should be examined or molested in his house, or otherwise, in the matter or under pretext of religion. He was to procure the assistance of the king of France for the Netherlands. He was to maintain a perfect and a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between that kingdom and the provinces; without, however, permitting any incorporation of territory. He was to carry on the war against Spain with his own means and those furnished by his royal brother, in addition to a yearly contribution by the estates of 2,400,000 guildens. He was to dismiss all troops at command of the states-general. He was to make no treaty with Spain without their consent.

ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE WILLIAM

The first-fruits of the ban now began to display themselves. Sunday, 18th of March, 1582, was the birthday of the duke of Anjou, and a great festival had been arranged, accordingly, for the evening, at the palace of St. Michael, the prince of Orange as well as all the great French lords being of course invited. On rising from the table, Orange led the way from the dining-room to his own apartments. As he stood upon the threshold of the antechamber, a youth offered him a petition. He took the paper, and as he did so, the stranger suddenly drew a pistol and discharged it at the head of the prince. The ball entered the neck under the right ear, passed through the roof of the mouth, and came out under the left jawbone, carrying with it two teeth. The pistol had been held so near that the hair and beard of the prince were set on fire by the discharge. He remained standing, but blinded, stunned, and for a moment entirely ignorant of what had occurred. As he afterwards observed, he thought perhaps that a part of the house had suddenly fallen. Finding very soon that his hair and beard were burning, he comprehended what had occurred, and called out quickly, "Do not kill him — I forgive him my death!" and turning to the French noblemen present, he added, "Alas! what a faithful servant does his highness lose in me!"

These were his first words, spoken when, as all believed, he had been mortally wounded. The message of mercy came, however, too late; for two of the gentlemen present, by an irresistible impulse, had run the assassin through with their rapiers. The halberdiers rushed upon him immediately afterwards, so that he fell pierced in thirty-two vital places. The prince, supported by his friends, walked to his chamber, where he was put to bed, while the surgeons examined and bandaged the wound. It was most

dangerous in appearance, but a very strange circumstance gave more hope than could otherwise have been entertained. The flame from the pistol had been so close that it had actually cauterised the wound inflicted by the ball. But for this, it was supposed that the flow of blood from the veins which had been shot through would have proved fatal before the wound could be dressed. The prince, after the first shock, had recovered full possession of his senses, and believing himself to be dying, he expressed the most unaffected sympathy for the condition in which the duke of Anjou would be placed by his death. "Alas, poor prince!" he cried frequently; "alas, what troubles will now beset thee!" The surgeons enjoined and implored his silence, as speaking might cause the wound to prove immediately fatal. He complied, but wrote incessantly. As long as his heart could beat, it was impossible for him not to be occupied with his country.

Sainte-Aldegonde, who had meantime arrived, now proceeded, in company of the other gentlemen, to examine the articles and papers taken from the assassin. The pistol with which he had done the deed was lying upon the floor; a naked poniard, which he would probably have used also, had his thumb not been blown off by the discharge of the pistol, was found in his trunk hose. In his pocket were an *Agnus Dei*, a taper of green wax, two bits of hareskin, two dried toads — which were supposed to be sorcerer's charms — a crucifix, a Jesuit catechism, a prayer-book, a pocket-book containing two Spanish bills of exchange — one for two thousand, and one for eight hundred and seventy-seven crowns — and a set of writing tablets. These last were covered with vows and pious invocations, in reference to the murderous affair which the writer had in hand.

The poor fanatical fool had been taught by deeper villains than himself that his pistol was to rid the world of a tyrant, and to open his own pathway to heaven, if his career should be cut short on earth. To prevent so undesirable a catastrophe to himself, however, his most natural conception had been to bribe the whole heavenly host, from the Virgin Mary downwards, for he had been taught that absolution for murder was to be bought and sold like other merchandise. He had also been persuaded that, after accomplishing the deed, HE WOULD BECOME INVISIBLE.

Sainte-Aldegonde hastened to lay the result of this examination before the duke of Anjou. Information was likewise instantly conveyed to the magistrates at the town-house, and these measures were successful in restoring confidence throughout the city as to the intentions of the new government. Anjou immediately convened the state council, issued a summons for an early meeting of the states-general, and published a proclamation that all persons having information to give concerning the crime which had just been committed, should come instantly forward, upon pain of death. The body of the assassin was forthwith exposed upon the public square, and was soon recognised as that of one Juan Jaureguy, a servant in the employ of Gaspar de Anastro, a Spanish merchant of Antwerp. The letters and bills of exchange had also, on nearer examination at the town-house, implicated Anastro in the affair. His house was immediately searched, but the merchant had taken his departure, upon the previous Tuesday, under pretext of pressing affairs at Calais. His cashier, Venero, and a Dominican friar, named Anthony Zimmermann, both inmates of his family, were, however, arrested upon suspicion. Venero wrote a full confession.

It appeared that the crime was purely a commercial speculation on the part of Anastro. That merchant, being on the verge of bankruptcy, had entered with Philip into a mutual contract, which the king had signed with

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his hand and sealed with his seal, and according to which Anastro, within a certain period, was to take the life of William of Orange, and for so doing was to receive 80,000 ducats, and the cross of Santiago. To be a knight companion of Spain's proudest order of chivalry was the guerdon, over and above the eighty thousand pieces of silver, which Spain's monarch promised the murderer, if he should succeed. The cowardly and crafty principal escaped.

The process against Venero and Zimmermann was rapidly carried through, for both had made a full confession of their share in the crime. The prince had enjoined from his sick-bed, however, that the case should be conducted with strict regard to justice, and, when the execution could no longer be deferred, he had sent a written request, by the hands of Sainte-Aldegonde, that they should be put to death in the least painful manner. The request was complied with, but there can be no doubt that the criminals, had it not been made, would have expiated their offence by the most lingering tortures. Owing to the intercession of the man who was to have been their victim, they were strangled, before being quartered, upon a scaffold erected in the market-place, opposite the town-house. This execution took place on Wednesday, the 28th of March, 1582.

The prince for eighteen days lay in a most precarious state. On the 5th of April the cicatrix by which the flow of blood from the neck had been prevented, almost from the first infliction of the wound, fell off. The veins poured forth a vast quantity of blood; it seemed impossible to check the hæmorrhage, and all hope appeared to vanish. The prince resigned himself to his fate, and bade his children "good-night forever," saying calmly, "it is now all over with me."

It was difficult, without suffocating the patient, to fasten a bandage tightly enough to staunch the wound, but Leonardo Botalli, of Asti, body physician of Anjou, was nevertheless fortunate enough to devise a simple mechanical expedient, which proved successful. By his advice, a succession of attendants, relieving each other day and night, prevented the flow of blood by keeping the orifice of the wound slightly but firmly compressed with the thumb. After a period of anxious expectation, the wound again closed, and by the end of the month the prince was convalescent. On the 2nd of May he went to offer thanksgiving in the Great Cathedral, amid the joyful sobs of a vast and most earnest throng.

The prince was saved, but unhappily the murderer had yet found an illustrious victim. The princess of Orange, Charlotte de Bourbon — the devoted wife who for seven years had so faithfully shared his joys and sorrows — lay already on her death-bed. Exhausted by anxiety, long watching, and the alternations of hope and fear during the first eighteen days, she had been prostrated by despair at the renewed hæmorrhage. A violent fever seized her, under which she sank on the 5th of May, three days after the solemn thanksgiving for her husband's recovery. The prince, who loved her tenderly, was in great danger of relapse upon the sad event, which, although not sudden, had not been anticipated. She was a woman of rare intelligence, accomplishment, and gentleness of disposition, whose only offence had been to break, by her marriage, the church vows to which she had been forced in her childhood, but which had been pronounced illegal by competent authority both ecclesiastical and lay. For this, and for the contrast which her virtues afforded to the vices of her predecessor, she was the mark of calumny and insult.

The offer of the sovereign countship of Holland was again made to the prince of Orange in most urgent terms. It will be recollected that he had

accepted the sovereignty on the 5th of July, 1581, only for the term of the war. In a letter, dated Bruges, 14th of August, 1582, he accepted the dignity without limitation. This offer and acceptance, however, constituted but the preliminaries, for it was further necessary that the letters of *renversal* should be drawn up, that they should be formally delivered, and that a new constitution should be laid down, and confirmed by mutual oaths. After these steps had been taken, the ceremonious inauguration or rendering of homage was to be celebrated.

All these measures were duly arranged except the last. The installation of the new count of Holland was prevented by his death, and the northern provinces remained a republic, not only in fact but in name.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1582

In political matters, the basis of the new constitution was the "Great Privilege" of the lady Mary, the Magna Charta of the country. That memorable monument in the history of the Netherlands and of municipal progress had been overthrown by Mary's son, with the forced acquiescence of the states, and it was therefore stipulated by the new article that even such laws and privileges as had fallen into disuse should be revived. It was furthermore provided that the little state should be a free countship, and should thus silently sever its connection with the empire.

With regard to the position of the prince, as hereditary chief of the little commonwealth, his actual power was rather diminished than increased by his new dignity. By the new constitution he ceased to be the source of governmental life, or to derive his own authority from above by right divine. Orange's sovereignty was from the states, as legal representatives of the people, and instead of exercising all the powers not otherwise granted away, he was content with those especially conferred upon him. He could neither declare war nor conclude peace without the co-operation of the representative body. The appointing power was scrupulously limited.

With respect to the great principle of taxation, stricter bonds even were provided than those which already existed. As executive head, save in his capacity as commander-in-chief by land or sea, the new sovereign was, in short, strictly limited by self-imposed laws. It had rested with him to dictate or to accept a constitution. He had, in his memorable letter of August, 1582, from Bruges, laid down generally the articles prepared at Plessis and Bordeaux, for Anjou — together with all applicable provisions of the joyous entry of Brabant — as the outlines of the constitution for the little commonwealth then forming in the north. To these provisions he was willing to add any others which, after ripe deliberation, might be thought beneficial to the country. Thus limited were his executive functions. As to his judicial authority, it had ceased to exist. The count of Holland was now the guardian of the laws, but the judges were to administer them.

As to the count's legislative authority, it had become co-ordinate with, if not subordinate to, that of the representative body. He was strictly prohibited from interfering with the right of the separate or the general states to assemble as often as they should think proper; and he was also forbidden to summon them outside their own territory. This was one immense step in the progress of representative liberty, and the next was equally important. It was now formally stipulated that the states were to deliberate upon all measures which "concerned justice and polity," and that no change was to

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be made — that is to say, no new law was to pass — without their consent as well as that of the council. Thus, the principle was established of two legislative chambers, with the right, but not the exclusive right, of initiation on the part of government, and in the sixteenth century one would hardly look for broader views of civil liberty and representative government. The foundation of a free commonwealth was thus securely laid, which, had William lived, would have been a representative monarchy, but which his death converted into a federal republic. It was necessary for the sake of unity to give a connected outline of these proceedings with regard to the sovereignty of Orange. The formal inauguration only remained, and this, as will be seen, was forever interrupted.

During the course of the year 1582, the military operations on both sides had been languid and desultory. In consequence, however, of the treaty concluded between the united states and Anjou, Parma had persuaded the Walloon provinces that it had now become absolutely necessary for them to permit the entrance of fresh Italian and Spanish troops. This, then, was the end of the famous provision against foreign soldiery in the Walloon Treaty of Reconciliation.

In the meantime, Farnese, while awaiting these reinforcements, had not been idle, but had been quietly picking up several important cities. Early in the spring he had laid siege to Oudenarde. An attempt upon Lochem, an important city in Gelderland, was unsuccessful, the place being relieved by the duke of Anjou's forces, and Parma's troops forced to abandon the siege. At Steenwijk, the royal arms were more successful. With this event the active operations under Parma closed for the year. By the end of the autumn, however, he had the satisfaction of numbering, under his command, full sixty thousand well-appointed and disciplined troops, including the large reinforcements recently despatched from Spain and Italy. The monthly expense of this army — half of which was required for garrison duty, leaving only the other moiety for field operations — was estimated at six hundred and fifty thousand florins. The forces under Anjou and the united provinces were also largely increased, so that the marrow of the land was again in fair way of being thoroughly exhausted by its defenders and its foes.

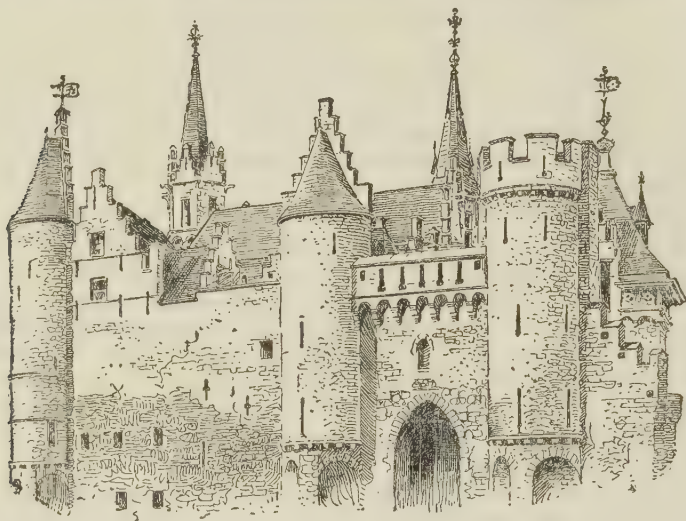
The incidents of Anjou's administration, meantime, during the year 1582, had been few and of no great importance. After the pompous and elaborate "homage-making" at Antwerp, he had, in the month of July, been formally accepted, by writing, as duke of Gelderland and lord of Friesland. In the same month he had been ceremoniously inaugurated at Bruges as count of Flanders — an occasion upon which the prince of Orange had been present.

In the midst of this event, an attempt was made upon the lives both of Orange and Anjou. An Italian, named Basa, and a Spaniard, called Salseda, were detected in a scheme to administer poison to both princes, and when arrested, confessed that they had been hired by the prince of Parma to compass this double assassination. Basa destroyed himself in prison. His body was, however, gibbeted, with an inscription that he had attempted, at the instigation of Parma, to take the lives of Orange and Anjou. Salseda, less fortunate, was sent to Paris, where he was found guilty, and executed by being torn to pieces by four horses. Sad to relate, Lamoral Egmont, younger son and namesake of the great general, was intimate with Salseda, and implicated in this base design. His mother, on her death-bed, had especially recommended the youth to the kindly care of Orange. The young noble was imprisoned; his guilt was far from doubtful; but the powerful intercessions of Orange himself, combined with Egmont's near relationship to

the French queen, saved his life, and he was permitted, after a brief captivity, to take his departure to France.^h

ANJOU'S PLOT AND THE "FRENCH FURY" (1583)

The duke of Anjou, intemperate, inconstant, and unprincipled, saw that his authority was but the shadow of power, compared to the deep-fixed practices of despotism which governed the other nations of Europe. The French officers, who formed his suite and possessed all his confidence, had no difficulty in raising his discontent into treason against the people with



THE STEEN AT ANTWERP—SCENE OF THE INQUISITION

whom he had made a solemn compact. The result of their councils was a deep-laid plot against Flemish liberty; and its execution was ere long attempted. He sent secret orders to the governors of Dunkirk, Bruges, Dendermonde, and other towns, to seize on and hold them in his name; reserving for himself the infamy of the enterprise against Antwerp. To prepare for its execution, he caused his numerous army of French and Swiss to approach the city; and they were encamped in the neighbourhood, at a place called Borgerhout.

On the 17th of January, 1583, the duke dined somewhat earlier than usual, under the pretext of proceeding afterwards to review his army in their camp. He set out at noon, accompanied by his guard of two hundred horse; and when he reached the second drawbridge, one of his officers gave the preconcerted signal for an attack on the Flemish guard, by pretending that he had fallen and broken his leg. The duke called out to his followers, "Courage, courage! the town is ours!" The guard at the gate was all soon despatched; and the French troops, which waited outside to the number of 3,000, rushed quickly in, furiously shouting the war-cry, "Town taken! town taken! kill! kill!" The astonished but intrepid citizens, recovering from their confusion, instantly flew to arms. All differences in religion or politics were forgotten in the common danger to their freedom. Catholics and Protestants, men and women, rushed alike to the conflict.

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The ancient spirit of Flanders seemed to animate all. Workmen, armed with the instruments of their various trades, started from their shops and flung themselves upon the enemy. A baker sprang from the cellar where he was kneading his dough, and with his oven shovel struck a French dragoon to the ground. Those who had fire-arms, after expending their bullets, took from their pouches and pockets pieces of money, which they bent between their teeth, and used for charging their arquebuses. The French were driven successively from the streets and ramparts, and the cannons planted on the latter were immediately turned against the reinforcements which attempted to enter the town. The French were everywhere beaten; the duke of Anjou saved himself by flight, and reached Dendermonde, after the perilous necessity of passing through a large tract of inundated country [the citizens of Mechlin having cut the dikes to impede his march]. His loss in this base enterprise amounted to fifteen hundred, while that of the citizens did not exceed eighty men. The attempts simultaneously made on the other towns succeeded at Dunkirk and Dendermonde; but all the others failed.

The character of the prince of Orange never appeared so thoroughly great as at this crisis. With wisdom and magnanimity rarely equalled and never surpassed, he threw himself and his authority between the indignation of the country and the guilt of Anjou; saving the former from excess, and the latter from execration. The disgraced and discomfited duke proffered to the states excuses as mean as they were hypocritical¹; and his brother, the king of France, sent a special envoy to intercede for him. But it was the influence of William that screened the culprit from public reprobation and ruin, and regained for him the place and power which he might easily have secured for himself, had he not prized the welfare of his country far above all objects of private advantage.ⁿ

The estates of the Union, being in great perplexity as to their proper course, now applied formally, as they always did in times of danger and doubt, to the prince, for a public expression of his views. Somewhat reluctantly, he complied with their wishes in one of the most admirable of his state papers.

He was far from palliating the crime, or from denying that the duke's rights under the Treaty of Bordeaux had been utterly forfeited. He was now asked what was to be done. Of three courses, he said, one must be taken: they must make their peace with the king, or consent to a reconciliation with Anjou, or use all the strength which God had given them to resist, single-handed, the enemy. The French could do the Netherlands more harm as enemies than the Spaniards.

Two powerful nations like France and Spain would be too much to have on their hands at once. How much danger, too, would be incurred by braving at once the open wrath of the French king and the secret displeasure of the English queen! She had warmly recommended the duke of Anjou. She had said that honours to him were rendered to herself, and she was now entirely opposed to their keeping the present quarrel alive.

The result of these representations by the prince — of frequent letters from Queen Elizabeth, urging a reconciliation — and of the professions made by the duke and the French envoys, was a provisional arrangement, signed on the 26th and 28th of March 1583. The negotiations, however, were languid. The quarrel was healed on the surface, but confidence so recently and violently uprooted was slow to revive. On the 28th of June, the duke

[¹ He ascribed the enterprise partly to accident, and partly to the insubordination of his troops. — MOTLEY.^b]

of Anjou left Dunkirk for Paris, never to return to the Netherlands, but he exchanged on his departure affectionate letters with the prince and the states. M. des Pruneaux remained as his representative, and it was understood that the arrangements for re-installing him as soon as possible in the sovereignty which he had so basely forfeited, were to be pushed forward with earnestness.

On the 12th of April, the prince of Orange was married, for the fourth time, to Louise, widow of the seigneur de Teligny, and daughter of the illustrious Coligny.

In August, 1583, the states of the united provinces assembled at Middelburg formally offered the general government — which under the circumstances was the general sovereignty — to the prince, warmly urging his acceptance of the dignity. Like all other attempts to induce the acceptance, by the prince, of supreme authority, this effort proved ineffectual, from the obstinate unwillingness of his hand to receive the proffered sceptre. But, firmly refusing to heed the overtures of the united states, and of Holland in particular, he continued to further the re-establishment of Anjou — a measure in which, as he deliberately believed, lay the only chance of union and independence.

Parma, meantime, had been busily occupied in the course of the summer in taking up many of the towns which the treason of Anjou had laid open to his attacks. Eindhoven, Diest, Dunkirk, Nieupoort, and other places, were successively surrendered to royalist generals. On the 22nd of September, 1583, the city of Zutphen, too, was surprised by Colonel Tassis, on the fall of which most important place the treason of Orange's brother-in-law, Count van den Bergh, governor of Gelderland, was revealed. While treason was thus favouring the royal arms in the north, the same powerful element, to which so much of the Netherland misfortunes had always been owing, was busy in Flanders.

Early in the spring of 1584 a formal resolution was passed by the government of Ghent, to open negotiations with Parma. The whole negotiation was abruptly brought to a close by a new incident, the demagogue Hembyze having been discovered in a secret attempt to obtain possession of the city of Dendermonde, and deliver it to Parma. The old acquaintance, ally and enemy of Hembyze the lord of Ryhove, being thoroughly on his guard, arrested his old comrade, who was shortly afterwards brought to trial and executed at Ghent. Meanwhile the citizens of Ghent, thus warned by word and deed, passed an earnest resolution to have no more intercourse with Parma, but to abide faithfully by the union. Their example was followed by the other Flemish cities, excepting, unfortunately, Bruges, for that important town, being entirely in the power of Chimay, was now surrendered by him to the royal government.

On the 10th of June, 1584, Anjou expired at Château Thierry, in great torture, sweating blood from every pore, and under circumstances which, as usual, suggested strong suspicions of poison.

FURTHER ATTEMPTS ON WILLIAM'S LIFE

It has been seen that the ban against the prince of Orange had not been hitherto without fruits, for, although unsuccessful, the efforts to take his life, and earn the promised guerdon, had been incessant. The attempt of Jaureguy, at Antwerp, of Salseda and Basa at Bruges, have been related, and in March, 1583, moreover, one Pietro Dordogno was executed in Antwerp

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for endeavouring to assassinate the prince. Before his death, he confessed that he had come from Spain solely for the purpose. In April, 1584, Hans Hanzoon, a merchant of Flushing, had been executed for attempting to destroy the prince by means of gunpowder, concealed under his house in that city, and under his seat in the church. Within two years there had been five distinct attempts to assassinate the prince, all of them with the privy of the Spanish government. A sixth was soon to follow.

In the summer of 1584, William of Orange was residing at Delft, where his wife, Louise de Coligny, had given birth, in the preceding winter, to a son, afterwards the celebrated stadholder, Frederick Henry. The child had received these names from his two godfathers, the kings of Denmark and of Navarre, and his baptism had been celebrated with much rejoicing on the 12th of June, in the place of his birth.

Francis Guion, in reality Balthasar Gérard, a fanatical Catholic, before reaching man's estate, had formed the design of murdering the prince of Orange, "who, so long as he lived, seemed like to remain a rebel against the Catholic king, and to make every effort to disturb the repose of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion." Parma had long been looking for a good man to murder Orange, feeling — as Philip, Granvella, and all former governors of the Netherlands had felt — that this was the only means of saving the royal authority in any part of the provinces. Many unsatisfactory assassins had presented themselves from time to time, and Alessandro had paid money in hand to various individuals — Italians, Spaniards, Lorrainers, Scotchmen, Englishmen — who had generally spent the sums received without attempting the job. Others were supposed to be still engaged in the enterprise, and at that moment there were four persons — each unknown to the others, and of different nations — in the city of Delft, seeking to compass the death of William the Silent. Shag-eared, military, hirsute ruffians — ex-captains of free companies and such marauders — were daily offering their services; there was no lack of them, and they had done but little. How should Parma, seeing this obscure, under-sized, thin-bearded, run-away clerk before him, expect pith and energy from him? He thought him quite unfit for an enterprise of moment, and declared as much to his secret councillors and to the king.

A second letter decided Parma so far that he authorised Assonleville to encourage the young man in his attempt, and to promise that the reward should be given to him in case of success, and to his heirs in the event of his death.

Certain despatches having been entrusted to Gérard, he travelled post haste to Delft, and, to his astonishment, the letters had hardly been delivered before he was summoned in person to the chamber of the prince. Here was an opportunity such as he had never dared to hope for. Gérard, had, moreover, made no preparation for an interview so entirely unexpected, had come unarmed, and had formed no plan for escape. He was obliged to forego his prey when most within his reach. Gérard now came to Delft. It was Sunday morning, and the bells were tolling for church. Upon leaving the house he loitered about the courtyard, furtively examining the premises, so that a sergeant of halberdiers asked him why he was waiting there. Balthasar meekly replied that he was desirous of attending divine worship in the church opposite, but added, pointing to his shabby and travel-stained attire, that, without at least a new pair of shoes and stockings, he was unfit to join the congregation. Insignificant as ever, the small, pious, dusty stranger excited no suspicion in the mind of the good-natured sergeant. He forthwith spoke of the wants of Gérard to an officer, by whom they were

communicated to Orange himself, and the prince instantly ordered a sum of money to be given him. Thus Balthasar obtained from William's charity what Parma's thrift had denied — a fund for carrying out his purpose!

Next morning, with the money thus procured, he purchased a pair of pistols, or small carabines, from a soldier, chaffering long about the price because the vender could not supply a particular kind of chopped bullets or slugs which he desired. Before the sunset of the following day that soldier had stabbed himself to the heart, and died despairing, on hearing for what purpose the pistols had been bought.

On Tuesday, the 10th of July, 1584, at about half-past twelve, the prince, with his wife on his arm, and followed by the ladies and gentlemen of his family, went to the dining-room. At two o'clock the company rose from table. The prince led the way, intending to pass to his private apartments above. He had only reached the second stair, when a man emerged from the sunken arch, and standing within a foot or two of him, discharged a pistol full at his heart. Three balls entered his body, one of which, passing quite through him, struck with violence against the wall beyond. The prince exclaimed in French, as he felt the wound, "O my God, have mercy upon my soul! O my God, have mercy upon this poor people!"

These were the last words he ever spoke, save that when his sister, Catherine of Schwarzburg, immediately afterwards asked him if he commended his soul to Jesus Christ, he faintly answered, "Yes." The prince was then placed on the stairs for an instant, when he immediately began to swoon. He was afterwards laid upon a couch in the dining-room, where in a few minutes he breathed his last in the arms of his wife and sister.

The murderer succeeded in making his escape through the side door, and sped swiftly up the narrow lane. He had almost reached the ramparts, from which he intended to spring into the moat, when he stumbled over a heap of rubbish. As he rose, he was seized by several pages and halberdiers, who had pursued him from the house. He was brought back to the house, where he immediately underwent a preliminary examination before the city magistrates. He was afterwards subjected to excruciating tortures; for the fury against the wretch who had destroyed the Father of the country was uncontrollable, and William the Silent was no longer alive to intercede — as he had often done before -- in behalf of those who assailed his life.

After sustaining day after day the most horrible tortures, he conversed with ease, and even eloquence, answering all questions addressed to him with apparent sincerity. His constancy in suffering so astounded his judges that they believed him supported by witchcraft. "*Ecce homo!*" he exclaimed, from time to time, with insane blasphemy, as he raised his blood-streaming head from the bench.

The sentence pronounced against the assassin was execrable — a crime against the memory of the great man whom it professed to avenge. It was decreed that the right hand of Gérard should be burned off with a red-hot iron, that his flesh should be torn from his bones with pincers in six different places, that he should be quartered and disembowelled alive, that his heart should be torn from his bosom and flung in his face, and that, finally, his head should be taken off. Not even his horrible crime, with its endless consequences, nor the natural frenzy of indignation which it had excited, could justify this savage decree, to rebuke which the murdered hero might have almost risen from the sleep of death. The sentence was literally executed on the 14th of July, the criminal supporting its horrors with the same astonishing fortitude.

[1584 A.D.]

The reward promised by Philip to the man who should murder Orange was paid to the heirs of Gérard. Parma informed his sovereign that the "poor man" had been executed, but that his father and mother were still living, to whom he recommended the payment of that "merced" which "the laudable and generous deed had so well deserved." This was accordingly done, and the excellent parents, ennobled and enriched by the crime of their son, received, instead of the twenty-five thousand crowns promised in the ban, the three seigniories of Lievreumont, Hostal, and Dampmartin, in the Franche-Comté, and took their place at once among the landed aristocracy. Thus the bounty of the prince had furnished the weapon by which his life was destroyed, and his estates supplied the fund out of which the assassin's family received the price of blood. At a later day, when the unfortunate eldest son of Orange returned from Spain after twenty-seven years' absence, a changeling and a Spaniard, the restoration of those very estates was offered to him by Philip II, provided he would continue to pay a fixed proportion of their rents to the family of his father's murderer. The education which Philip William had received, under the king's auspices, had, however, not entirely destroyed all his human feelings, and he rejected the proposal with scorn. The estates remained with the Gérard family, and the patents of nobility which they had received were used to justify their exemption from certain taxes, until the union of Franche-Comté with France, when a French governor tore the documents in pieces and trampled them under foot.

William of Orange, at the period of his death, was aged fifty-one years and sixteen days. He left twelve children. By his first wife, Anne of Egmont, he had one son, Philip, and one daughter, Mary, afterwards married to Count Hohenlohe. By his second wife, Anna of Saxony, he had one son, the celebrated Maurice of Nassau, and two daughters, Anna, married afterwards to her cousin, Count William Louis, and Emilia, who espoused Emmanuel, son of the pretender of Portugal. By Charlotte de Bourbon, his third wife, he had six daughters; and by his fourth, Louise de Coligny, one son, Frederick Henry, afterwards stadholder of the republic in her most palmy days. The prince was entombed on the 3rd of August, at Delft, amid the tears of a whole nation. Never was a more extensive, unaffected, and legitimate sorrow felt at the death of any human being.

MOTLEY'S ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM THE SILENT

The life and labours of Orange had established the emancipated commonwealth upon a secure foundation, but his death rendered the union of all the Netherlands into one republic hopeless. The efforts of the malcontent nobles, the religious discord, the consummate ability, both political and military, of Parma, all combined with the lamentable loss of William the Silent, to separate forever the southern and Catholic provinces from the northern confederacy. So long as the prince remained alive, he was the Father of the whole country; the Netherlands — saving only the two Walloon provinces — constituting a whole. Philip and Granvella were right in their estimate of the advantage to be derived from the prince's death; in believing that an assassin's hand could achieve more than all the wiles which Spanish or Italian statesmanship could teach, or all the armies which Spain or Italy could muster.

Had he lived twenty years longer, it is probable that the seven provinces would have been seventeen; and that the Spanish title would have been forever extinguished both in Nether Germany and Celtic Gaul. Although there was to be the length of two human generations more of warfare ere

Spain acknowledged the new government, yet before the termination of that period the united states had become the first naval power and one of the most considerable commonwealths in the world; while the civil and religious liberty, the political independence of the land, together with the total expulsion of the ancient foreign tyranny from the soil, had been achieved ere the eyes of William were closed. The republic existed, in fact, from the moment of the abjuration in 1581.

The history of the rise of the Netherland Republic has been at the same time the biography of William the Silent. This, while it gives unity to the narrative, renders an elaborate description of his character superfluous. That life was a noble Christian epic; inspired with one great purpose from its commencement to its close; the stream flowing ever from one fountain with expanding fulness, but retaining all its original purity.

He was more than anything else a religious man. From his trust in God, he ever derived support and consolation in the darkest hours. Sincerely and deliberately himself a convert to the Reformed Church, he was ready to extend freedom of worship to Catholics on the one hand, and to Anabaptists on the other, for no man ever felt more keenly than he that the reformer who becomes in his turn a bigot is doubly odious.

His firmness was allied to his piety. His constancy in bearing the whole weight of as unequal a struggle as men have ever undertaken, was the theme of admiration even to his enemies. The rock in the ocean, "tranquil amid raging billows," was the favourite emblem by which his friends expressed their sense of his firmness. A prince of high rank and with royal revenues, he stripped himself of station, wealth, almost at times of the common necessities of life, and became, in his country's cause, nearly a beggar as well as an outlaw. Ten years after his death, the account between his executors and his brother John amounted to 1,400,000 florins due to the count, secured by various pledges of real and personal property, and it was finally settled upon this basis. He was besides largely indebted to every one of his powerful relatives, so that the payment of the encumbrances upon his estate very nearly justified the fears of his children. While on the one hand, therefore, he poured out these enormous sums like water, and firmly refused a hearing to the tempting offers of the royal government, upon the other hand he proved the disinterested nature of his services by declining, year after year, the sovereignty over the provinces; and by only accepting, in the last days of his life, when refusal had become almost impossible, the limited, constitutional supremacy over that portion of them which now makes the realm of his descendants. He lived and died, not for himself, but for his country: "God pity this poor people!" were his dying words.

His intellectual faculties were various and of the highest order. He had the exact, practical, and combining qualities which make the great commander, and his friends claimed that, in military genius, he was second to no captain in Europe.¹ This was, no doubt, an exaggeration of partial attachment, but it is certain that the emperor Charles had an exalted opinion of his capacity for the field. His fortification of Philippeville and Charlemont, in the face of the enemy — his passage of the Maas in Alva's sight — his unfortunate but well-ordered campaign against that general — his sublime plan of relief, projected and successfully directed at last from his sick bed, for the besieged city of Leyden — will always remain monuments of his practical military skill.

¹ "*Belli artibus neminem suo tempore parem habuit*," says Everard van Reynd.

Of the soldier's great virtues — constancy in disaster, devotion to duty, hopefulness in defeat — no man ever possessed a larger share. He arrived, through a series of reverses, at a perfect victory. He planted a free commonwealth under the very battery of the Inquisition in defiance of the most powerful empire existing. He was, therefore, a conqueror in the loftiest sense, for he conquered liberty and a national existence for a whole people. The contest was long, and he fell in the struggle, but the victory was to the dead hero, not to the living monarch. It is to be remembered, too, that he always wrought with inferior instruments. His troops were usually mercenaries, who were but too apt to mutiny upon the eve of battle, while he was opposed by the most formidable veterans of Europe, commanded successively by the first captains of the age. That, with no lieutenant of eminent valour or experience, save only his brother Louis, and with none at all after that chieftain's death, William of Orange should succeed in baffling the efforts of Alva, Requesens, Don John of Austria, and Alessandro Farnese — men whose names are among the most brilliant in the military annals of the world — is in itself sufficient evidence of his warlike ability. At the period of his death he had reduced the number of obedient provinces to two; only Artois and Hainault acknowledging Philip, while the other fifteen were in open revolt, the greater part having solemnly sworn their sovereign.

The supremacy of his political genius was entirely beyond question. He was the first statesman of the age. The quickness of his perception was only equalled by the caution which enabled him to mature the results of his observations. His knowledge of human nature was profound. He governed the passions and sentiments of a great nation as if they had been but the keys and chords of one vast instrument; and his hand rarely failed to evoke harmony even out of the wildest storms. The turbulent city of Ghent, which could obey no other master, which even the haughty emperor could only crush without controlling, was ever responsive to the master-hand of Orange. His presence scared away Hembyze and his bat-like crew, confounded the schemes of John Kasimir, frustrated the wiles of prince Chimay, and while he lived, Ghent was what it ought always to have remained, the bulwark, as it had been the cradle, of popular liberty. After his death it became its tomb.

His power of dealing with his fellow-men he manifested in the various ways in which it has been usually exhibited by statesmen. He possessed a ready eloquence — sometimes impassioned, oftener argumentative, always rational. His influence over his audience was unexampled in the annals of that country or age; yet he never condescended to flatter the people. He never followed the nation, but always led her in the path of duty and of honour, and was much more prone to rebuke the vices than to pander to the passions of his hearers. He never failed to administer ample chastisement to parsimony, to jealousy, to insubordination, to intolerance, to infidelity, wherever it was due, nor feared to confront the states or the people in their most angry hours, and to tell them the truth to their faces. While, therefore, he was ever ready to rebuke, and always too honest to flatter, he at the same time possessed the eloquence which could convince or persuade. He knew how to reach both the mind and the heart of his hearers. His orations, whether extemporaneous or prepared — his written messages to the states-general, to the provincial authorities, to the municipal bodies — his private correspondence with men of all ranks, from emperors and kings down to secretaries, and even children — all show an easy flow of language, a fulness of thought, a power of expression rare in that age, a fund of historical allusion,

a considerable power of imagination, a warmth of sentiment, a breadth of view, a directness of purpose — a range of qualities, in short, which would in themselves have stamped him as one of the master-minds of his century, had there been no other monument to his memory than the remains of his spoken or written eloquence. The bulk of his performances in this department was prodigious. Not even Philip was more industrious in the cabinet. Not even Granvella held a more facile pen. He wrote and spoke equally well in French, German, or Flemish; and he possessed, besides, Spanish, Italian, Latin. The weight of his correspondence alone would have almost sufficed for the common industry of a lifetime, and although many volumes of his speeches and letters have been published, there remain in the various archives of the Netherlands and Germany many documents from his hand which will probably never see the light. The efforts made to destroy the Netherlands by the most laborious and painstaking of tyrants were counteracted by the industry of the most indefatigable of patriots.

It is difficult to find many characteristics deserving of grave censure, but his enemies have adopted a simpler process. They have been able to detect few flaws in his nature, and therefore have denounced it in gross. It is not that his character was here and there defective, but that the eternal jewel was false. The patriotism was counterfeit; the self-abnegation and the generosity were counterfeit. He was governed only by ambition — by a desire of personal advancement. They never attempted to deny his talents, his industry, his vast sacrifices of wealth and station; but they ridiculed the idea that he could have been inspired by any but unworthy motives.¹ But as far as can be judged by a careful observation of undisputed facts, and by a

¹ "A man born to the greatest fame," says Bentivoglio,^J "if, content with his fortunes, he had not sought amid precipices for a still greater one." While paying homage to the extraordinary genius of the prince, to his energy, eloquence, perspicacity in all kinds of affairs, his absolute dominion over the minds and hearts of men, and his consummate skill in improving his own position and taking advantage of the false moves of his adversary, the cardinal proceeds to accuse him of "ambition, fraud, audacity, and rapacity." The last qualification seems sufficiently absurd to those who have even superficially studied the life of William the Silent. Of course, the successive changes of religion by the prince are ascribed to motives of interest — "*Videsi variare di Religione secondo che vario d'interessi. Da fanciullo in Germania fu Lutero. Passato in Fiandra mostròsi Cattolico. Al principio della rivolta si dichiarò fautore delle nuove sette ma non professore manifesto d'alema; sinche finalmente gli parve di seguitar quella de' Calvinisti, come la più contraria di tutte alla Religione Cattolica sostenuta dal Rè di Spagna.*" The cardinal does not add that the conversion of the prince to the reformed religion was at the blackest hour of the Reformation. Cabrera^k is cooler and coarser. According to him the prince was a mere impostor. The emperor even had been often cautioned as to his favourite's arrogance, deceit, and ingratitude, and warned that the prince was "a fox who would eat up all his majesty's chickens." While acknowledging that he "could talk well of public affairs," and that he "entertained the ambassadors and nobility with splendour and magnificence," the historian proclaims him, however, "faithless and mendacious, a flatterer and a cheat."^m Tassisⁿ accused the prince of poisoning Count Bossu with oysters, and that Strada^o had a long story of his attending the death-bed of that nobleman in order to sneer at the viaticum. We have also seen the simple and heartfelt regret which the prince expressed in his private letters for Bossu's death and the solid service which he rendered to him in life. Of false accusations of this nature there was no end. One of the most atrocious has been recently resuscitated. A certain Christophe de Holstein accused the prince in 1578 of having instigated him to murder Duke Eric of Brunswick. The assassin undertook the job, but seems to have been deterred by a mysterious bleeding at his nose from proceeding with the business. As this respectable witness, by his own confession, had murdered his own brother, for money, and two merchants besides, had moreover been concerned in the killing or plundering of a "curate, a monk, and two hermits," and had been all his life a professional highwayman and assassin, it seems hardly worth while to discuss his statements. Probably a thousand such calumnies were circulated at different times against the prince. Yet the testimony of this wretched malefactor is gravely reproduced, at the expiration of near three centuries, as if it were admissible in any healthy court of historical justice. Truly says the adage: "*Calomniez toujours, il en restera quelque chose.*"

diligent collation of public and private documents, it would seem that no man — not even Washington — has ever been inspired by a purer patriotism. At any rate, the charge of ambition and self-seeking can only be answered by a reference to the whole picture. The words, the deeds of the man are there. As much as possible, his inmost soul is revealed in his confidential letters, and he who looks in a right spirit will hardly fail to find what he desires.

Whether originally of a timid temperament or not, he was certainly possessed of perfect courage at last. In siege and battle — in the deadly air of pestilential cities — in the long exhaustion of mind and body which comes from unduly protracted labour and anxiety — amid the countless conspiracies of assassins — he was daily exposed to death in every shape. Within two years, five different attempts against his life had been discovered. Rank and fortune were offered to any malefactor who would compass the murder. He had already been shot through the head, and almost mortally wounded. Under such circumstances even a brave man might have seen a pitfall at every step, a dagger in every hand, and poison in every cup. On the contrary he was ever cheerful, and hardly took more precaution than usual. "God in his mercy," said he, with unaffected simplicity, "will maintain my innocence and my honour during my life and in future ages. As to my fortune and my life, I have dedicated both, long since, to his service. He will do therewith what pleases him for his glory and my salvation." Thus his suspicions were not even excited by the ominous face of Gérard, when he first presented himself at the dining-room door. The prince laughed off his wife's prophetic apprehension at the sight of his murderer, and was as cheerful as usual to the last.

He possessed, too, that which to the heathen philosopher seemed the greatest good — the sound mind in the sound body. His physical frame was after death found so perfect that a long life might have been in store for him, notwithstanding all which he had endured. The desperate illness of 1574, the frightful gunshot wound inflicted by Jaureguy in 1582, had left no traces. The physicians pronounced that his body presented an aspect of perfect health. His temperament was cheerful. At table, the pleasures of which, in moderation, were his only relaxation, he was always animated and merry, and this jocoseness was partly natural, partly intentional. In the darkest hours of his country's trial, he affected a serenity which he was far from feeling, so that his apparent gaiety at momentous epochs was even censured by dullards, who could not comprehend its philosophy, nor applaud the flippancy of William the Silent.¹

He went through life bearing the load of a people's sorrows upon his shoulders with a smiling face. Their name was the last word upon his lips, save the simple affirmative with which the soldier who had been battling for the right all his lifetime commended his soul in dying "to his great captain, Christ." The people were grateful and affectionate, for they trusted the character of their "Father William," and not all the clouds which calumny could collect ever dimmed to their eyes the radiance of that lofty mind to which they were accustomed, in their darkest calamities, to look for light. As long as he lived, he was the guiding-star of a brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets.^h



CHAPTER IX

LEICESTER IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

[1584-1598 A.D.]

WILLIAM THE SILENT, prince of Orange, had been murdered on the 10th of July, 1584. It is difficult to imagine a more universal disaster than the one thus brought about by the hand of a single obscure fanatic. For nearly twenty years the character of the prince had been expanding steadily as the difficulties of his situation increased. Habit, necessity, and the natural gifts of the man had combined to invest him at last with an authority which seemed more than human. There was such general confidence in his sagacity, courage, and purity that the nation had come to think with his brain and to act with his hand. It was natural that, for an instant, there should be a feeling as of absolute and helpless paralysis.

The ban of the pope and the offered gold of the king had accomplished a victory greater than any yet achieved by the armies of Spain, brilliant as had been their triumphs on the blood-stained soil of the Netherlands. Had that "exceeding proud, neat, and spruce" doctor of laws, William Parry, who had been busying himself at about the same time with his memorable project against the queen of England, proved as successful as Balthasar Gérard, the fate of Christendom would have been still darker.

Yet such was the condition of Europe at that day. A small, dull, elderly, imperfectly educated, patient, plodding invalid, with white hair and protruding under-jaw and dreary visage, was sitting day after day, seldom speaking, never smiling, seven or eight hours out of every twenty-four, at a writing table covered with heaps of interminable despatches, in a cabinet far away beyond the seas and mountains, in the very heart of Spain. A clerk or two, noiselessly opening and shutting the door, from time to time, fetching fresh bundles of letters and taking away others — all written and composed by secretaries or high functionaries — and all to be scrawled over in the margin by the diligent old man in a big schoolboy's hand and style —

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if ever schoolboy, even in the sixteenth century, could write so illegibly or express himself so awkwardly; couriers in the courtyard arriving from or departing for the uttermost parts of earth — Asia, Africa, America, Europe — to fetch and carry these interminable epistles which contained the irresponsible commands of this one individual, and were freighted with the doom and destiny of countless millions of the world's inhabitants — such was the system of government against which the Netherlands had protested and revolted. It was a system under which their fields had been made desolate, their cities burned and pillaged, their men hanged, burned, drowned, or hacked to pieces; their women subjected to every outrage: and to put an end to which they had been devoting their treasure and their blood for nearly the length of one generation. It was a system, too, which, among other results, had just brought about the death of the foremost statesman of Europe, and had nearly effected simultaneously the murder of the most eminent sovereign in the world. The industrious Philip, safe and tranquil in the depths of the Escorial, saying his prayers three times a day with exemplary regularity, had just sent three bullets through the body of William the Silent at his dining-room door in Delft. "Had it only been done two years earlier," observed the patient old man, "much trouble might have been spared me; but it is better late than never."

Philip stood enfeoffed, by divine decree, of all America, the East Indies, the whole Spanish peninsula, the better portion of Italy, the seventeen Netherlands, and many other possessions far and near; and he contemplated annexing to this extensive property the kingdoms of France, of England, and Ireland. The holy league, maintained by the sword of Guise, the pope's ban, Spanish ducats, Italian condottieri, and German mercenaries, was to exterminate heresy and establish the Spanish dominion in France. The same machinery, aided by the pistol or poniard of the assassin, was to substitute for English protestantism and England's queen the Roman Catholic religion and a foreign sovereign. "The holy league," said Duplessis-Mornay,^b one of the noblest characters of the age, "has destined us all to the same sacrifice. The ambition of the Spaniard, which has overleaped so many lands and seas, thinks nothing inaccessible."

The Netherlands revolt had therefore assumed world-wide proportions. Had it been merely the rebellion of provinces against a sovereign, the importance of the struggle would have been more local and temporary. But the period was one in which the geographical landmarks of countries were almost removed. The dividing-line ran through every state, city, and almost every family.

A vast responsibility rested upon the head of a monarch placed, as Philip II found himself, at this great dividing point in modern history. To judge him, or any man in such a position, simply from his own point of view, is weak and illogical. History judges the man according to its point of view. It condemns or applauds the point of view itself. The point of view of a malefactor is not to excuse robbery and murder. Nor is the spirit of the age to be pleaded in defence of the evil-doer at a time when mortals were divided into almost equal troops. The age of Philip II was also the age of William of Orange and his four brethren, of Sainte-Aldegonde, of Olden-Barneveld, of Duplessis-Mornay, La Noue, Coligny, of Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin, Walsingham, Sidney, Raleigh, Queen Elizabeth, of Michel Montaigne, and William Shakespeare. It was not an age of blindness, but of glorious light.

The king perhaps firmly believed that the heretics of the Netherlands, of France, or of England could escape eternal perdition only by being extir-

pated from the earth by fire and sword, and therefore, perhaps, felt it his duty to devote his life to their extermination. But he believed still more firmly that his own political authority, throughout his dominions, and his road to almost universal empire lay over the bodies of those heretics. Three centuries have passed since this memorable epoch: and the world knows the fate of the states which accepted the dogma which it was Philip's life-work to enforce, and of those who protested against the system. The Spanish and Italian peninsulas have had a different history from that which records the career of France, Prussia, the Dutch Commonwealth, the British Empire, the Transatlantic Republic.

Yet the contest between those seven meagre provinces upon the sandbanks of the North Sea, and the great Spanish Empire seemed at the moment with which we are now occupied a sufficiently desperate one.

THE SITUATION AFTER THE DEATH OF PRINCE WILLIAM

The limit of the Spanish or "obedient" provinces, on the one hand, and of the United Provinces on the other, cannot be briefly and distinctly stated. The memorable treason — or, as it was called, the "Reconciliation" of the Walloon Provinces in the year 1583-84 — had placed the provinces of Hainault, Artois, Douai, with the flourishing cities Arras, Valenciennes, Lille, Tournay, and others — all Celtic Flanders, in short — in the grasp of Spain. Cambray was still held by the French governor, Seigneur de Balagny, who had taken advantage of the duke of Anjou's treachery to the states to establish himself in an unrecognised but practical petty sovereignty, in defiance both of France and Spain; while East Flanders and South Brabant still remained a disputed territory, and the immediate field of contest. With these limitations, it may be assumed, for general purposes, that the territory of the united states was that of the modern kingdom of the Netherlands, while the obedient provinces occupied what is now the territory of Belgium. Such, then, were the combatants in the great eighty-years' war for civil and religious liberty; sixteen of which had now passed away.

What now was the political position of the United Provinces at this juncture? The sovereignty which had been held by the states, ready to be conferred respectively upon Anjou and Orange, remained in the hands of the states. There was no opposition to this theory. No more enlarged view of the social compact had yet been taken. The people, as such, claimed no sovereignty. Had any champion claimed it for them they would hardly have understood him. The nation dealt with facts. After abjuring Philip in 1581 — an act which had been accomplished by the states — the same states in general assembly had exercised sovereign power, and had twice disposed of that sovereign power by electing a hereditary ruler. Their right and their power to do this had been disputed by none, save by the deposed monarch in Spain. Having the sovereignty to dispose of, it seemed logical that the states might keep it, if so inclined. They did keep it, but only in trust.

Even on the very day of the murder, the states of Holland, then sitting at Delft, passed a resolution "to maintain the good cause, with God's help, to the uttermost, without sparing gold or blood." At the same time, the sixteen members — for no greater number happened to be present at the session — addressed letters to their absent colleagues, urging an immediate convocation of the states. Among these sixteen were Van Zuylen, Van Nyvelt

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the seigneur de Warmont, the advocate of Holland, Paul Buys, Joost de Menin, and John van Olden-Barneveld.

The next movement, after the last solemn obsequies had been rendered to the prince, was to provide for the immediate wants of his family. For the man who had gone into the revolt with almost royal revenues left his estate so embarrassed that his carpets, tapestries, household linen — nay, even his silver spoons, and the very clothes of his wardrobe — were disposed of at auction for the benefit of his creditors. The eldest son, Philip William, had been a captive in Spain for seventeen years. He had already become thoroughly hispaniolised. All of good that he had retained was a reverence for his father's name — a sentiment which he had manifested to an extravagant extent on a memorable occasion in Madrid, by throwing out of the window and killing on the spot a Spanish officer who had dared to mention the great prince with insult.

The next son was Maurice, then seventeen years of age, a handsome youth, with dark blue eyes, well-chiselled features, and full red lips, who had already manifested a courage and concentration of character beyond his years. The son of William the Silent, the grandson of Maurice of Saxony, whom he resembled in visage and character, he was summoned by every drop of blood in his veins to do life-long battle with the spirit of Spanish absolutism, and he was already girding himself for his life's work. He assumed at once for his device a fallen oak, with a young sapling springing from its root. His motto, "*Tandem fit surculus arbor*" (the twig shall yet become a tree), was to be nobly justified by his career.

The remaining son, Frederick Henry, then a six-months child, was also destined to high fortunes, and to win an enduring name in his country's history. For the present he remained with his mother, the noble Louise de Coligny, who had thus seen, at long intervals, her father and two husbands fall victims to the Spanish policy; for it is as certain that Philip knew beforehand, and testified his approbation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as that he was the murderer of Orange.

The states of Holland implored the widowed princess to remain in their territory, settling a liberal allowance upon herself and her child, and she fixed her residence at Leyden.

Very soon afterwards the states-general established a state council, as a provisional executive board, for the term of three months, for the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, and such parts of Flanders and Brabant as still remained in the union. At the head of this body was placed young Maurice, who accepted the responsible position, after three days' deliberation. The salary of Maurice was fixed at 30,000 florins a year. The council consisted of three members from Brabant, two from Flanders, four from Holland, three from Zealand, two from Utrecht, one from Mechlin, and three from Friesland — eighteen in all. Diplomatic relations, questions of peace and war, the treaty-making power were not entrusted to the council, without the knowledge and consent of the states-general, which body was to be convoked twice a year by the state council.

THE ACTIVITY OF PARMA

Thus the provinces in the hour of danger and darkness were true to themselves, and were far from giving way to a despondency which under the circumstances would not have been unnatural. For the waves of bitterness were rolling far and wide around them. A medal, struck in Holland at this

period, represented a dismasted hulk reeling through the tempest. The motto, "*Incertum quo fata ferent?*" (who knows whither fate is sweeping her?) expressed most vividly the shipwrecked condition of the country.

Alessandro of Parma, the most accomplished general and one of the most adroit statesmen of the age, was swift to take advantage of the calamity which had now befallen the rebellious provinces. Had he been better provided with men and money, the cause of the states might have seemed hopeless. He addressed many letters to the states-general, to the magistracies of various cities, and to individuals, affecting to consider that with the death of Orange had died all authority, as well as all motive for continuing the contest with Spain.

In Holland and Zealand the prince's blandishments were of no avail. He was, moreover, not strong in the field, although he was far superior to the states at this contingency. He had, besides his garrisons, something above eighteen thousand men. The provinces had hardly three thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, and these were mostly lying in the neighbourhood of Zutphen. Alessandro was threatening at the same time Ghent, Dendermonde, Meehlin, Brussels, and Antwerp. These five powerful cities lie in a narrow circle, at distances varying from six miles to thirty, and are, as it were, strung together upon the Schelde, by which river, or its tributary, the Senne, they are all threaded. It would have been impossible for Parma, with one hundred thousand men at his back, to undertake a regular and simultaneous siege of these important places. His purpose was to isolate them from each other and from the rest of the country, by obtaining the control of the great river, and so to reduce them by famine. The scheme was a masterly one, but even the consummate ability of Farnese would have proved inadequate to the undertaking, had not the preliminary assassination of Orange made the task comparatively easy.

Upon the 17th of August Dendermonde surrendered, and no lives were taken save those of two preachers, one of whom was hanged, while the other was drowned. Upon the 7th of September Vilvorde capitulated, by which event the water-communication between Brussels and Antwerp was cut off.

The noble city of Ghent — then as large as Paris, thoroughly surrounded with moats, and fortified — was ignominiously surrendered September 17th. The fall of Brussels was deferred till March, and that of Meehlin to the 19th July, 1585; but the surrender of Ghent foreshadowed the fate of Flanders and Brabant. Ostend and Sluys, however, were still in the hands of the patriots, and with them the control of the whole Flemish coast. The command of the sea was destined to remain for centuries with the new republic.

The prince of Parma, thus encouraged by the great success of his intrigues, was determined to achieve still greater triumphs with his arms, and steadily proceeded with his large design of closing the Schelde and bringing about the fall of Antwerp. That siege was one of the most brilliant military operations of the age and one of the most memorable in its results.^c

But these domestic victories of the prince of Parma were barren in any of those results which humanity would love to see in the train of conquest. The reconciled provinces presented the most deplorable spectacle. The chief towns were almost depopulated. The inhabitants had in a great measure fallen victims to war, pestilence, and famine. Little inducement existed to replace by marriage the ravages caused by death, for few men wished to propagate a race which divine wrath seemed to have marked for persecution. The thousands of villages which had covered the face of the country were

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absolutely abandoned to the wolves, which had so rapidly increased that they attacked not merely cattle and children, but grown-up persons. The dogs, driven abroad by hunger, had become as ferocious as other beasts of prey, and joined in large packs to hunt down brutes and men. Neither fields, nor woods, nor roads were now to be distinguished by any visible limits. All was an entangled mass of trees, weeds, and grass. The prices of the necessities of life were so high that people of rank, after selling everything to buy bread, were obliged to have recourse to open beggary in the streets of the great towns.^d

ANTWERP BESIEGED (1584)

The fall of Ghent had enabled Parma to resume his attack on Antwerp. The Antwerpers having inundated the whole country from Hulst to Beveren, he erected strong forts along the Kowenstyn dike, to prevent the passage of vessels to Lillo and Antwerp from Zeeland.

Parma, finding that the Zeeland vessels continued, notwithstanding his fortifications along the dike, to pass up the Schelde to Antwerp, resolved upon the stupendous and apparently impracticable undertaking of throwing a bridge across the broad, deep, and rapid part of that river between Antwerp and Calloo. Its execution was entrusted to Sebastian Baroccio, an Italian engineer of eminent ability, who built a fort at each end of the intended work, which he named the St. Philip and the St. Mary. By means of this "stoccade," as it was called, the river was narrowed, 1,250 feet being left between the two blockhouses at the ends. This space Baroccio filled with boats, placed at a distance of about twenty feet from each other, and fastened by two anchors against the flood and ebb tide; these boats, linked together by four strong cables, were connected with each other by means of masts, over which were laid planks; thirty men were stationed in each boat, with a cannon fore and aft. Besides this defence, Parma stationed all the men-of-war he could collect both above and below the bridge.

The besieged had relied on the impossibility of his achieving an enterprise of such difficulty, carried on during the winter months, when, if it escaped being broken in pieces by the masses of floating ice in the river, it could easily be destroyed by the Holland and Zeeland vessels, which in the long dark nights might approach it unperceived. Both these expectations turned out delusive. The winter proved remarkably mild, so that there was not sufficient ice in the river to do the slightest damage to the works; and the assistance from Holland and Zeeland, which the Antwerpers besought with reiterated entreaties, did not arrive.

Prince Maurice, however, and the council of Zeeland, issued repeated orders to William of Treslong, admiral of Zeeland, to sail into the Schelde, with which he refused compliance, alleging that his fleet was not sufficiently strong to risk the attempt. Treslong, who was strongly suspected of a secret understanding with the enemy, was afterwards deprived of his office and thrown into prison, Justin of Nassau, natural son of the prince of Orange, being created admiral in his stead; but the irrevocable opportunity had passed away, and Parma was left unmolested during the long period of seven months to complete a work of which the ultimate fall of Antwerp was the inevitable consequence.

The embarrassed condition of their affairs determined the Netherlanders, notwithstanding the severe lesson afforded them by past experience, to put themselves once more under the protection of a foreign prince. The late duke of Brabant had declared by will his brother, Henry III of France, heir

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councils of the towns. At length the entreaties of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin prevailed with the states of Holland to give a reluctant consent.

It did not appear that the king would long hesitate to accept conditions of so highly flattering a nature, in the framing of which, indeed, we recognise nothing of the usual spirit of freedom and jealous watchfulness of the Dutch people. But the feeble and irresolute king, instead of grasping at once the powerful weapon which the possession of the Netherlands would have placed in his hands both against Spain and the disaffected of his own kingdom, refused for the present the offer of the deputies, alleging that the disturbances excited in his kingdom by the king of Spain prevented his affording the Netherlands any assistance.

The city of Brussels had long been grievously straitened for want of provisions, in consequence of the obstruction of the Schelde by the bridge of boats. Brussels surrendered, therefore, on conditions sufficiently favourable, except that the privileges of the town were to be retrenched according to the pleasure of the king. Nearly at the same time the Catholics in the city of Nimeguen found themselves in sufficient number and strength to drive out the garrison of the states and place the town under the government of the prince of Parma. The like happened with respect to Doesborgh. Ostend was also attempted by La Motte, governor of Gravelines, who, with a detachment of soldiers, surprised and took possession of the part called the Old Town, which was but weakly fortified. But Ostend was not destined to sink thus ingloriously under the power of the enemy; an honourable place was yet reserved for her on the page of history as a martyr to the cause of liberty. The citizens, joining their arms with those of the garrison, attacked La Motte before the remainder of his troops arrived, or he had time to strengthen himself in his position, and drove him back with a loss of two hundred men and forty officers.^e

The details of the military or political operations by which the reduction of most of these places was effected possess but little interest. The siege of Antwerp, however, was one of the most striking events of the age. All the science then at command was applied both by the prince and by his burgher antagonists to the advancement of their ends — hydrostatics, hydraulics, engineering, navigation, gunnery, pyrotechnics, mining, geometry, were summoned as broadly, vigorously, and intelligently to the destruction or preservation of a trembling city as they have ever been, in more commercial days, to advance a financial or manufacturing purpose. Land converted into water and water into land, castles built upon the breast of rapid streams, rivers turned from their beds and taught new courses, the distant ocean driven across ancient bulwarks, mines dug below the sea, and canals made to percolate obscene morasses — which the red hand of war, by the very act, converted into blooming gardens — a mighty stream bridged and mastered in the very teeth of winter, floating icebergs, ocean-tides, and an alert and desperate foe, ever ready with fleets and armies and batteries — such were the materials of which the great spectacle was composed: a spectacle which enchaind the attention of Europe for seven months, and on the result of which, it was thought, depended the fate of all the Netherlands and, perhaps, of all Christendom.^e

Seeking too late to repair the fatal error committed in allowing Parma to complete his bridge, the count of Hohenlohe and Justin of Nassau, admiral of Zealand, with a considerable force of Holland and Zealand vessels, captured the fort of Liefkenshoek. Numerous plans were devised for the purpose of breaking down the bridge, and among the rest Giambelli, an engineer of

Mantua (the same who was in the service of Queen Elizabeth at the defeat of the armada), undertook to blow it up by means of two fire-ships, laden each with six or seven thousand pounds of powder. One of these, taking fire before it had approached sufficiently near the works, proved useless; but the other, named the *Hope*, of about eighty tons' burden, exploded with fatal and terrific effect.

The Spanish soldiers, thinking that the intention was to set fire to the bridge, crowded upon it for the purpose of extinguishing the flames, when the vessel blew up, and above eight hundred were mingled in one horrible and promiscuous slaughter. Parma himself, who had quitted the bridge only a few moments before, was struck down stunned, but quickly recovered his senses and with them his accustomed intrepidity. The shock was so violent that it was felt at the distance of nine miles; the waters of the Schelde, driven from their bed, inundated the surrounding country, and entirely filled the fort of St. Mary, at the Flanders end of the bridge.

But it seemed destined that all the efforts made for the delivery of Antwerp should be untimely or incomplete. The crew of the boat which Hohenlohe sent to reconnoitre were afraid to approach sufficiently near to ascertain the amount of damage done; and, in consequence, both the Antwerpers and a fleet of Holland and Zealand vessels, stationed at Lillo, were left in ignorance of the rupture of the bridge till Parma had time to repair it, which he effected with his customary celerity in two or three days.

Among other measures of defence adopted by the citizens of Antwerp, they had constructed an enormous vessel, or rather floating castle, being regularly fortified, at an expense of 1,000,000 florins, with which they hoped to break through the bridge; and so sanguine were they of the effect it was to produce, that, with a presumption but ill justified by the event, they named it the *End of the War* (*Fin de la Guerre*). But its vast bulk rendered it wholly unmanageable, and having stranded in the mud near Oordam, all efforts to set it afloat again proved unavailing. Meanwhile, the scarcity of corn within the walls of Antwerp became extreme, although the government successfully endeavoured to conceal it for some time from the people, by keeping the price of bread down to its usual standard. As, however, the discovery of the fact could not much longer be delayed, and no hope of assistance appeared either by sea or land, since Parma had possessed himself of all the surrounding forts, they deemed it advisable to propose terms of surrender.

The negotiations were opened by Sainte-Aldegonde, one of the strongest advocates for a pacification. Reasons of policy combined with the natural generosity of Parma's disposition to induce him to grant the most favourable terms. The affair, therefore, was not long pending; the inhabitants received a general pardon and oblivion of offences; those of the reformed religion were allowed to remain two years in the city, and within that time to dispose of their property as they pleased; a ransom of 400,000 guilders was to be paid; and the ill-omened citadel was to be restored, but with a promise that it should be destroyed as soon as Holland and Zealand returned to the obedience of the king. Notwithstanding the permission granted them to remain, however, the Reformers did not wait for the triumphal entry of Parma into Antwerp. Three days after the surrender they held their last melancholy service, and within a short time the whole body, among whom the most intelligent, wealthy, and industrious burghers were numbered, retired into exile, the greater portion to Holland and Zealand.

The consequence of the surrender of Antwerp was to deprive the states of the services of one of the earliest, the most active, and the most devoted

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defenders of Netherland liberty. It is utterly impossible to believe that Sainte-Aldegonde, a man of the very highest virtues and attainments, could for a moment contemplate betraying that cause for which he had made such vast sacrifices.¹ He presented an able defence of his conduct to the states, and his cause was strenuously pleaded by the renowned De la Noue; but, severe in punishing the slightest appearance of treachery, the states excluded him from any share in public affairs until several years after, when he was employed by Prince Maurice in an embassy to France.

The loss of Sainte-Aldegonde was in some, though a small degree repaired by the acquisition of Martin Schenk, an able and experienced captain, who, having formerly deserted to the royalist side, now, finding that he was treated by Parma with less consideration than he imagined due to him, returned to his allegiance under the states, and delivered his fortress of Blyenbeek into the hands of the count of Mörs. The

states now despatched a solemn embassy to England, for the purpose of soliciting the queen to become sovereign of the United Provinces.^e



ALESSANDRO FARNESE, PRINCE OF PARMA
(1546-1592)

MOTLEY'S PORTRAIT OF OLDEN-BARNEVELD

There was at this moment one Netherlander, the chief of the present mission to England, already the foremost statesman of his country, whose name will not soon be effaced from the record of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That man was Jan van Olden-Barneveld.² He was now in his thirty-eighth year, having been born at Amersfoort on the 14th of September, 1547. He bore an imposing name, for the Olden-Barnevelds of Gelderland were a race of unquestionable and antique nobility. His enemies, however, questioned his right to the descent which he claimed.

He had been a profound and indefatigable student from his earliest youth.

[1 It is certain, whatever his motives, that his attitude had completely changed. For it was not Antwerp alone that he had reconciled, or was endeavouring to reconcile, with the king of Spain, but Holland and Zealand as well, and all the other independent provinces. The ancient champion of the patriot army, the earliest signer of the Compromise, the bosom friend of William the Silent, the author of the "Wilhelmus" national song, now avowed his conviction, in a published defence of his conduct against the calumnious attacks upon it, that it was "impossible, with a clear conscience, for subjects, under any circumstances, to take up arms against Philip, their king." Certainly if he had always entertained that opinion he must have suffered many pangs of remorse during his twenty years of active and illustrious rebellion. He now made himself secretly active in promoting the schemes of Parma and in counteracting the negotiation with England. He flattered himself, with an infatuation which it is difficult to comprehend, that it would be possible to obtain religious liberty for the revolting provinces, although he had consented to its sacrifice in Antwerp. — MOTLEY.]

[² In his biography of this man, Motley ^g adopts Barneveld, the English and French form of the name, while confessing that "Oldenbarnevelt" was more correct.]

He had read law at Leyden, in France, at Heidelberg. Here, in the headquarters of German Calvinism, his youthful mind had long pondered the dread themes of foreknowledge, judgment absolute, free will, and predestination. Perplexed in the extreme, the youthful Jan bethought himself of an inscription over the gateway of his famous but questionable great-grandfather's house at Amersfoort — "*Nil scire tutissima fides*" [To know nothing is the safest creed]. He resolved thenceforth to adopt a system of ignorance upon matters beyond the flaming walls of the world; to do the work before him manfully and faithfully while he walked the earth, and to trust that a benevolent Creator would devote neither him nor any other man to eternal hell-fire. For this most offensive doctrine he was howled at by the strictly pious, while he earned still deeper opprobrium by daring to advocate religious toleration. In face of the endless horrors inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition upon his native land, he had the hardihood — although a determined Protestant himself — to claim for Roman Catholics the right to exercise their religion in the free states on equal terms with those of the reformed faith. At a later period the most zealous Calvinists called him pope John.

After completing his very thorough legal studies, he had practised as an advocate in Holland and Zeeland. An early defender of civil and religious freedom, he had been brought into contact with William the Silent, who recognised his ability. He had borne a snap-hance on his shoulder as a volunteer in the memorable attempt to relieve Haarlem, and was one of the few survivors of that bloody night. He had stood outside the walls of Leyden in company of the prince of Orange when that magnificent destruction of the dikes had taken place by which the city had been saved from the fate impending over it. At a still more recent period he landed from the gunboats upon the Kowenstyn, on the fatal 26th of May. These military adventures were, however, but brief and accidental episodes in his career, which was that of a statesman and diplomatist. As pensionary of Rotterdam, he was constantly a member of the general assembly and had already begun to guide the policy of the new commonwealth.¹ His experience was considerable, and he was now in the high noon of his vigour and his usefulness.

THE EMBASSY TO ELIZABETH (1585)

The commissioners arrived at Greenwich Stairs, and were at once ushered into the palace. Certainly, if the provinces needed a king, they might have wandered the whole earth over, and, had it been possible, searched through the whole range of history, before finding a monarch with a more kingly spirit than the great queen to whom they had at last had recourse. But the queen, besides other objections to the course proposed by the provinces, thought that she could do a better thing in the way of mortgages. In this, perhaps, there was something of the penny-wise policy which sprang from one great defect in her character. At any rate much mischief was done by the mercantile spirit which dictated the hard chaffering on both sides the Channel at this important juncture; for, during this tedious flint-paring, Antwerp, which might have been saved, was falling into the hands of Philip. It should never be forgotten, however, that the queen had no standing army, and but a small revenue. The men to be sent from England to the Netherland wars were first to be levied wherever it was possible to find them.^c

[¹ Elsewhere Motley *g* says: "There can be no doubt that if William the Silent was the founder of the independence of the United Provinces, Barneveld was the founder of the commonwealth itself. . . . And the states-general were virtually Jan van Barneveld."]]

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Though the queen declined accepting the sovereignty for the present, she consented to appoint a governor-general of the United Provinces in her name; she promised also to send at her own cost an army of five thousand foot and one thousand horse into the Netherlands. As a security for the repayment of her expenses, the states were to admit English garrisons into Flushing, Rammekens, and Briel, and into two fortresses in the province of Holland, until the debt were liquidated, the governors of the garrisons being bound not to interfere with the political or civil government of these towns, which was to be administered according to their own laws, by the customary magistrates and officers, nor to levy any contribution on the inhabitants; two Englishmen were to have a sitting in the council of state, to which also the governors of the above-mentioned garrisons were to be admitted, to confer on any subject relating to the queen's interests, but without the liberty of voting. A council of war, to which the queen might appoint such persons as the governor recommended, was, in conjunction with the council of state, to remedy the abuses in the levy of the taxes, to abrogate all useless offices, and to apply the public funds as they thought expedient. Thus, it will be seen that Elizabeth secured to herself a pretty large share of influence in the provinces, and placed herself in such a position with regard to them that she might easily assume the supreme power whenever she found it convenient.

Within little more than a month after the conclusion of the treaty, Sir John Norris arrived with the English forces in Utrecht. The command of the garrisons at Flushing and Rammekens was given to Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Thomas Cecil being made governor of Briel and the fortresses in Holland. The office of governor-general was conferred on Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, a man every way unfitted for the discharge of so delicate and important a trust. Vainglorious, ambitious, inconstant, and insincere, the mediocrity of his talents was thrown into still deeper shade by the brilliant luminaries which at this period surrounded the throne of Elizabeth; and while his reputation as a public character was contemptible, in private life it was stained by the darkest suspicions.

The knowledge probably which Barneveld had obtained of his character during his mission to England induced him to urge the states of Holland, on his return, to confirm the authority of Prince Maurice as stadholder of that province and Zealand, which they did, November 1st, 1585, before the coming of Leicester; the prince being bound, however, by his instructions to respect the authority of the governor-general.^e

THE ENGLISH UNDER LEICESTER IN HOLLAND

The earl had raised a choice body of lancers to accompany him to the Netherlands, but the expense of the levy had come mainly upon his own purse. The queen had advanced five thousand pounds, which was much less than the requisite amount. She violently accused him of cheating her, reclaimed money which he had wrung from her on good security, and when he repaid the sum objected to give him a discharge. As for receiving anything by way of salary, that was quite out of the question. At that moment he would have been only too happy to be reimbursed for what he was already out of pocket. Whether Elizabeth loved Leicester as a brother or better than a brother may be a historical question, but it is no question at all that she loved money better than she did Leicester. Unhappy the man, whether foe or favourite, who had pecuniary transactions with her highness.

Davison had been meantime doing his best to prepare the way in the Netherlands for the reception of the English administration. What man could do, without money and without authority, he had done. As might naturally be expected, the lamentable condition of the English soldiers, unpaid and starving — according to the report of the queen's envoy himself — exercised anything but a salutary influence upon the minds of the Netherlanders and perpetually fed the hopes of the Spanish partisans that a composition with Philip and Parma would yet take place. On the other hand, the states had been far more liberal in raising funds than the queen had shown herself to be, and were somewhat indignant at being perpetually taunted with parsimony by her agents.

At last, however, the die had been cast. The queen, although rejecting the proposed sovereignty of the Netherlands, had espoused their cause, by solemn treaty of alliance, and thereby had thrown down the gauntlet to Spain. She deemed it necessary, therefore, out of respect for the opinions of mankind, to issue a manifesto of her motives to the world. The document was published simultaneously in Dutch, French, English, and Italian.

Subsequently to the publication of the queen's memorial, and before the departure of the earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, having received his appointment, together with the rank of general of cavalry, arrived in the isle of Walcheren, as governor of Flushing, at the head of a portion of the English contingent. It is impossible not to contemplate with affection so radiant a figure, shining through the cold mists of that Zealand winter, and that distant and disastrous epoch. There is hardly a character in history upon which the imagination can dwell with more unalloyed delight. Not in romantic fiction was there ever created a more attractive incarnation of martial valour, poetic genius, and purity of heart.

At last the earl of Leicester came, embarking at Harwich, with a fleet of fifty ships, and attended by "the flower and chief gallants of England." Now began a triumphal progress through the land, with a series of mighty banquets and festivities, in which no man could play a better part than Leicester. Not Matthias, nor Anjou, nor King Philip, nor the emperor Charles, in their triumphal progresses, had been received with more spontaneous or more magnificent demonstrations. Beside himself with rapture, Leicester almost assumed the god. In Delft he is said so far to have forgotten himself as to declare that his family had — in person of Lady Jane Grey, his father, and brother — been unjustly deprived of the crown of England; an indiscretion which caused a shudder in all who heard him.

Spain moved slowly. Philip the Prudent was not sudden or rash, but his whole life had proved and was to prove him inflexible in his purposes, and patient in his attempts to carry them into effect. Before the fall of Antwerp he had matured his scheme for the invasion of England, in most of its details — a necessary part of which was of course the reduction of Holland and Zealand.

What now was the disposition and what the means of the provinces to do their part in the contest? If the twain, as Holland wished, had become of one flesh, would England have been the loser? Was it quite sure that Elizabeth — had she even accepted the less compromising title which she refused — would not have been quite as much the protected as the "protectress"?

It is very certain that the English, on their arrival in the provinces, were singularly impressed by the opulent and stately appearance of the country and its inhabitants. Notwithstanding the tremendous war which the

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Hollanders had been waging against Spain for twenty years, their commerce had continued to thrive, and their resources to increase.

But the rank and file of the English army needed strengthening. The soldiers required shoes and stockings, bread and meat, and for these articles there were not the necessary funds.

The English soldiers became mere barefoot starving beggars in the streets, as had never been the case in the worst of times, when the states were their paymasters.^c

The states-general, being assembled at the Hague, did not limit their welcome to mere empty compliments. They passed a resolution, January 10th, 1586, conferring on Leicester, in addition to the queen's commission, the absolute government of the Netherlands, as it had been exercised in the reign of Charles V; and joined to this office those of captain and admiral-general of the United Provinces. By this step the states had gone too far to recede, or the manner in which their offer was received by Leicester might have opened their eyes to the real nature of their rash and misplaced confidence. On the proposition to join the council of state with him in the administration, he refused to accept an authority so greatly circumscribed, and the states were obliged to concede that, besides the two Englishmen who had a vote in the council, he himself might appoint a member for each province out of a double number nominated by them. On this condition, he consented to assume the government, in which he no sooner found himself established than he began to aim at that uncontrolled power for which he had so early and so undisguisedly shown his desire.

If the states-general designed, by conferring the government on Leicester, to conciliate the favour of the queen, or to involve her as a principal in their quarrel, they found themselves widely mistaken; since Elizabeth felt the most violent anger at their proceedings. She immediately sent her ambassador, Sir Thomas Heneage, to the Hague, to complain, as of an extreme insult and contempt offered to her, that her vassal should be allowed to assume the sovereignty after she herself had refused it. At the same time, she laid her commands upon Leicester to exercise no more authority than his commission from her warranted. The states justified themselves with an appearance of great humility, at the same time contriving to give their new governor pretty intelligible notice of the precarious tenure by which he held his dignity.



GROOTE KERK OF HAARLEM, WHICH SUFFERED FROM THE SPANISH SIEGE

The haughty tone assumed by Elizabeth towards the states was no whit lowered in the mouth of her vassal. Leicester issued an edict forbidding the transport of provisions or ammunition to any enemy's or neutral country, and commanding that all mercantile intercourse by bills of exchange or otherwise should cease between the United Provinces and Spain, France, and the nations of the Baltic. The states of Holland and Zealand had, in the last year, issued an edict of the like import as regarded that part of the Netherlands in possession of their enemies, which, as it was suffering under severe scarcity, and not easily supplied by other nations, was the surest way of inflicting damage upon them. But with respect to Spain and Portugal, the case was far different; since, as they could be plentifully supplied by England, Scotland, Denmark, and the Hanse towns, the measure had no other effect than to deprive Holland of an advantageous trade, and throw it into the hands of those nations. The strong representations of the states of Holland to this effect were passed over unheeded by Leicester.

Besides the losses which the commerce of Holland suffered in consequence of this edict, incalculable damage was at this time inflicted upon it by the unceasing piracies of the English. The navigation of the Channel was rendered so unsafe to the Dutch that their ships, trading to the west, were obliged to perform the tedious and dangerous circuit round the north of Scotland.¹

Another cause of dissatisfaction between the states-general and Leicester was the institution by the latter of a council of finance, of which he appointed the count of Mörs and Sir Henry Killigrew presidents, and James Ringault the treasurer. The creation of this body was vehemently opposed by the council of state, not only as contrary to the instructions they were sworn to observe, and by which they were bound to provide for the administration of the finances, but as throwing the public moneys, entirely into the hands of foreigners, especially of Ringault, whose unfitness for the office conferred on him was notorious. Leicester, nevertheless, declaring that he was in no wise bound by the opinions of the council, persisted in his design, and visited the advocate of Utrecht, Paul Buys, who had declared his opinion of Ringault in somewhat bold terms, with the effects of his high displeasure. Buys remained in prison till the next year, when he was released by the states-general.

While the earl of Leicester was thus embarrassing the domestic affairs of the United Provinces, the prince of Parma was pushing the war, with his usual prosperity, close to their boundaries. Sir John Norris and Hohenlohe having captured the fort of Batenburg, Parma advanced in person to the walls of Grave, which he cannonaded incessantly. The defenders suddenly lost courage, and, by their clamours and entreaties, prevailed upon the sieur de Hemert, the governor, to surrender the same day. The earl of Leicester was on his march to relieve Grave, when he was met by Hemert, with the news of its capitulation. In a furious passion of anger, he retraced his steps to Utrecht, taking Hemert with him, whom he caused to be tried for high treason before a council of war, and executed. The death of this officer alienated the minds of many of the nobles in the provinces.

The sincerity of the professions made by Leicester, on this occasion, of his anxiety to maintain fidelity and military discipline, was strongly suspected by those who saw him bestow his highest favour and countenance on two of his own countrymen, of whom one, Rowland York, was a devoted adherent of Hembyze, in Ghent, and had afterwards been chiefly instrumental in de-

¹ Ambassadors being sent into England in 1589 to remonstrate with the queen on this subject, it was alleged, according to Bor,^h that the losses sustained by the Holland and Zealand merchants amounted, within three years, to 3,000,000 guilders.

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livering up Brussels to the royalists; and the other, Captain Welsh, had borne the principal share in the sale and surrender of Alost.

Venloo and Neuss (or Nuys) next fell before the victorious arms of Parma. During the siege of Neuss, Leicester commanded Sir Philip Sidney to undertake an invasion of Flanders. Under his brilliant auspices, the young Prince Maurice commenced his glorious military career, and wetted his maiden sword in the capture of the small town of Axel.

At length, in the month of August, Leicester took the field in person at the head of an army of 8,000 infantry¹ and 3,000 cavalry; but, not sufficiently strong to encounter Parma, whose forces numbered 12,000 of the former and 3,500 of the latter, he sat down before Doesborgh, while his adversary was engaged at the siege of Rhyenberg. In this his first military undertaking he was happily successful, as Doesborgh surrendered without waiting for an assault. Thence he marched to besiege Zutphen. Parma, well aware that this important town was but slenderly provided, sent forward three hundred wagons laden with corn, under a convoy. They had arrived at the village of Warnsfeld, about half a mile from Zutphen, when a body of musketeers and cavalry sallied out, headed by Sir Philip Sidney and several of the English volunteers. The English troops commenced the attack with extraordinary vigour, and forced their adversaries to retreat; during the engagement, however, Verdugo, having been warned of the approach of the convoy, advanced at the head of a small body of troops and brought the supplies safely into the town.^e

DEATH OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

This battle, in which the English showed such bravery, yet also such useless rashness, has been the subject of much controversy, the number of English present being set as high as 3,400, though Motley^c accepts Leicester's official report that there were 550 English engaged and Parma's statement that the Spanish numbered 3,100. As often happens in war reports, the accounts of rival generals are most discrepant concerning each other's losses, Leicester stating that 33 English were killed or wounded, and 250 to 350 Spaniards, while Parma sets the Spanish loss at 9 killed and 29 wounded, and the English at 200 killed. The truth of this matter is probably that about 33 Englishmen were lost and about 38 Spaniards. But the Spaniards accomplished their purposes and victualled the town.

The true fame of the skirmish rises from the fact that it put an end to the beautiful career of Sir Philip Sidney. Seeing that old Sir William Pelham fought in light armour, he threw off his own cuishes, or thigh-guards, and rode everywhere in the thick of the fight. Finally, having had one horse killed under him, he mounted another and charged through the Spanish ranks: a musket-ball shattered his unprotected thigh; and his horse, too restive to control, carried him a mile and a half back to his own entrenchments. It was here that the famous incident probably occurred which hallows his fame: for his attendants brought him a bottle of water to quench his burning thirst; but, seeing a dying English soldier cast his eyes longingly at the flask, Sidney handed it to him instantly, saying, "Thy necessity is even greater than mine."

Anecdotes of humanity in time of battle are always cherished by the populace and suspected by the critical historian, and this incident has not

¹ Among them was a regiment of 1,400 Irish, whom Stradaⁱ describes as "a rude and wild race, naked from the hips upward; they walked on high stilts, by means of which they were able to cross rivers, and were formidable for their skill in the use of the bow."

escaped incredulity. The story seems to have appeared first in a biography by Sidney's friend Lord Brooke.^j Motley^c says that he had "searched in vain for its confirmation through many contemporary letters and chronicles," yet he concludes that "there is no reason for rejecting its authenticity." The incident is comparable for its exquisite beauty with a self-sacrificing act of Alexander the Great during the desert-march of his troops.

Of the battle itself, Froude^k says, "No dispositions could apparently have been worse than those which Leicester made." He now gave up hope of conquering Zutphen except by siege and retired to winter quarters. His campaign had been, says Froude, "like a blaze of straw." He adds: "It was well for England, it was well for the queen, that those who were entrusted with the interests and honour of their country were not all such as Leicester, and were not all within reach of her own paralysing hand." Fortunately the time of his stay in the Netherlands was short.^a

THE FAILURE OF LEICESTER (1587)

Leicester's conduct was now become quite intolerable to the states. His incapacity and presumption were every day more evident and more revolting. He retired to the town of Utrecht; and pushed his injurious conduct to such an extent that he became an object of utter hatred to the provinces. Conferences took place at the Hague between Leicester and the states, in which Barneveld overwhelmed his contemptible shuffling by the force of irresistible eloquence and well-deserved reproaches; and after new acts of treachery this unworthy favourite at last set out for England, to lay an account of his government at the feet of the queen.¹

The growing hatred against England may be excused, from the various instances of treachery displayed, not only by the commander-in-chief but by several of his inferiors in command. A strong fort, near Zutphen, under the government of Rowland York, the town of Deventer under that of William Stanley, and subsequently Gelderland under a Scotchman named Pallot, were delivered up to the Spaniards by these men; and about the same time the English cavalry committed some excesses in Gelderland and Holland, which added to the prevalent prejudice against the nation in general. This enmity was no longer to be concealed. The partisans of Leicester were one by one, under plausible pretexts, removed from the council of state; and Elizabeth having required from Holland the exportation into England of a large quantity of rye, it was firmly but respectfully refused, as inconsistent with the wants of the provinces.

Prince Maurice, relieved of the caprice and jealousy of Leicester, now united in himself the whole power of command, and commenced that brilliant course of conduct which consolidated the independence of his country and elevated him to the first rank of military glory. His early efforts were turned to the suppression of the partiality which in some places existed for English domination.^d

The miserable condition of the Spanish Netherlands, and the difficulty of finding supplies for his troops, caused the duke of Parma to delay taking the field until late in the summer; when, making a feint attack upon Ostend, he afterwards commenced a vigorous siege of Sluys. This hastened the

[¹ After he left, a secret document was found in which he instructed the English governors to pay no heed to the commands of the states, to release no prisoners, and accept no order of removal. This discovery emphasized the general distrust of the English, and led the states to declare Maurice "prince" and to require an oath of allegiance to him.]

[1587 A.D.]

return of the Earl of Leicester to the Netherlands, who arrived in Ostend with seven thousand foot and five hundred horse; the queen having placed in his hands the whole of the £18,000 appointed for the payment of the soldiers.

Leicester made an attempt to master the fort of Blankenburg, in the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp; but on intelligence that Parma was approaching to give him battle, he hastily retreated to Ostend. As there were, therefore, no hopes of relief from the English, and all the artillery in the town was destroyed, except four pieces, the governor, Arnold de Groeneveldt, proposed a capitulation, which Parma granted, on highly honourable conditions. The loss of Sluys exasperated the dissensions between Leicester and the states into undisguised and irreconcilable hostility. He spared no pains to throw on them the blame of this miscarriage, accusing them (not, indeed, wholly without grounds) of neglecting to provide either sufficient troops, funds, or ammunition.

The states, on the other hand, possessed a powerful weapon against Leicester in an intercepted letter to his secretary Junius, desiring him to use his influence with the well-disposed in the provinces to bestow on him an authority free from the continual opposition and countermining of the states, who ought to be content with the share of power they had enjoyed under Charles V and his son, so that he might be sovereign in reality, and not in appearance only.

But it was not with the states alone that Leicester was at variance; the English ambassador Buckhurst, Sir John Norris, Prince Maurice, and the count of Hohenlohe alike shared his resentment. Leicester even entertained the design of seizing the person of the prince, together with Jan Olden-Barneveld, and conveying them to England; of which the latter having received information, they retired precipitately from the Hague to Delft.

While thus at issue with all the authorities of the state, Leicester had still a powerful party among the clergy, whom he affected to treat on all occasions with the most profound consideration and respect. Guided and fostered by the preachers, the time of popular opinion had, during the first part of Leicester's government, set strongly in his favour against the states. But the surrender of Deventer and the fort of Zutphen had given the first shock to his popularity, which rapidly declined after the fall of Sluys; and the conduct he now thought fit to pursue was such as might well have annihilated the little that remained.

Eight of the nobles of Utrecht having ventured to present a petition for the restoration of their former customs and privileges, they were seized all on one day, and confined in the public prison; an act which, though disavowed by Leicester, excited such an uproar against him in the city, that he was fain to retire to North Holland, where he possessed a devoted partisan in Theodore Sonoy, to whom he had given a commission as governor of that district, independent of the stadholder, Prince Maurice. This event was followed by a far more dangerous disturbance at Leyden, where a number of refugees from Flanders and Brabant formed a conspiracy to deliver the town into the hands of Leicester, which was only prevented by a timely and fortuitous discovery. The states, at the same time, as well those of Holland as the states-general, evinced their doubts of their personal safety by transferring their assemblies from the Hague to the fortified town of Haarlem.

Greatly alarmed at these unequivocal demonstrations of hostile feeling, and feeling too surely that his authority was irretrievably gone, Leicester retired to Flushing, where he shortly after received a summons to return to England, through Lord Herbert, whom the queen had appointed her

ambassador to the United Provinces. Having taken leave of the states in a letter, couched in terms considerably more mild and moderate than any of his previous communications, he set sail from Zealand. Shortly after his arrival in England, an accusation of maladministration in his government in the Netherlands was brought against him by Lord Buckhurst, from the effects of which the queen permitted him to screen himself under the plea of her private instructions; she even detained Buckhurst a prisoner in his own house for several months; but obliged Leicester, nevertheless, to execute a formal act of resignation early in the following year, which finally terminated his misguided and unfortunate government.

But the Act of Resignation remained some time unpublished; and the soldiers, of whom a great portion were English, took occasion from thence to

refuse obedience to the council and Prince Maurice; being, as they declared, still bound by their oath to the late governor. The garrisons of Medemblik, Hoorn, Naarden, Workum, Heusden, and other places, encouraged by secret emissaries from Leicester, were in a state of revolt from this ostensible reason. Prince Maurice wrote to the privy council in England, making heavy complaints of the conduct of their countrymen and partisans in the provinces; in consequence of which, Willoughby and Sir Thomas Killigrew, received orders from the queen to disavow in her name all acts of sedition against the council or the prince, pretended to be done for her service. The effects of this measure, together with the publication of the Act of Resignation by Leicester, were beneficial in the extreme.

The time, indeed, was now come when all trivial dissensions, all petty

jealousies, should be hushed. The gigantic armada, which was to crush England at a blow, was now ready. Henceforth, she must fight hand in hand with Holland.^e

THE SPANISH ARMADA (1588)

Irritated and mortified by the assistance which Elizabeth had given to the revolted provinces, Philip resolved to employ his whole power in attempting the conquest of England itself; hoping afterwards to effect with ease the subjugation of the Netherlands. He caused to be built, in almost every port of Spain and Portugal, galleons, carricks, and other ships of war of the largest dimensions; and at the same time gave orders to the duke of Parma to assemble in the harbours of Flanders as many vessels as he could collect together. This prodigious force obtained, in Spain, the ostentatious title of the Invincible Armada.

The details of the progress and the failure of this celebrated attempt are so thoroughly the province of English history, that they would be in



MAURICE, PRINCE OF ORANGE

(1567-1625)

[1588 A.D.]

this place superfluous. But it must not be forgotten that the glory of the proud result was amply shared by the new republic, whose existence depended on it. While Howard and Drake held the British fleet in readiness to oppose the Spanish armada, that of Holland, consisting of but twenty-five ships, under the command of Justin of Nassau, prepared to take a part in the conflict. This gallant though illegitimate scion of the illustrious house whose name he upheld on many occasions, proved himself on the present worthy of such a father as William and such a brother as Maurice. While the duke of Medina Sidonia, ascending the channel as far as Dunkirk, there expected the junction of the duke of Parma with his important reinforcement, Justin of Nassau, by a constant activity and a display of intrepid talent, contrived to block up the whole expected force in the ports of Flanders from Lillo to Dunkirk. The duke of Parma found it impossible to force a passage on any one point; and was doomed to the mortification of knowing that the attempt was frustrated, and the whole force of Spain frittered away, discomfited, and disgraced, from the want of a co-operation which he could not, however, reproach himself for having withheld. The issue of the memorable expedition which cost Spain years of preparation, thousands of men, and millions of treasure, was received in the country which sent it forth with consternation and rage. Philip alone possessed or affected an apathy which he covered with a veil of mock devotion.^d

The grief and disappointment of Parma at the destruction of this powerful armada were intense. In accordance with the advice of others, rather than his own judgment, he determined to employ his large and hitherto useless army in the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. It was the last town in Brabant left to the states except Gertruydenberg. The preservation of Bergen was chiefly owing to the extraordinary courage and dexterity of two Englishmen, Grimston, a lieutenant of the garrison, and one Redhead, a sutler. They had been offered large bribes, by two Spanish prisoners, to deliver the North Fort into the hands of Parma. By the orders of Lord Willoughby, to whom they discovered the affair, they pretended to give a ready consent to the proposal, and secretly left the camp, provided with letters from the two Spaniards to the duke of Parma. Parma obliged them to take an oath on the sacrament that they were acting in good faith: still, however, doubting somewhat of their fidelity, he ordered their hands to be tied behind them, and placed a Spanish soldier as guard over each, with a naked poniard, ready to plunge into their breasts on the slightest suspicion of treachery; thus secured, he ventured to entrust them with the conduct of the expedition. The assailants, marching at low water over the drowned land between their camp and the fort, found the gate open, as they expected. About fifty entered, when Willoughby let down the portcullis, and excluded the remainder. Those within were immediately slain or captured; the two who guarded the English prisoners, forgetting, in their confusion and terror, the orders they had received from Parma, allowed them to escape unhurt. The troops on the outside being assailed on their retreat by an ambush on the dike, a great number were slain, and several officers of distinction made prisoners. Grimston and Redhead received a present of 1,000 florins each from the queen, and an annuity of 600 florins.

Parma, therefore, broke up the siege, his troops abandoning the entrenchments in some disorder, and leaving a great portion of their arms, material, and baggage behind them. The count of Mansfeld captured the small town of Wachtendonck, in Gelderland, at the siege of which the bomb-shell was first used, having been invented shortly before by an artisan of Venloo.

Gertruydenberg was delivered, by its English governor, Sir John Wingfield, to Parma on the payment of the arrears due to the troops, and a gratuity of five months' pay in addition. Provoked beyond endurance at this mingled insolence and treachery, the states issued a decree, condemning the whole of the garrison to death as traitors. Several who were arrested in the provinces were executed without form of law.^e

Martin Schenk who had lately, for the last time, gone over to the side of the states, had caused a fort to be built in the isle of Betewe — that possessed of old by the Batavians — which was called by his name, and was considered the key to the passage of the Rhine. From this stronghold he constantly harassed the archbishop of Cologne, and had as his latest exploit surprised and taken the strong town of Bonn (1590). The indefatigable Schenk resolved to make an attempt on the important town of Nimeguen. His enterprise seemed almost crowned with success, when the inhabitants, recovering from their fright, precipitated themselves from the town; forced the assailants to retreat to their boats; and, carrying the combat into those overcharged and fragile vessels, upset several, and among others that which contained Schenk himself, who, covered with wounds, and fighting to the last gasp, was drowned with the greater part of his followers. His body, when recovered, was treated with the utmost indignity, quartered, and hung in portions over the different gates of the city.

The following year (1591) was distinguished by another daring attempt on the part of the Hollanders, but followed by a different result. A captain named Haranguer concerted with one Adrian Vandenberg a plan for the surprise of Breda, on the possession of which prince Maurice had set a great value. The associates contrived to conceal in a boat, laden with turf (which formed the principal fuel of the inhabitants of that part of the country), and of which Vandenberg was master, eighty determined soldiers, and succeeded in arriving close to the city without any suspicion being excited. One of the soldiers, named Mathew Helt, being suddenly affected with a violent cough, implored his comrades to put him to death, to avoid the risk of a discovery. But a corporal of the city guard having inspected the cargo with unsuspecting carelessness, the immolation of the brave soldier became unnecessary, and the boat was dragged into the basin by the assistance of some of the very garrison who were so soon to fall victims to the stratagem. At midnight the concealed soldiers quitted their hiding places, leaped on shore, killed the sentinels, and easily became masters of the citadel. Prince Maurice, following close with his army, soon forced the town to submit.

The duke of Parma had snatched a short interval for the purpose of recruiting his health at the waters of Spa. While at that place he received urgent orders from Philip to abandon for a while all his proceedings in the Netherlands, and to hasten into France with his whole disposable force, to assist the army of the League. The duke of Parma received his uncle's orders with great repugnance. He nevertheless obeyed; and leaving count Mansfeld at the head of the government, he conducted his troops against the royal opponent.

But while this expedition added greatly to the renown of the general, it considerably injured the cause of Spain in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice, taking prompt advantage of the absence of his great rival, had made himself master of several fortresses; and some Spanish regiments having mutinied against the commanders left behind by the duke of Parma, others, encouraged by the impunity they enjoyed, were ready on the slightest pretext to follow their example. Maurice did not lose a single opportunity

[1591 A.D.]

of profiting by circumstances so favourable; and even after the return of Alessandro he seized on Nimeguen, despite all the efforts of the Spanish army.^d

THE MILITARY GENIUS OF MAURICE

With the reduction of Nimeguen, which involved the submission of nearly the whole of Gelderland, in 1591, Prince Maurice terminated his brilliant and successful campaign; having, in the space of five months, mastered Zutphen, Deventer, Hulst, and Nimeguen, besides Delfzijl and other smaller forts. The lateness of the season, and the continued rains, together with the sickness of Barneveld, upon whose able and active co-operation he chiefly depended, induced him to arrest his progress for the present, and withdraw his army into winter quarters. On his return to Holland, he was greeted with unbounded joy and affection by all ranks of men. Under his auspices had dawned the first bright hopes — the first firm expectation of ultimate success to the cause of freedom. The military undertakings of his father had been peculiarly and uniformly unfortunate; the small advantages gained by Leicester had been more than counterbalanced by the discontents and cabals which had grown rife under his government: hitherto the provinces had had to struggle for their actual existence in miserable dependence on the aid of foreign princes; now they were able to treat on equal terms with those powers which had before disdained to receive them as subjects, and to render effective assistance to their ally the king of France. Their own boundaries were not only secured, but extended; and the enemy was harassed on every side by an army whose small numerical force was more than compensated by the celerity of its movements, its admirable spirit, and the perfect knowledge which every one of its members possessed of his respective duties.

The people beheld the hitherto invincible duke of Parma, indisputably the first captain of his age, retreat, or rather fly before their young general.

Prince Maurice, indeed, though the ostensible, was not the sole nor perhaps even the principal creator of the vast change that had been worked in the condition of the provinces. A powerful though unseen hand had now grasped the pivot on which public affairs turned. Jan Olden-Barneveld, from the time of his appointment to the office of advocate of Holland, had begun to acquire that influence which ultimately became almost unbounded; he it was whose eloquence prevailed with the states to consent at once to all the beneficial measures which his fertile genius suggested; and whose comprehensive intellect combined those plans which his unceasing diligence, in supplying the army with material, ammunition, and provisions enabled Prince Maurice to execute.^e

Nevertheless Prince Maurice must be recognised as one of the great military geniuses of all time. He was the true creator of the Dutch army, and recognised that a small body of highly trained patriots was far superior to the rabbles of mercenary troops on which the fate of Holland had been hanging so long. In his tactics he had the aid of his cousin Louis William, stadholder of Friesland, who revived the old Greek and Roman manœuvres in the evolutions of small bodies of men trained to the utmost agility. These small units of high mobility, in place of the cumbersome masses in vogue, excited the ridicule of the old school; and the suppression of the system of "blind names," by which a colonel often drew pay for a thousand men while actually recruiting only a hundred, excited still greater hostility. The private soldiers were similarly outraged by being compelled to dig trenches and build fortifications — a supposedly menial task for which peasants had been previously hired.

But victory is the soldier's consolation for every ill, and Maurice soon had an army which was a model for all Europe in its organisation and administration, as in its proficiency in field manœuvre and siege work.

The modernity of his ideas is also seen in the fact that he took away from his cavalry the spear and gave them the carbine, thus making them mounted infantry, an ideal recently revived.

In any history of the art of war, the name of Maurice must appear as an important contributor to progress.^a

THE DEATH OF PARMA: HIS SUCCESSOR (1592)

The duke of Parma, daily breaking down under the progress of disease, and agitated by reverses, repaired again to Spa, in 1592, taking at once every possible means for the recruitment of his army and the recovery of his health, on which its discipline and the chances of success now so evidently depended. But all his plans were again frustrated by a renewal of Philip's peremptory orders to march once more into France, to uphold the failing cause of the League against the intrepidity and talent of Henry IV.

On his return to the Netherlands (1592), the duke found himself again under the necessity of repairing to Spa, in search of some relief from the suffering which was considerably increased by the effects of a wound received in this last campaign. In spite of his shattered constitution, he maintained to the latest moment the most active endeavours for the reorganisation of his army; and he was preparing for a new expedition into France, when he was surprised by death on the 3rd of December, 1592, at the abbey of St. Vaast, near Arras, at the age of forty-seven years.

Alessandro of Parma was certainly one of the most remarkable and, it may be added, one of the greatest characters of his day. Most historians have upheld him even higher perhaps than he should be placed on the scale; asserting that he can be reproached with very few of the vices of the age in which he lived. Others consider this judgment too favourable, and accuse him of participation in all the crimes of Philip, whom he served so zealously. But even allowing that Alessandro's fine qualities were sullied by his complicity in these odious measures, we must still in justice admit that they were too much in the spirit of the times, and particularly of the school in which he was trained; and while we lament that his political or private faults place him on so low a level, we must rank him as one of the very first masters in the art of war in his own or any other age.

He had chosen the count of Mansfeld for his successor, and the nomination was approved by the king. He entered on his government under most disheartening circumstances. The rapid conquests of Prince Maurice in Brabant and Flanders were scarcely less mortifying than the total disorganisation into which those two provinces had fallen. They were ravaged by bands of robbers called *Picaroons*, whose audacity reached such a height that they opposed in large bodies the forces sent for their suppression by the government. They on one occasion killed the provost of Flanders, and burned his lieutenant in a hollow tree; and on another they mutilated a whole troop of the national militia, and their commander, with circumstances of most revolting cruelty.

The authority of governor-general, though not the title, was now fully shared by the count of Fuentes, who was sent to Brussels by the king of Spain: and the ill effects of this double viceroyalty were soon seen in the brilliant progress of Prince Maurice and the continual reverses sustained by

[1593-1596 A.D.]

the royalist armies. The king, still bent on projects of bigotry, sacrificed without scruple men and treasure for the overthrow of Henry IV and the success of the League. The affairs of the Netherlands seemed now a secondary object; and he drew largely on his forces in that country for reinforcements to the ranks of his tottering allies. A final blow was, however, struck against the hopes of intolerance in France, and to the existence of the League, by the conversion of Henry IV to the Catholic religion; he deeming theological disputes, which put the happiness of a whole kingdom in jeopardy, as quite subordinate to the public good.

Such was the prosperity of the United Provinces that they had been enabled to send a large supply, both of money and men, to the aid of Henry, their constant and generous ally. And notwithstanding this, their armies and fleets, so far from suffering diminution, were augmented day by day. Philip, resolved to summon up all his energy for the revival of the war against the republic, now appointed the archduke Ernest, brother of the emperor Rudolf, to the post which the disunion of Mansfeld and Fuentes rendered as embarrassing as it had become inglorious. This prince, of a gentle and conciliatory character, was received at Brussels with great magnificence and general joy; his presence reviving the deep-felt hopes of peace entertained by the suffering people. Such were also the cordial wishes of the prince¹; but more than one design, formed at this period against the life of Prince Maurice, frustrated every expectation of the kind.

A priest of the province of Namur, named Michael Renichon, disguised as a soldier, was the new instrument meant to strike another blow at the greatness of the house of Nassau, in the person of its gallant representative, Prince Maurice; as also in that of his brother, Frederick Henry, then ten years of age. On the confession of the intended assassin, he was employed by Count Barlaymont to murder the two princes. Renichon happily mismanaged the affair, and betrayed his intention. He was arrested at Breda, conducted to the Hague, and there tried and executed on the 3rd of June, 1594.

In this same year a soldier named Peter Dufour embarked in a like atrocious plot. He, too, was seized and executed before he could carry it into effect.

Prince Maurice, in the meantime, with his usual activity, passed the Maas and the Rhine, and invested and quickly took the town of Groningen (July 24th, 1594),² by which he consummated the establishment of the republic, and secured its rank among the principal powers of Europe.

The archduke Ernest, finding all his efforts for peace frustrated, and all hopes of gaining his object by hostility to be vain, became a prey to disappointment and regret, and died, from the effects of a slow fever, on the 21st of February, 1595; leaving to the count of Fuentes the honours and anxieties of the government, subject to the ratification of the king. This nobleman began the exercise of his temporary functions by an irruption into France, at the head of a small army; war having been declared against Spain by Henry IV, who, on his side, had despatched the admiral De Villars to attack

[¹ He convened the states-general of the loyal provinces in 1595, and sent a proposal of peace to the Hague on the basis of the pacification of Ghent. Blok^m quotes the protests of the loyal provinces against the ruinous Spanish policy; they protested that little remained to them "except one great heart-break and despair" (*sinon un très grand crève-cœur et désespoir*).]

[² Of this success by Maurice, Motley^c says: "Again the commander-in-chief enlightened the world by an exhibition of a more artistic and humane style of warfare than previously to his appearance on the military stage had been known." In May, 1596, the states were actually admitted as equals in a tripartite alliance against Spain. Queen Elizabeth bitterly opposed such recognition of a popular government, but was compelled to take the step, and the treaty was signed at the Hague, October 31st, 1596.]

Philip's possessions in Hainault and Artois. This gallant officer lost a battle and his life in the contest; and Fuentes, encouraged by the victory, took some frontier towns.

Some trifling affairs took place in Brabant; but the arrival of the archduke Albert, whom the king had appointed to succeed his brother Ernest in the office of governor-general, deprived Fuentes of any further opportunity of signalising his talents for supreme command. Albert arrived at Brussels on the 11th of February, 1596, accompanied by Philip William, the prince of Orange, who, when count of Buren, had been carried off from the university of Louvain, twenty-eight years previously, and held captive in Spain during the whole of that period.

THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT

The archduke Albert, fifth son of the emperor Maximilian II, and brother of Rudolf, stood high in the opinion of Philip his uncle, and merited his reputation for talents, bravery, and prudence. He had been early made archbishop of Toledo, and afterwards cardinal; but his profession was not that of these nominal dignities. He was a warrior and politician of considerable capacity; and had for some years faithfully served the king, as viceroy of Portugal. But Philip meant him for the more independent situation of sovereign of the Netherlands, and at the same time destined him to be the husband of his daughter Isabella. He now sent him, in the capacity of governor-general, to prepare the way for the important change.

He opened his first campaign early; and, by a display of clever manœuvring, which threatened an attempt to force the French to raise the siege of La Fère, in the heart of Picardy, he concealed his real design — the capture of Calais; and he succeeded in its completion almost before it was suspected. By prudently avoiding a battle, to which he was constantly provoked by Henry IV who commanded the French army in person, he established his character for military talent of no ordinary degree.

He at the same time made overtures of reconciliation to the United Provinces, and hoped that the return of the prince of Orange would be a means of effecting so desirable a purpose. But the Dutch were not to be deceived by the apparent sincerity of Spanish negotiation. They even doubted the sentiments of the prince of Orange, whose attachments and principles had been formed in so hated a school; and nothing passed between them and him but mutual civilities. They clearly evinced their disapprobation of his intended visit to Holland; and he consequently fixed his residence in Brussels, passing his life in an inglorious neutrality.

A naval expedition formed in this year by the English and Dutch against Cadiz, commanded by the earl of Essex,¹ was crowned with brilliant success, and somewhat consoled the provinces for the contemporary exploits of the archduke. But the following year opened with an affair which at once proved his unceasing activity and added largely to the reputation of his rival, Prince Maurice. The former had detached the count of Varax, with about six thousand men, for the purpose of invading the province of Holland: but Maurice, with equal energy and superior talent, followed his movements; came up with him near Turnhout, on the 24th of January, 1597, and after a

[¹ The Dutch admiral was Duivenvoorde, lord of Warmond, and the combined fleet, destroyed a Spanish squadron in Cadiz, July, 1596, returning home with booty. Previously, in 1595, some five hundred Netherlandish ships, nearly half the entire merchant marine, were released from Spanish and Portuguese harbors where they had been detained. Their release was partly for conciliation and partly because of Spain's need for the supplies they brought.]

[1597-1598 A.D.]

sharp action, of which the Dutch cavalry bore the whole brunt, Varax was killed, and his troops defeated with considerable loss.¹

This was in its consequences a most disastrous affair to the archduke. His army was disorganised, and his finances exhausted; while the confidence of the states in their troops and their general was considerably raised. During this year Prince Maurice took a number of towns in rapid succession; and the states, according to their custom, caused various medals, in gold, silver, and copper, to be struck, to commemorate the victories which had signalised their arms.

Philip II, feeling himself approaching the termination of his long and agitating career, now wholly occupied himself in negotiations for peace with France. Henry IV desired it as anxiously. The pope, Clement VIII, encouraged by his exhortations this mutual inclination. The king of Poland sent ambassadors to the Hague and to London, to induce the states and Queen Elizabeth to become parties in a general pacification. These overtures led to no conclusion; but the conferences between France and Spain went on with apparent cordiality and great promptitude, and a peace was concluded between these powers at Vervins, on the 2nd of May, 1598.

The states had used all their influence to keep Elizabeth from making peace with Spain, and abandoning her alliance with them. Their delay in paying their debt to her had, however, occasioned frequent outbursts of temper and even of threats of war, but terms were finally patched up.^a It was agreed that she should henceforth be released from the obligation to afford any further subsidies to the provinces, who engaged to assist her with forty ships in any naval expedition she might undertake against Spain, and with five thousand foot and five hundred horse, or an equivalent in money, in case the king of Spain should invade any part of her dominions; the debt which she herself had estimated at two millions was fixed at £800,000, to be paid by instalments of £30,000 a year until the half were liquidated; the mode of discharging the remainder to be arranged at the end of the war, when, if any of the first moiety was still unpaid, the annual sum should be reduced to £20,000. The states also bound themselves to pay the garrisons of Briel and Flushing to the number of 1,150 men. They were permitted to retain the English troops already in the Netherlands at their own expense, and the queen was to continue to name one English member in the council of state.^{e 2}

THE PROVINCES CEDED TO ALBERT AND ISABELLA (1598)

Shortly after the publication of the treaty of Vervins, another important act was made known to the world, by which Philip ceded to Albert and Isabella, on their being formally affianced — a ceremony which now took place — the sovereignty of Burgundy and the Netherlands. This act bears

¹ This action may be taken as a fair sample of the difficulty with which any estimate can be formed of the relative losses on such occasions. The Dutch historians state the loss of the royalists, in killed, at upwards of 2,000. Meteren,ⁿ a good authority, says the peasants buried 2,250; while Bentivoglio,^o an Italian writer in the interest of Spain, makes the number exactly half that amount. Grotius^l says that the loss of the Dutch was four men killed. Bentivoglio states it at 100. But, at either computation, it is clear that the affair was a brilliant one on the part of Prince Maurice. [Motley^c says of it: "The nation was electrified, transformed in an instant. Who now should henceforth have to say that one Spanish fighting man was equal to five or ten Hollanders? Here in the open field a Spanish army, after in vain refusing a combat and endeavouring to escape, had literally bitten the dust before a fourth of its own number. And this effect was a permanent one."] ²

[² Blok^m well calls these "pretty stiff terms," the only cause for satisfaction being the acceptance of only one Englishman on the council of state.]

date the 6th of May, 1598, and was proclaimed with all the solemnity due to so important a transaction. It contained thirteen articles; and was based on the misfortunes which the absence of the sovereign had hitherto caused to the Low Countries. The Catholic religion was declared that of the state, in its full integrity. The provinces were guaranteed against dismemberment. The archdukes, by which title the joint sovereigns were designated without any distinction of sex, were secured in the possession, with right of succession to their children; and a provision was added, that in default of posterity their possessions should revert to the Spanish crown. The infanta Isabella soon sent her procurator to the archduke, her affianced husband, giving him full power and authority to take possession of the ceded dominions in her name as in his own; and Albert was inaugurated with great pomp at Brussels, on the 22nd of August.

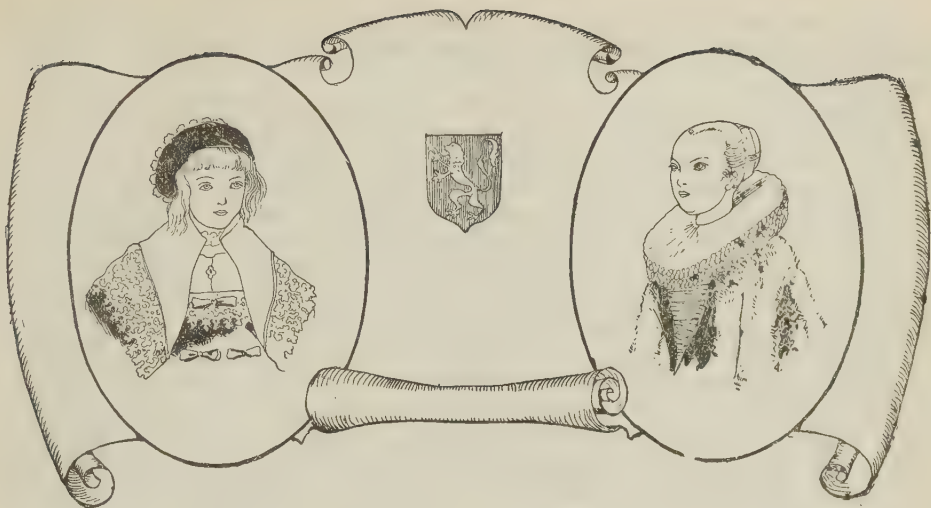
Having put everything in order for the regulation of the government during his absence, he set out for Spain, for the purpose of accomplishing his spousals, and bringing back his bride to the chief seat of their joint power. But before his departure he wrote to the various states of the republic, and to Prince Maurice himself, strongly recommending submission and reconciliation. These letters received no answer; a new plot against the life of Prince Maurice, by a wretched individual named Peter Pann, having aroused the indignation of the country, and determined it to treat with suspicion and contempt every insidious proposition from the tyranny it defied.

THE DEATH OF PHILIP II (1598)

Albert placed his uncle, the cardinal Andrew of Austria, at the head of the temporary government, and set out on his journey. He had not made much progress when he received accounts of the demise of Philip II, who died, after long suffering, and with great resignation, on the 13th of September, 1598, at the age of seventy-two. Albert was several months on his journey through Germany; and the ceremonials of his union with the infanta did not take place till the 18th of April, 1599, when it was finally solemnised in the city of Valencia in Spain.

This transaction, by which the Netherlands were positively erected into a separate sovereignty, seems naturally to make the limits of another epoch in their history. It completely decided the division between the northern and southern provinces, which, although it had virtually taken place long previous to this period, could scarcely be considered as formally consummated until now.^d





CHAPTER X

THE SWAY OF OLDEN-BARNEVELD

[1598-1609 A.D.]

THE first act of the young sovereign of Spain, Philip III, was one of more bitter hostility against the provinces than his father had ever exercised; since he not only arrested all their ships in his ports (which had been often done heretofore) but made the whole of the crews prisoners; caused such as were suspected of having taken part in the expeditions of the English to be put to the torture, and forced the remainder to work as galley-slaves. Coincident with this proceeding was an edict issued in the Spanish Netherlands, February, 1599, forbidding the inhabitants to traffic in any manner with Holland and Zealand, or their adherents, till they had returned to obedience under their lawful prince. But these measures, like most others devised by Spain against her former subjects, recoiled upon herself, and tended ultimately to the advantage of those whom they were designed to injure. The states, on their part, issued a decree, prohibiting the ships, not only of their own subjects but those of foreign powers, from carrying provisions or other wares to Spain; all goods belonging to that country, wherever found, were declared lawful prizes; permits or safe-conducts to the enemy were forbidden; and indemnity for all injuries done by them, and for the extortion of exorbitant ransoms, was to be levied on the hostile territories of Flanders and Brabant.

They followed up this measure by the immediate equipment of seventy-three vessels of war, containing eight thousand men, for the purpose of either making a descent on Spain, or intercepting the India fleets. Setting sail from the Maas, under the command of Peter van der Does, the armament reached in safety the harbour of Corunna, where they found the Spanish fleet anchored under cover of the artillery on the shore. Unable to draw out the enemy to a combat, and not venturing to attack them thus protected, Van der Does changed his purpose, and, directing his course to the Canary

Islands, effected a landing on the largest of them, called the Gran Canaria, which he occupied and plundered with but trifling loss. Gomra next shared the same fate.

Sailing along the coast of Africa, he arrived at St. Thomas, an island in the gulf of Guinea, where they found a numerous colony of Portuguese established. The principal town surrendered at the first summons. But the burning summer heats combined with imprudent indulgence to produce a pestilential sickness of the most terrific description; which, in a short time, carried off great numbers, and among the rest the admiral himself and his nephew, George van der Does, son of the heroic defender of Leyden. The admiral was buried in the island, and the sailors, to secure his remains from insult, heaped the ruins of the whole town of Pavoasa upon his grave. After the death of their commander, the ships immediately set out on their return homewards; above one thousand perished on the voyage in the space of fifteen days: and on their arrival in Holland, at the end of the winter, not more than two captains were left alive. Such was the end of the fleet, which had cost vast sums in preparation, and from which the most important results had been expected. But however unprosperous the expedition, it had produced the effect of exciting great alarm in Spain, as appearing a prelude to others of the same nature, and had put the king to considerable charges in providing convoys for his fleets from the Indies.

It was September, 1599, before the new sovereigns arrived in their dominions, which they found the scene of universal discontent. The soldiery were on the brink of a general insurrection for want of pay, for which the treasury was too much exhausted to provide funds; and the people, oppressed and impoverished, were offended alike with the footing of lavish expenditure on which the court was placed, and the Spanish manners, dress, and customs which they remarked in its members. The "archdukes" having immediately on their coming summoned the states of the provinces, preparatory to their inauguration, the latter required as a preliminary to the acknowledgment of the new sovereigns the removal of the foreign troops in garrison in the Netherlands; that the public offices should be filled only by natives; and the conclusion of a definitive peace with the United Provinces. To these requisitions Isabella haughtily replied that she had received the Netherlands from her father, as a free gift without any conditions whatsoever; and the states, bowed down by poverty and sorrow, did not venture to persevere in this last struggle for a remnant of their former freedom.

Prince Maurice, anxious to take advantage of the widely-spread insurrection which prevailed among the archduke's troops, more especially those in the forts of Crèvecoeur and St. Andrew, laid siege to the former, which he mastered with little difficulty. The garrison of St. Andrew accepted the offer of a payment of 125,000 guilders which he made them, and delivered the fort into his hands. Nearly the whole of the troops entered into the service of the states, and being formed into a separate regiment (to which the soldiers gave the name of the "New Gueux" from the ragged appearance they made on coming out of the fort) were placed under the command of the young prince Frederick Henry.

From hence Prince Maurice was desirous of pursuing his success along the course of the Maas; but at the vivid instances of the Zealanders, who were greatly vexed and incommoded by the near neighbourhood of the enemy, he, in concert with the states-general determined upon the invasion of Flanders. The rendezvous of the troops was, accordingly, appointed at Rammekens, in Walcheren, where nearly one thousand boats were collected,

[1600 A.D.]

on board of which were embarked twelve thousand infantry, with three thousand cavalry, four field-pieces, and thirty smaller pieces of artillery. Having waited in vain for some days for a fair wind to carry them to Ostend, they sailed up the Maas, and landed at the Sas de Gand; the fort of Philippine, by which it is defended, having been first captured by Count Ernest of Nassau.

From thence, the prince began his march overland towards Nieuport. Maurice sat down before the town, hoping to effect its reduction ere the enemy could collect sufficient forces for its relief. But the archduke repairing in person with the infanta to Diest, of which his mutinous troops held possession, the latter employed her entreaties, persuasions, and promises with such effect that she prevailed with them again to join her husband's standard, though under the banner of their own "eletto." With these, and the troops already in Brabant and Flanders, Albert found himself at the head of ten thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse. Marching from Bruges, he first attacked Oldenburg, a fort commanding the passage between that town and Nieuport, and lately captured by Prince Maurice, which surrendered without resistance. The loss of this fort was followed by that of Snaaskerke, of which the garrison was massacred in cold blood after the surrender; and of Breden, which was abandoned.

THE BATTLE OF NIEUPORT (1600)

Maurice sent forward Count Ernest of Nassau, with the Scottish regiment, under Colonel Edmonds, and a regiment of Zealanders, making together about nineteen hundred men, with four troops of horse, to occupy a bridge at Leffingham on the road to Ostend, over which the hostile army must pass. Though he used all possible expedition, Ernest found on his arrival the enemy already in possession of the post, who, remarking the smallness of his force, immediately advanced to the attack. His cavalry, seized with a sudden panic, rapidly gave way, and communicating their terror to the infantry, the rout soon became universal; the Zealanders fled towards Ostend, but the Scottish soldiers, heedlessly directing their course over the sand-hills towards the sea, were pursued and cut in pieces by the victors. Nine hundred were slain, and all their standards taken; but none were made prisoners, since the archduke, who deemed himself certain of the destruction of Maurice's army, had, it is said, given orders that no lives should be spared except those of the prince himself and his brother, Frederick Henry, whom he had determined to send prisoners, bound hand and foot, into Spain.

The time occupied by this calamitous encounter enabled Maurice to transport his whole army across the harbour of Nieuport, which is fordable at low water, to the right bank of the Yperlee, where he drew up on the sands and adjacent downs to await the coming of the hostile forces. The van of his army was occupied by two thousand six hundred English infantry and eighteen hundred Frieslanders, commanded by Sir Francis Vere, and his brother Horatio; on the left of which, towards the sea, were placed Vere's ten troops of cavalry, and six pieces of artillery; the remainder of the cavalry under Louis of Nassau being stationed so as to be ready to give assistance where it was required. The main army, composed of French, Swiss, and Prince Frederick Henry's regiment of New Gueux, was commanded by Count George de Solmes; while the Hollanders and Utrechters, forming the reserve, were under the special direction of Maurice himself, and led by Sir Oliver Temple. With the hostile town of Nieuport in the rear, the river and enemy's forts on the right, and the sea on the left, the only mode of retreat

in case of a defeat was on board the ships, which must inevitably be attended with extreme confusion and danger; and it was not improbable that during the engagement the vessels might themselves be attacked by the garrison of Nieuport.

Maurice, therefore, determined upon the bold and wise measure of cutting off all hopes of safety but in victory, by commanding the vessels to set sail for Ostend, as soon as the tide should serve.¹ Before their departure, he earnestly exhorted the young prince Frederick Henry to retire on board, that both might not perish at one blow; but his entreaties were without effect on the heroic boy, who expressed his resolute determination to share equally with his brother the dangers and glory of the day. At this juncture, a straggler from the enemy's camp, who allowed himself to be taken, gave intelligence of the defeat and flight of Count Ernest's detachment, which the prince was careful to conceal from the troops, causing a report to be spread that they had entered Ostend in safety.

After the repulse of Count Ernest, the archduke continued his march along the sands.² The returning tide having narrowed the space between the sea and the downs, or sand hills, a portion of the cavalry were obliged to proceed along a road in the latter, considerably harassed by two field-pieces, which Maurice had stationed so as to command it. The number of troops which the prince had left in the forts, with the loss of Count Ernest's detachment, had reduced his army to an equality with that of his opponent. In other respects also, their strength was nicely balanced; the situation depriving the allied troops of the advantage to be reaped from their superior dexterity, and from the quick and agile movements of their battalions, in which they greatly surpassed the Spaniards. On both sides were disciplined and experienced troops, full of courage and ardour, these hoping to achieve by an easy victory, won under the eyes of their sovereign, the termination of a thirty years' war; those fighting for their freedom, their religion, the sanctity of their homes, and even for life itself.

The shock of battle was commenced by the English, under Vere, who was attacked by the van of the enemy's horse, followed by the musketeers: here were concentrated the strength and fury of the contest; Vere had told Prince Maurice that, living or dead, he would this day deserve his thanks; and he well redeemed his pledge. Every foot of the slippery and uncertain ground was alternately lost and won, with an intensity of toil of which it is scarcely possible to form an idea. Vere himself was twice wounded, and had his horse killed under him; he, nevertheless, remained at his post till his brother Horatio came up to take the command.

The artillery played incessantly on both sides; but after two or three murderous discharges, the enemy's cannon sank deep into the sand, which rendered their subsequent fire of little effect; the Dutch had prudently raised theirs on floors formed of planks and hurdles, a circumstance which contributed, in no small degree, to the result of the battle. The combat had lasted four hours, each side pouring in fresh troops, until the whole of both armies, except a reserve of about three hundred cavalry on the side of the Dutch, were engaged in a sharp and desperate struggle. Maurice and his brother presented themselves in every part of the field, rousing the fainting and

[1 No more heroic decision was ever taken by fighting man. — MOTLEY.^b]

² This is one of the many instances to prove the error of passing judgment on the conduct of a general according to the event; had the archduke not attacked the enemy on this occasion, there is little doubt that he would have been accused of having wantonly thrown away an opportunity of effecting the entire destruction of the states' army.

[1600 A.D.]

cheering the strong; the efforts of the archduke were no less strenuous; but the soldiers of both, who had tasted but little food or refreshment during the day, were now grown feeble and wearied.

At length the English, from utter exhaustion, began slowly to retreat towards the cannon in the rear, when the archduke, hoping to achieve the victory by one bold stroke, ordered a general pursuit: at this moment, Prince Maurice, who had been on the watch to seize some such opportunity, made an unexpected and rapid charge with his reserve of cavalry — a movement which caused some confusion among the enemy. Perceiving this, the troops raised a sudden shout of victory, and rushed on to the attack with renewed ardour. The archduke, eager to seize a chance that remained of restoring the fortune of the day, rode with his helmet off, before the mutineers of Diest, and vehemently exhorted them to renew the fight. While thus engaged, he received a severe wound in the face from the pike of a German soldier, which forced him to leave the field. His departure was the signal for a general flight. The soldiers, scattered in every direction, made their escape, favoured by the approaching darkness. About three thousand were killed in the battle and pursuit, of whom two hundred and fifty were officers, and the whole of their artillery and standards taken; the admiral of Aragon and many other noblemen were made prisoners; the archduke himself narrowly escaped capture, but the superb white charger, on which he had made his *joyeuse entrée*, and several pages and officers of his household, fell into the hands of Prince Maurice, who immediately restored the latter without ransom.

Tears gushed from the eyes of Maurice, when he beheld the victory certain: he felt that his country was saved; and, dismounting for a moment, he knelt down on the field of battle, and offered up a short but heartfelt thanksgiving to the Almighty: "What are we, O Lord," he exclaimed, "that thou hast enlarged us with thy bounty! Glory be to thy name forever."

The wearied condition of the troops, and the number of wounded, together with the darkness of the night and the danger from the hostile forts in the vicinity, deterred Maurice from pursuing the fugitives to any distance. Neither was the victory purchased without bloodshed on the side of the conqueror; ten hundred remained dead on the field, of whom six hundred were English, besides those who had perished in the defeat of the morning. The prince continued the whole night in a tent pitched upon the spot, and entertained at supper his illustrious captive, the admiral Mendoza, to whom he observed, in a tone of good-humoured raillery, that he was more fortunate than all his army, since, having for four years desired to visit Holland, he had now an opportunity of doing so. The admiral was sent, a few days after, to Woerden, and subsequently exchanged, together with the rest of the captives, and the governors of the Canary and St. Thomas's islands, for all the prisoners of war, inhabitants or allies of the United Provinces, within the dominions of the king of Spain and the archduke, including those whom the king had seized in the Dutch ships and forced to work as galley-slaves. The standards, more than one hundred in number, were deposited in the great saloon of the provincial court at the Hague.

The situation of the states-general who had followed the army to Ostend, to be ready with their assistance and advice, and to provide necessaries for the campaign, had been anxious in the extreme: their own safety and that of the republic was now, they felt, placed upon the cast of a single die. But they neglected to send six hundred cavalry, in garrison there, to secure the bridge of Leflingham; which, if they had done, they would inevitably have made themselves master of the person of the archduke.

The results of this famous battle were, except in regard to the moral effects it produced on the feelings of the belligerents, chiefly negative: a defeat would probably have involved the subjugation, if not the utter destruction of the republic, in the loss of her only army, and all her most eminent men; but the consequences of the victory were in surprising disproportion to its magnitude. The states at this juncture committed a grave fault, by insisting that Prince Maurice should pursue the design upon Nieuport, instead of at once attacking the surrounding forts, which would have given them the command of the open country in Flanders, and which they, in consequence, left the archduke leisure to strengthen. The prince, in obedience to their dictates, though contrary to his own judgment, recommenced the siege, but Albert, having rapidly reassembled his scattered troops, enabled La Barlotte to throw a succour of twenty-five hundred men into the town, which circumstance, coupled with the incessant heavy rains, induced Maurice to retire within a few days; when, hopeless of being able to undertake any further enterprise of importance, he sent his cavalry to Brabant, and embarking his infantry for Zealand, returned himself to Holland.^c

Early in the spring Prince Maurice opened the campaign at the head of sixteen thousand men, chiefly composed of English and French. The town of Rheinberg soon fell into the hands of the prince. His next attempt was against Bois-le-Duc, but he was forced to raise the siege, and turn his attention in another direction.

THE SIEGE OF OSTEND (1601-1604)

The archduke Albert had now resolved to invest Ostend,¹ a place of great importance to the United Provinces, but little worth to either party in comparison with the dreadful waste of treasure and human life which was the consequence of its memorable siege. Sir Francis Vere commanded in the place at the period of its final investment; but governors, garrisons, and besieging forces were renewed and replaced with a rapidity which gives one of the most frightful instances of the ravages of war. The siege of Ostend lasted upwards of three years. It became a school for the young nobility of all Europe, who repaired to either one or the other party to learn the principles and the practise of attack and defence. Everything that the art of strategy could devise was resorted to on either side. The slaughter in the various assaults, sorties, and bombardments was enormous. Squadrons at sea gave a double interest to the land operations; and the celebrated brothers Federigo and Ambrogio Spinola founded their reputation on these opposing elements. Federigo was killed in one of the naval combats with the Dutch galleys, and the fame of reducing Ostend was reserved for Ambrogio. This afterwards celebrated general had undertaken the command at the earnest entreaties of the archduke and the king of Spain, and by the firmness and vigour of his measures he revived the courage of the worn-out assailants of the place. Redoubled attacks and multiplied mines at length reduced the town to a mere mass of ruin, and scarcely left its still undaunted garrison sufficient footing on which to prolong their desperate defence.

Ostend at length surrendered, on the 22nd of September, 1604, and the victors marched in over its crumbled walls and shattered batteries. Scarcely a vestige of the place remained beyond those terrible evidences of destruction. Its ditches, filled up with the rubbish of ramparts, bastions, and redoubts, left no distinct line of separation between the operations of its attack and its

[¹ Haestens ^d called it, from the length of its siege, "the modern Troy."]

[1601-1604 A.D.]

defence. It resembled rather a vast sepulchre than a ruined town, a mountain of earth and rubbish, without a single house in which the wretched remnant of the inhabitants could hide their heads — a monument of desolation on which victory might have sat and wept.⁹

Ostend had surrendered, after a siege of three years and two months, the garrison being permitted to march out with all the honours of war. On their arrival in the camp near Sluys, they received, before the whole army, the thanks of the prince and states for the eminent services they had rendered



STREET SCENE, LOW LIFE, AFTER BROUWER

(1606-1637)

their country. The defence had cost the states the sum of 4,000,000 guilders, and the loss of 50,000 men — an expenditure which, however enormous, was yet far surpassed by that of the besiegers. Immediately after the surrender, the archdukes came to visit the city, and found that they had lavished blood, time, and treasure, to gain a heap of ruins.¹ They subsequently offered valuable privileges to any persons who would fix their residence in Ostend; but years elapsed before the people could endure the sight of a spot defiled with the blood and whitening bones of their countrymen. The greater portion of the citizens settled permanently at Sluys.²

During the progress of this memorable siege Queen Elizabeth of England had died. With respect to the United Provinces she was a harsh protectress

[¹ Upon that miserable sandbank more than a hundred thousand men had laid down their lives. The numbers of those who were killed or who died of disease in both armies during this memorable siege have been placed as high as one hundred and forty thousand by Gallucci. Meteren² says that on the body of a Spanish officer, who fell in one of the innumerable assaults, was found a list of all the officers and privates killed in the Catholic army up to that date (which he does not give), and the amount was 72,124 — MOTLEY.³]

and a capricious ally. She in turns advised them to remain faithful to the old impurities of religion and to their intolerable king; refused to incorporate them with her own states; and then used her best efforts for subjecting them to her sway. She seemed to take pleasure in the uncertainty to which she reduced them, by constant demands for payment of her loans and threats of making peace with Spain. Thus the states-general were not much affected by the news of her death: and so rejoiced were they at the accession of James I to the throne of England, that all the bells of Holland rang out merry peals; bon-fires were set blazing all over the country;¹ a letter of congratulation was despatched to the new monarch; and it was speedily followed by a solemn embassy, composed of Prince Frederick Henry, the grand pensionary Barneveld and others of the first dignitaries of the republic. These ambassadors were grievously disappointed at the reception given to them by James, who treated them as little better than rebels to their lawful king.

The states-general considered themselves amply recompensed for the loss of Ostend, by the taking of Sluys, Rheinberg, and Graves, all of which had in the interval surrendered to Prince Maurice; but they were seriously alarmed on finding themselves abandoned by King James, who concluded a separate peace with Philip III of Spain in the month of August of this year.

The two monarchs stipulated in the treaty that "neither was to give support of any kind to the revolted subjects of the other." It is nevertheless true that James did not withdraw his troops from the service of the states; but he authorised the Spaniards to levy soldiers in England. The United Provinces were at once afflicted and indignant at this equivocal conduct. Their first impulse was to deprive the English of the liberty of navigating the Schelde. They even arrested the progress of several of their merchant ships. But soon after, gratified at finding that James received their deputy with the title of ambassador, they resolved to dissimulate their resentment.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1605-1606

In 1605, Prince Maurice and Spinola took the field with their respective armies; and a rapid series of operations placing them in direct contact displayed their talents in the most striking points of view. The first steps on the part of the prince were a new invasion of Flanders and an attempt on Antwerp, which he hoped to carry before the Spanish army could arrive to its succour. But the promptitude and sagacity of Spinola defeated this plan, which Maurice was obliged to abandon after some loss; while the royalist general resolved to signalise himself by some important movement; and, ere his design was suspected, he had penetrated into the province of Overijssel, and thus retorted his rival's favourite measure of carrying the war into the enemy's country.

Several towns were rapidly reduced; but Maurice flew towards the threatened provinces, and by his active measures forced Spinola to fall back on the Rhine and take up a position near Ruhrort, where he was impetuously attacked by the Dutch army. But the cavalry having followed up too slowly the orders of Maurice, his hopes of surprising the royalists were frustrated; and the Spanish forces, gaining time by this hesitation, soon changed the fortune of the day. The Dutch cavalry shamefully took to flight, despite the gallant endeavours of both Maurice and his brother Frederick Henry; and at this juncture a large reinforcement of Spaniards arrived under the

[¹ According to certain authorities this ostentatious celebration was conceived in some anxiety, purely as a measure to conciliate James I of whom they well felt uncertain.]

[1605 A.D.]

command of Velasco. Maurice now brought forward some companies of English and French infantry under Horatio Vere and D'Omerville, also a distinguished officer.

The battle was again fiercely renewed; and the Spaniards now gave way, and had been completely defeated, had not Spinola put in practice an old and generally successful stratagem. He caused almost all the drums of his army to beat in one direction, so as to give the impresson that a still larger reinforcement was approaching. Maurice, apprehensive that the former panic might find a parallel in a fresh one, prudently ordered a retreat, which he was able to effect in good order, in preference to risking the total disorganisation of his troops. The loss on each side was nearly the same; but the glory of this hard-fought day remained on the side of Spinola, who proved himself a worthy successor of the great duke of Parma, and an antagonist with whom Maurice might contend without dishonour.

The naval transactions of this year restored the balance which Spinola's successes had begun to turn in favour of the royalist cause. A squadron of ships, commanded by Hautain [or William de Zoete], admiral of Zealand attacked a superior force of Spanish vessels close to Dover, and defeated them with a considerable loss. But the victory was sullied by an act of great barbarity. All the soldiers found on board the captured ships were tied two and two and mercilessly flung into the sea.¹ Some contrived to extricate themselves, and gained the shore by swimming; others were picked up by the English boats, whose crews witnessed the scene and hastened to their relief.

The Dutch vessels pursuing those of Spain, which fled into Dover harbour, were fired on by the cannon of the castle and forced to give up the chase. The English loudly complained that the Dutch had on this occasion violated their territory;² and this transaction laid the foundation of the quarrel which subsequently broke out between England and the republic, and which the jealousies of rival merchants in either state unceasingly fomented. In this year also the Dutch succeeded in capturing the chief of the Dunkirk privateers, which had so long annoyed their trade; and they cruelly ordered sixty of the prisoners to be put to death. But the people, more humane than the authorities, rescued them from the executioners and set them free.

But these domestic instances of success and inhumanity were trifling, in comparison with the splendid train of distant events, accompanied by a course of wholesale benevolence that redeemed the traits of petty guilt. The maritime enterprises of Holland, forced by the imprudent policy of Spain to seek a wider career than in the narrow seas of Europe, were day by day extended in the Indies. To ruin if possible their increasing trade, Philip III sent out the admiral Hurtado, with a fleet of eight galleons and thirty-two galleys. The Dutch squadron of five vessels, commanded by Wolfert Hermanszoon, attacked them off the coast of Malabar, and his temerity was crowned with great success. He took two of their vessels, and completely drove the remainder from the Indian seas. He then concluded a treaty

[¹ This barbarous custom, called in the provinces *voetspoelen* (feetwashing), was constantly enforced by the authority of the states and admiralty, against the pirates of Dunkirk. At length the sailors refused to go to sea unless it were abolished, when it was allowed to fall into disuse.—DAVIES.²]

[² The English, during the combat, siding with their newly-reconciled foes, pointed the fire of the cannon at Dover against their ancient allies, of whom they killed more than one hundred. The king afterwards justified this act, by complaining that the neutrality of the English shores had been violated by the too near approach of the Dutch; an insulting pretext, the harder to be borne by the latter, as the pirates of Dunkirk were allowed to pursue the Holland and Zealand merchant-ships into every port of England.—DAVIES.³]

with the natives of the isle of Banda, by which he promised to support them against the Spaniards and Portuguese, on condition that they were to give his fellow countrymen the exclusive privilege of purchasing the spices of the island. This treaty was the foundation of the influence which the Dutch so soon succeeded in forming in the East Indies; and they established it by a candid, mild, and tolerant conduct, strongly contrasted with the pride and bigotry which had signalised every act of the Portuguese and Spaniards.

The states-general now resolved to confine their military operations to a war merely defensive.¹ Spinola had, by his conduct during the late campaign, completely revived the spirits of the Spanish troops, and excited at least the caution of the Dutch. He now threatened the United Provinces with invasion; and he exerted his utmost efforts to raise the supplies necessary for the execution of his plan. He not only exhausted the resources of the king of Spain and the archduke, but obtained money on his private account from all those usurers who were tempted by his confident anticipations of conquest. He soon equipped two armies of about twelve thousand men each. At the head of one of those he took the field; the other, commanded by the count of Buquoy, was destined to join him in the neighbourhood of Utrecht; and he was then resolved to push forward with the whole united force into the very heart of the republic.

Prince Maurice in the meantime concentrated his army, amounting to twelve thousand men, and prepared to make head against his formidable opponents. By a succession of the most prudent manœuvres he contrived to keep Spinola in check, disconcerted all his projects, and forced him to content himself with the capture of two or three towns — a comparatively insignificant conquest. Desiring to wipe away the disgrace of this discomfiture, and to risk everything for the accomplishment of his grand design, Spinola used every method to provoke the prince to a battle, even though a serious mutiny among his troops, and the impossibility of forming a junction with Buquoy, had reduced his force below that of Maurice; but the latter, to the surprise of all who expected a decisive blow, retreated from before the Italian general — abandoning the town of Groenlo, which immediately fell into Spinola's power, and gave rise to manifold conjectures and infinite discontent at conduct so little in unison with his wonted enterprise and skill.² Even Henry IV acknowledged it did not answer the expectation he had formed from Maurice's splendid talents for war. The fact seems to be that the prince, much as he valued victory, dreaded peace more; and that he was resolved to avoid a decisive blow, which, in putting an end to the contest, would at the same time have decreased the individual influence in the state, which his ambition now urged him to augment by every possible means.

The Dutch naval expeditions of 1606 were not more brilliant than those on land. Admiral Hautain, with twenty ships, was surprised off Cape St.

[¹ As Blok ^b points out, Holland had carried so much more than her share of expense, that the burden was growing intolerable. The debt alone was 26,000,000 florins, and in August, 1606, a secret commission with Olden-Barneveld at the head declared that further war was growing impossible. Olden-Barneveld even felt inclined to offer the sovereignty to a foreign monarch.]

[² The campaign was closed. And thus the great war, which had run its stormy course for nearly forty years, dribbled out of existence, sinking away that rainy November in the dismal fens of Zutphen. The long struggle for independence had come, almost unperceived, to an end. Peace had not arrived, but the work of the armies was over for many a long year. Freedom and independence were secured. A deed or two, never to be forgotten by Netherland hearts, was yet to be done on the ocean, before the long and intricate negotiations for peace should begin, and the weary people permit themselves to rejoice; but the prize was already won. — MOTLEY.^b]

[1606-1607 A.D.]

Vincent by the Spanish fleet. The formidable appearance of their galleons inspired on this occasion a perfect panic among the Dutch sailors. They hoisted their sails and fled, with the exception of one ship, commanded by Vice-Admiral Klaazoon, whose desperate conduct saved the national honour. Having held out until his vessel was quite unmanageable, and almost his whole crew killed or wounded, he prevailed on the rest to agree to the resolution he had formed, knelt down on the deck, and putting up a brief prayer for pardon for their act, thrust a light into the powder magazine, and was instantly blown up with his companions. Only two men were snatched from the sea by the Spaniards; and even these, dreadfully burned and mangled, died in the utterance of curses on the enemy.

HEEMSKERK AT GIBRALTAR (1607)

This disastrous occurrence was soon, however, forgotten in the rejoicings for a brilliant victory gained in 1607 by Heemskerk, so celebrated for his voyage to Nova Zembla, and by his conduct in the East. He set sail from the ports of Holland in the month of March, determined to signalise himself by some great exploit, now necessary to redeem the disgrace which had begun to sully the reputation of the Dutch navy. He soon got intelligence that the Spanish fleet lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, and he speedily prepared to offer them battle. Before the combat began he held a council of war, and addressed the officers in an energetic speech, in which he displayed the imperative call on their valour to conquer or die in the approaching conflict. He led on to the action in his own ship; and, to the astonishment of both fleets, he bore right down against the enormous galleon in which the flag of the Spanish admiral-in-chief was hoisted. Avila could scarcely believe the evidence of his eyes at this audacity: he at first burst into laughter at the notion; but as Heemskerk approached he cut his cables, and attempted to escape under the shelter of the town. The heroic Dutelman pursued him through the whole of the Spanish fleet, and soon forced him to action. At the second broadside Heemskerk had his left leg carried off by a cannon ball, and he almost instantly died. Verhoef, the captain of the ship, concealed the admiral's death; and the whole fleet continued the action with a valour worthy of the spirit in which it was commenced. The victory was soon decided: four of the Spanish galleons were sunk or burned, the remainder fled; and the citizens of Cadiz trembled with the apprehension of sack and pillage. But the death of Heemskerk, when made known to the surviving victors, seemed completely to paralyse them: they attempted nothing further; but sailing back to Holland with the body of their lamented chief, thus paid a greater tribute to his importance than was to be found in the mausoleum erected to his memory in the city of Amsterdam.

The news of this battle, reaching Brussels before it was known in Holland, contributed not a little to quicken the anxiety of the archdukes for peace. The king of Spain, worn out by the war which drained his treasury, had for some time ardently desired it. The Portuguese made loud complaints of the ruin that threatened their trade and their East Indian colonies. The Spanish ministers were fatigued with the apparently interminable contest which baffled all their calculations. Spinola, even in the midst of his brilliant career, found himself so overwhelmed with debts, and so oppressed by the reproaches of the numerous creditors who were ruined by his default of payment, that he joined in the general demand for repose. In the month of May, 1607, proposals were made by the archdukes, in compliance with the

general desire; and their two plenipotentiaries, Van Wittenhorst and Gevaerts, repaired to the Hague.

Public opinion in the united states was divided on this important question. An instinctive hatred against the Spaniards, and long habits of warfare, influenced the great mass of the people to consider any overture for peace as some wily artifice aimed at their religion and liberty. War seemed to open inexhaustible sources of wealth; while peace seemed to threaten the extinction of the courage which was now as much a habit as war appeared to be a want. This reasoning was particularly convincing to Prince Maurice, whose fame, with a large portion of his authority and revenues, depended on the continuance of hostilities: it was also strongly relished and supported in Zeeland generally, and in the chief towns which dreaded the rivalry of Antwerp.¹ But those who bore the burden of the war saw the subject under a different aspect: they feared that the present state of things would lead to their conquest by the enemy, or to the ruin of their liberty by the growing power of Maurice. They hoped that peace would consolidate the republic and cause the reduction of the debt, which now amounted to 26,000,000 florins. At the head of the party who so reasoned was Barneveld; and his name is a guarantee with posterity for the wisdom of the opinion.

To allow the violent opposition to subside, and to prevent any explosion of party feuds, the prudent Barneveld suggested a mere suspension of arms, during which the permanent interests of both states might be calmly discussed: he even undertook to obtain Maurice's consent to the armistice. The prince listened to his arguments, and was apparently convinced by them. He, at any rate, sanctioned the proposal; but he afterwards complained that Barneveld had deceived him, in representing the negotiation as a feint for the purpose of persuading the kings of France and England to give greater aid to the republic. It is more than likely that Maurice reckoned on the improbability of Spain's consenting to the terms of the proposed treaty; and, on that chance, withdrew an opposition which could scarcely be ascribed to any but motives of personal ambition. It is, however, certain that his discontent at this transaction, either with himself or Barneveld, laid the foundation of that bitter enmity which proved fatal to the life of the latter, and covered his own name, otherwise glorious, with undying reproach.

The United Provinces positively refused to admit even the commencement of a negotiation without the absolute recognition of their independence by the archdukes. A new ambassador was accordingly chosen on the part of these sovereigns. He was a monk of the order of St. Francis, named John Neyen, a native of Antwerp. The suspicions of the states-general seem fully justified by the dubious tone of the various communications, which avoided the direct admission of the required preliminary as to the independence of the United Provinces. It was at length concluded in explicit terms; and a suspension of arms for eight months was the immediate consequence.

But the negotiation for peace was on the point of being completely broken, in consequence of the conduct of Neyen, who justified every doubt of his

[¹ Blok has stated various reasons for the war-party's action: "In time of war, the supremacy of Holland and Zeeland, the soul of the union, had been endured. In time of peace, jealousy would be excited by this dominance, and the lack of a strong central government would become more patent. Moreover, the Calvinist minority now in power would have to yield, more or less, to the majority composed of nominal Catholics, of libertines, and of indifferent people. The house of Orange, whose reputation Maurice had sustained during active hostilities, might find its influence weaken. Maurice could not stand in his father's shadow as statesman, and wholly lacked capacity to revise the articles of union. Thus there was much ground for reluctance to make peace. Moreover, the war had become a source of commercial prosperity, which could not be checked without affecting the existence of many thousands."]

[1607-1608 A.D.]

sincerity by an attempt to corrupt AarsSENS the greffier of the states-general, or at least to influence his conduct in the progress of the treaty. Neyen presented him, in the name of the archdukes, and as a token of his esteem, with a diamond of great value and a bond for 50,000 crowns. AarsSENS accepted these presents with the approbation of Prince Maurice, to whom he had confided the circumstance, and who was no doubt delighted at what promised



AN INTERIOR — AFTER GERARD DOUW

(1613-1675)

a rupture of the negotiations. Verreyken, a counsellor of state, who assisted Neyen in his diplomatic labours, was formally summoned before the assembled states-general, and there Barneveld handed to him the diamond and the bond; and at the same time read him a lecture of true republican severity on the subject. Verreyken was overwhelmed by the violent attack: he denied the authority of Neyen for the measure he had taken.

In the month of January, 1608, the various ambassadors were assembled at the Hague. Spinola was the chief of the plenipotentiaries appointed by the king of Spain; and Jeannin, president of the parliament of Dijon, a man of rare endowments, represented France. Prince Maurice, accompanied

by his brother Frederick Henry, the various counts of Nassau his cousins, and a numerous escort, advanced some distance to meet Spinola, conveyed him to the Hague in his own carriage, and lavished on him all the attentions reciprocally due between two such renowned captains during the suspension of their rivalry. The president Richardot was, with Neyen and Verreyken, ambassador from the archdukes; but Barneveld and Jeannin appear to have played the chief parts in the important transaction which now filled all Europe with anxiety. Every state was more or less concerned in the result; and the three great monarchies of England, France, and Spain had all a vital interest at stake. The conferences were therefore frequent; and the debates assumed a great variety of aspects, which long kept the civilised world in suspense.

The main points for discussion, and on which depended the decision for peace or war, were those which concerned religion; and the demand, on the part of Spain, that the United Provinces should renounce all claims to the navigation of the Indian seas. Philip required for the Catholics of the United Provinces the free exercise of their religion; this was opposed by the states-general: and the archduke Albert, seeing the impossibility of carrying that point, despatched his confessor Fra Inigo de Brizuela to Spain.

The conferences at the Hague were not interrupted on this question; but they went on slowly, months being consumed in discussions on articles of trifling importance. They were resumed in the month of August with greater vigour. It was announced that the king of Spain abandoned the question respecting religion; but that it was in the certainty that his moderation would be recompensed by ample concessions on that of the Indian trade, on which he was inexorable. This article became the rock on which the whole negotiation eventually split. The court of Spain on the one hand, and the states-general on the other, inflexibly maintained their opposing claims. It was in vain that the ambassadors turned and twisted the subject with all the subtleties of diplomacy. Every possible expedient was used to shake the determination of the Dutch. But the influence of the East India Company, the islands of Zealand, and the city of Amsterdam prevailed over all. Reports of the avowal on the part of the king of Spain that he would never renounce his title to the sovereignty of the United Provinces, unless they abandoned the Indian navigation and granted the free exercise of religion, threw the whole diplomatic corps into confusion; and, on the 25th of August, the states-general announced to the marquis of Spinola and the other ambassadors that the congress was dissolved, and that all hopes of peace were abandoned.

Nothing seemed now likely to prevent the immediate renewal of hostilities, when the ambassadors of France and England proposed the mediation of their respective masters for the conclusion of a truce for several years. The king of Spain and the archdukes were well satisfied to obtain even this temporary cessation of the war; but Prince Maurice and a portion of the provinces strenuously opposed the proposition. The French and English ambassadors, however, in concert with Barneveld, who steadily maintained his influence, laboured incessantly to overcome those difficulties; and finally succeeded in overpowering all opposition to the truce. A new congress was agreed on, to assemble at Antwerp for the consideration of the conditions; and the states-general agreed to remove from the Hague to Bergen-op-Zoom, to be more within reach and ready to co-operate in the negotiation.

But, before matters assumed this favourable turn, discussions and disputes had intervened on several occasions to render fruitless every effort of those who so incessantly laboured for the great causes of humanity and the

[1595-1609 A.D.]

general good. On one occasion Barneveld, disgusted with the opposition of Prince Maurice and his partisans, had actually resigned his employments; but brought back by the solicitations of the states-general, and reconciled to Maurice by the intervention of Jeannin, the negotiations for the truce were resumed; and, under the auspices of the ambassadors, they were happily terminated. After two years' delay, this long-wished-for truce was concluded and signed on the 9th of April, 1609, to continue for the space of twelve years.

THE TWELVE YEARS' TRUCE

This celebrated treaty contained thirty-two articles; and its fulfilment on either side was guaranteed by the kings of France and England. Notwithstanding the time taken up in previous discussions, the treaty is one of the most vague and unspecific state papers that exist. The archdukes, in their own names and in that of the king of Spain, declared the United Provinces to be free and independent states, on which they renounced all claim whatever. By the third article each party was to hold respectively the places which they possessed at the commencement of the armistice. The fourth and fifth articles grant to the republic, but in a phraseology obscure and even doubtful, the right of navigation and free trade to the Indies. The eighth contains all that regards the exercise of religion; and the remaining clauses are wholly relative to points of internal trade, custom-house regulations, and matters of private interest. Ephemeral and temporary as this peace appeared, it was received with almost universal demonstrations of joy by the population of the Netherlands in their two grand divisions.

The ten southern provinces, now confirmed under the sovereignty of the house of Austria, and from this period generally distinguished by the name of Belgium, immediately began, like the northern division of the country, to labour for the great object of repairing the dreadful sufferings caused by their long and cruel war. Their success was considerable. Albert and Isabella, their sovereigns, joined to considerable probity of character and talents for government a fund of humanity which led them to unceasing acts of benevolence. The whole of their dominions quickly began to recover from the ravages of war. Agriculture and the minor operations of trade resumed all their wonted activity. But the manufactures of Flanders were no more; and the grander exercise of commerce seemed finally removed to Amsterdam and the other chief towns of Holland.^g

DUTCH COMMERCE AND EXPLORATION

The year 1595 is signalised in the annals of Dutch commerce as being that of the commencement of the trade between the United Provinces and the East Indies. The arrest of their ships by the king of Spain, in 1586, had induced the merchants to undertake more distant voyages; since which time, the scarcity that had prevailed for some years in Italy had afforded them a rich harvest of traffic in carrying corn thither from the countries of the Baltic. The restoration of plenty in that quarter caused these speculations, in great measure, to cease, which obliged the mariners of Holland and Zealand to seek out some new market for their industry; while, at the same time, their emulation was roused by the fame of the voyages and discoveries of the English and Portuguese.

One Cornelis Houtman, of Gouda, having spent some years in Lisbon, returned to Amsterdam, with such tempting accounts of the profits to be

gained by a trade with the spice islands of India, that he induced nine merchants of that city to form themselves into a company for the establishment of a commerce with the nations of the East. They equipped, entirely at their own cost, four vessels, equally fitted for war and the transport of merchandise. Setting sail from the Texel on the 2nd of April, it was June of the next year before they reached the island of Java. Here they had to encounter the hostility of a company of Portuguese merchants, settled at Bantam, the capital. Three ships returned in 1597, after a voyage of more than two years, to Amsterdam, where their arrival, laden with pepper, nutmegs, and mace, was the signal for a general jubilee, though but 90 out of 250 of their crews were left alive.

Arctic Exploration

This enterprise had been preceded by an expedition undertaken in the last year, towards the north pole, with a view of discovering a shorter and safer passage to China than that round the cape of Good Hope. For this purpose two Vlie-boats (so called from being built expressly for the difficult navigation of the Vlie) were fitted out, one in Holland and the other in Zealand, the admiralty of these provinces providing half the expense, with instructions to attempt the passage into the sea of Tatar, through the straits of Weygat between Nova Zembla and Russia. At the same time, some merchants of Amsterdam, at the suggestion of the celebrated geographer and divine, Petrus Plancius, prepared another vessel, with the view of discovering if it were possible to effect a passage into the same sea to the north of Nova Zembla. The three vessels parted company at the island of Kildin (69° 40'), when the two former, shaping their course north-northeast, discovered Staten Island; and passing the Weygat, to which they gave the name of the straits of Nassau, succeeded, though frequently in danger of being enclosed by the ice or dashed in pieces by the floating bergs, in effecting their passage into the sea of Tatar, along which they sailed as far as the mouth of the Obi.

The Amsterdam vessel reached Lombsbay (lat. 74° 20'), but was prevented from advancing further by the continual mists and the quantity of ice, as well as the unwillingness of the crew to continue the voyage. On the report brought by the two former vessels, the states-general were induced to fit out seven ships in this year for the same expedition, but they added nothing to the previous discoveries, their navigation being impeded by the ice. Determined, however, if possible, to effect their purpose, the merchants of Amsterdam once more equipped two vessels — the one commanded by Jan Corneliszoon Rijp, the other by Jakob van Heemskerk, both resolute, able, and enterprising captains, with one Willem Barentz, famed for his skill as a pilot. Setting sail in company on the 10th of May, they separated on the coast of Norway, when the ship of Rijp, steering towards the north-west discovered the island of Spitzbergen, to which they gave this name from the pointed appearance of its mountains.¹

They had reached the 75th degree of north latitude, when their vessel became firmly locked in the ice at no great distance from the shore. Hopeless of moving, they had no other resource left than to make the best preparations they might for a residence there during the whole winter. Happily they were well supplied with clothing, wine, and food, except meat; and hav-

¹ From the Dutch words "spitz," pointed, and "berg," mountain.

[1596-1598 A.D.]

ing found a quantity of drift-wood in a fresh-water stream, at about three miles distance, which singularly enough remained unfrozen, they soon completed a spacious and tolerably commodious hut; from the same source, also, they obtained ample provision of firewood. Here they ran imminent risk of destruction from the multitude of bears which, attracted probably by the smell, prowled day and night around their new habitation; some of these they killed, and found their fat highly serviceable in keeping their lamps burning during the season of darkness, which lasted from the 4th of November to the 24th of January.

They remained here ten months, and the middle of June, 1596, arrived without any appearance of probability of their being able to float the vessel; and fearing lest, if they delayed longer, the ice might again accumulate and prevent their return, they set out in two open boats on their voyage homeward. After a series of incredible hardships and perils, from the effect of which their pilot, Willem Barentz, died, they arrived at Waardhuys, on the coast of Norway, where they met with their consort, which they supposed to have perished long ago. Rijp, the commander, having taken them on board his vessel, set sail for Amsterdam, where they were received as men risen from the dead, the failure in the object of their expedition being wholly forgotten in admiration at the surpassing courage and patience with which they had endured their sufferings.¹



JAKOB VAN HEEMSKERCK

(1567-1607)

A quarrel between the queen of England and the Hanse towns, which had existed for some years, became so violent in 1598 that the emperor banished from the empire the company of English merchant adventurers resident in the town of Stade. Intelligence of the circumstance no sooner reached the United Provinces, than all the principal towns sent to offer the merchants extensive privileges, in the hope of inducing them to settle there. After some consideration, they chose the town of Middelburg in Zealand, whither they drew an immense trade in cloths, serges, and baize; the queen

¹ In the relation of this voyage, we meet with an instance of the extraordinary elasticity of spirit, and of the predilection for their national customs, peculiar to this people. The 5th of January, the eve of the day of the Three Kings, is one of those periodical seasons consecrated by the Dutch to idleness and frolic. The sufferings of the ship's crew from cold were intense; they had not seen the sun for two months, and many more must be passed before they could be released from their ice-girt prison; but, philosophically observing that because they expected so many sad days was no reason they should not have one merry one, they chose the chief boatswain as their king (a potentate of like authority and functions with the Lord of Misrule in our Christmas revels); drank to the health of the new sovereign of Nova Zembla in bumpers of wine, which they had spared for the occasion; tossed the pancake (*de rigueur* on such occasions) with the prescribed ceremonies, and made the dreary realms of the snow-king re-echo for the first time to the sounds of human mirth and jollity.

commanding that all the wools exported from England should be consigned to them. About the same time, the city of Amsterdam was enriched by the settlement of an immense number of wealthy Jews, who had fled from Portugal to avoid the renewed persecutions exercised against them on account of their religion.

A new source of foreign commerce, also, was at this period opened to the provinces by a treaty with the grand signior of Constantinople, from whom they obtained entire liberty of traffic to Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, for all their vessels sailing under the protection of the king of France. The expedition to the East Indies undertaken by the merchants of Amsterdam, in 1595, though attended with some disasters, had roused the emulation of the other towns of Holland and Zealand. Eighty ships of considerable size sailed this summer to the East and West Indies, to Brazil, and to the coast of Guinea, whence they brought large quantities of ivory and gold-dust. Nor did these novel and exciting enterprises divert them from their long-established and profitable trade with the countries of the north; 640 vessels from the Baltic arrived early in the next year in the port of Amsterdam, bearing one hundred thousand tons of merchandise, (timber, corn, hemp, tar, etc.), of which each ton paid a duty of twenty guilders.

The Dutch East India Company

In the year 1602 is dated the erection of the famed Dutch East India Company, a source of immense wealth to Holland, and of continual heart-burnings and jealousies between herself and other nations. The groundwork of this company had been formed by a few merchants of Amsterdam in 1595; and, notwithstanding the losses and disasters subsequently occasioned by the combined hostility of the natives and Portuguese, the trade had become yearly more profitable, and the public appetite for it had constantly and rapidly increased. The commanders of the Dutch vessels had been able to obviate in some measure the effects of the misrepresentations of the Spaniards and Portuguese on the minds of the people of India, and had made alliances with the islanders of Banda, the king of Ternate, and of Kandy in the island of Ceylon, and the sovereign of Achin.

Under these favourable circumstances, companies were established in several towns both of Holland and Zealand; but they perceived, ere long, that they unconsciously inflicted extensive damage on each other. For this reason, the states determined upon consolidating all the companies into one general East India Company, which for a term of twenty-one years should have the exclusive privilege of navigating east of the cape of Good Hope, and west of the straits of Magellan. The capital amounted to 6,600,000 guilders; the company was empowered to make alliances with the sovereigns of India in the name of the states or chief magistrate of the provinces, to build forts, and appoint governors taking the oath to the states. The company commenced operations by the equipment of a fleet of fourteen armed vessels, of which Wybrand van Warwyk was appointed admiral. Wybrand remained nearly five years abroad, and in the year 1606 discovered the island to which he gave the name of Mauritius.

The commencement of the career of the new East India Company was one of almost uninterrupted prosperity. In 1603 another fleet of thirteen ships, under the command of Stephen van der Hagen, sailing to the coast of Malabar, made with the king of Calicut an advantageous treaty of commerce and alliance against the Portuguese; and early in this year arrived

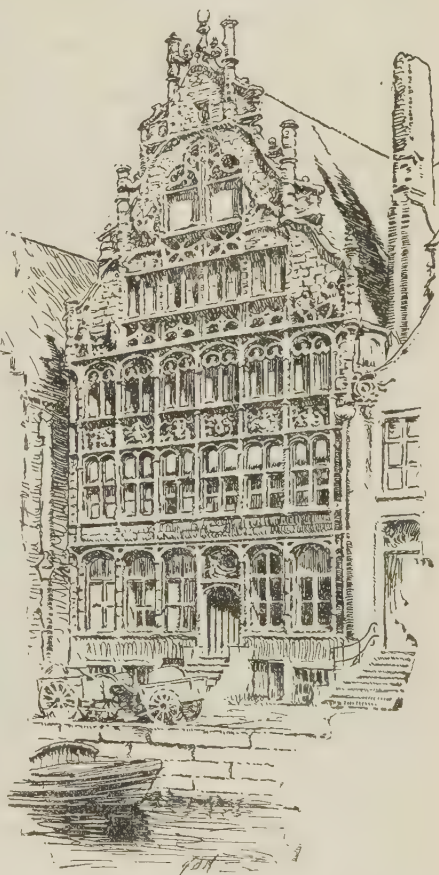
[1603-1608 A.D.]

before Amboyna, the citadel of which the Portuguese were forced to surrender. It was a remarkable proof of the bitter and savage hatred which subsisted between the Dutch and Spaniards that the former on this, as on most other occasions, when they captured an enemy's ship, put the whole of the Spaniards to death, while the Portuguese they brought safely to land, and often released them without a ransom.

During the negotiations for the truce the greater number of deputies in the states were determined at all hazards to insist upon the continuation of a commerce which had now become actually necessary to their well-being; which employed 190 ships, and above eight thousand men; and of which the annual returns were estimated at 43,000,000 guilders. The trade with Spain, which was offered in the stead, was of far inferior value. It was in vain that they had fought during forty years for their liberty, and against the duke of Alva's tenth, as destructive of commerce, if they were now to endure the slavery of being excluded from the greater portion of the world.

The provinces were the less disposed to make the immense sacrifice required of them by Spain, in consequence of the tidings which reached them in 1608, of the successes obtained by their countrymen, and the rich prizes they had captured in the Indian seas. A fleet of thirteen vessels, which had been equipped for India in 1605, under the admiral Matelief, one of the directors of the company, sailing to the peninsula of Malay, made alliances with the four kings then reigning in Johore, whose ancestors had been deprived of Malacca by the Portuguese, and, in concert with them, in 1608, undertook the siege of that city. He had lain before it four months, when Don Alonzo de Castro, viceroy of India, came to its relief with a fleet of fourteen galleons and twenty smaller vessels, on board of which were 3,700 men. The number of the Dutch amounted to no more than 1,200. At the approach of the enemy, Matelief broke up the siege, and re-embarked his artillery; when, advancing to meet the Spanish fleet, a sharp contest ensued, in which each side lost three vessels; but the Dutch had no more than eight men killed, while a considerable number perished on the side of the Spaniards. A second engagement, fought not long after, was far more decisive; two ships of Castro's fleet were captured, a third destroyed by fire, and the remainder so entirely disabled that, retreating into the roads of Malacca, they were burned by the Spaniards themselves.

The advantages of this victory were counterbalanced by the loss of Tidor.



OLD HOUSES OF GHENT

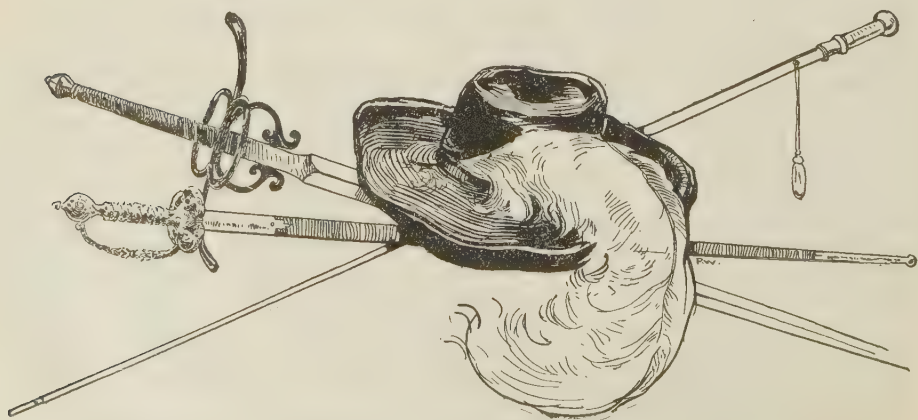
where, the citadel having been destroyed, in compliance with the wishes of the king, the Portuguese regained possession of the island without difficulty.

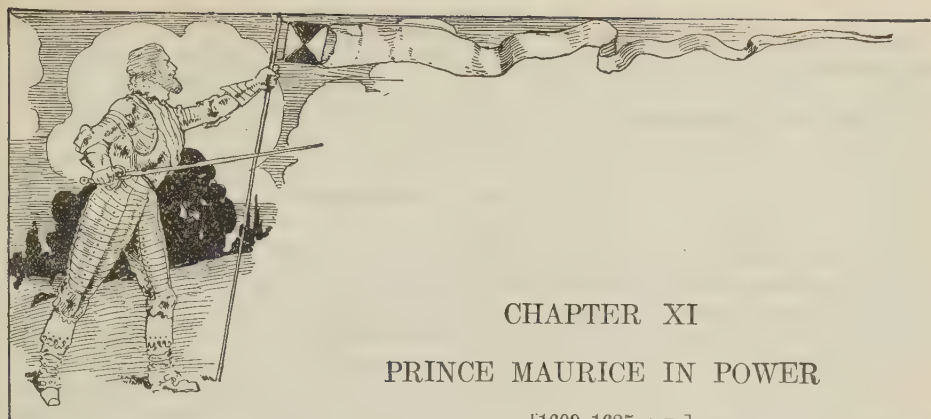
The publication of the truce had been received in the Spanish Netherlands with unbounded acclamations, but the inhabitants of the United Provinces, in whose naturally pacific disposition the long war, and the successes attendant on it, had worked a vast change, manifested a joy less lively and universal. The feelings with which it was regarded by foreign nations were those of unbounded astonishment and admiration.^c

Motley has thus summed up the war: "A commonwealth of sand-banks, lagoons, and meadows, less than fourteen thousand square miles in extent, had done battle for nearly half a century with the greatest of existing powers, a realm whose territory was nearly a third of the globe, and which claimed universal monarchy. And this had been done with an army averaging forty-six thousand men, half of them foreigners hired by the job, and by a sea-faring population, volunteering into ships of every class and denomination, from a fly-boat to a galleot of war. And when the republic had won its independence, after this almost eternal warfare, it owed four or five millions of dollars, and had sometimes an annual revenue of nearly that amount."^b

In his biography of Olden-Barneveld, Motley has thus summed up the truce:

"The convention was signed in the spring of 1609. The ten ensuing years in Europe were comparatively tranquil, but they were scarcely to be numbered among the full and fruitful sheaves of a pacific epoch. It was a pause, a breathing spell during which the sulphurous clouds which had made the atmosphere of Christendom poisonous for nearly half a century had sullenly rolled away, whilst at every point of the horizon they were seen massing themselves anew in portentous and ever-accumulating strength. To us of a remote posterity the momentary division of epochs seems hardly discernible. So rapidly did that fight of demons which we call the Thirty Years' War tread on the heels of the forty years' struggle for Dutch Independence which had just been suspended, that we are accustomed to think and speak of the Eighty Years' War as one pure, perfect, sanguinary whole."ⁱ





CHAPTER XI

PRINCE MAURICE IN POWER

[1609-1625 A.D.]

WITH the exception of a bloodless mimicry of war, in a dispute over the succession to the duchy of Jülich, or Juliers, the United Provinces presented for the space of twelve years a long-continued picture of peace, as the term is generally received: but a peace so disfigured by intestine troubles, and so stained by actions of despotic cruelty, that the period which should have been that of its greatest happiness becomes but an example of its worst disgrace.

The assassination of Henry IV, in the year 1609, whilst robbing France of one of its best monarchs, deprived the United Provinces of their truest and most powerful friend.

But the death of this powerful supporter of their efforts for freedom, and the chief guarantee for its continuance, was a trifling calamity to the United Provinces, in comparison with the rapid fall from the true point of glory so painfully exhibited in the conduct of their own domestic champion. It had been well for Prince Maurice of Nassau had the last shot fired by the defeated Spaniards in the battle of Nieuport struck him dead in the moment of his greatest victory, and on the summit of his fame. From that celebrated day he had performed no deed of war that could raise his reputation as a soldier, and all his acts as stadholder were calculated to sink him below the level of civil virtue¹ and just government.

Opposed to Maurice in almost every one of his acts was Barneveld, one of the truest patriots of any time or country; and, with the exception of William the great prince of Orange, the most eminent citizen to whom the affairs of the Netherlands have given celebrity. Long after the completion

[¹ Jeannin had proposed to the states the ample provisions made for the prince and his whole family on the occasion of the treaty. Philip, prince of Orange, besides his share of his paternal estates, received 1,000,000 guilders; an annuity of 25,000 guilders was conferred on Prince Maurice, who was likewise to retain his present offices, at a salary of 80,000 guilders a year, with 80,000 more as an indemnification for the loss he sustained by the cessation of the war; and proportional pensions were settled on Prince Henry, Count William of Nassau, stadholder of Friesland, the princess dowager, and even upon Justin of Nassau, the illegitimate son of the late prince of Orange. Of the selfish rapacity of Maurice, the prominent vice of his character, the English ambassador, Sir Ralph Winwood^b gives the following testimony: "No one thing hath been of greater trouble to us than the craving humour of Count Maurice, who, not satisfied with the large treatments granted by the states, demanded satisfaction for certain pretensions, grounded upon grants to his father from the states of Brabant and Flanders, at such time as they were under the government of the duke of Anjou; which demand he pressed so hard that he gave a charge to Count William not to sign the treaty unless in this particular he should receive contentment." *c*]

of the truce, every minor point in the domestic affairs of the republic seemed merged in the conflict between the stadholder and the pensionary. Without attempting to specify these, we may say, generally, that almost every one redounded to the disgrace of the prince and the honour of the patriot.

THE ARMINIAN CONTROVERSY

But the main question of agitation was the fierce dispute which soon broke out between two professors of theology of the university of Leyden, Francis Gomarus and Jakobus Arminius [Jacob van Harmensen]. We do not regret on this occasion that our confined limits spare us the task of recording in detail controversies on points of speculative doctrine. The whole



FRANCIS GOMARUS
(1563–1641)

strength of the intellects which had long been engaged in the conflict for national and religious liberty was now directed to metaphysical theology, and wasted upon interminable disputes about predestination and grace. Barneveld enrolled himself among the partisans of Arminius; Maurice eventually became a Gomarist. It was, however, scarcely to be wondered at that a country so recently delivered from slavery both in church and state should run into wild excesses of intolerance. Persecutions of various kinds were indulged in against papists, anabaptists, Socinians, and all the shades of doctrine into which Christianity had split. Every minister who, in the milder spirit of Lutheranism, strove to moderate the rage of Calvinistic enthusiasm, was openly denounced by its partisans; and one, named Gaspard Koolhaas, was actually excommunicated by a synod.

Arminius had been appointed professor at Leyden in 1603, for the mildness of his doctrines, which were joined to most affable manners, a happy temper, and a purity of conduct which no calumny could successfully traduce. His colleague Gomarus, a native of Bruges, learned, violent, and rigid in sectarian points, soon became jealous of the more popular professor's influence. A furious attack on the latter was answered by recrimination; and the whole battery of theological authorities was reciprocally discharged by one or other of the disputants.

The states of Holland interfered between them: they were summoned to appear before the council of state; and grave politicians listened for hours to the dispute. Arminius obtained the advantage, by the apparent reasonableness of his creed, and the gentleness and moderation of his conduct. He was meek, while Gomarus was furious; and many of the listeners declared that they would rather die with the charity of the former than in the faith of the latter. A second hearing was allowed them before the states of Holland (August 20th, 1609). Again Arminius took the lead; and the controversy went on unceasingly, till this amiable man, worn out by his exertions

[1609-1616 A.D.]

and the presentiment of the evil which these disputes were engendering for his country, expired October 19th, 1609, in his forty-ninth year, piously persisting in his opinions.

The Gomarists now loudly called for a national synod, to regulate the points of faith. The Arminians remonstrated on various grounds, and thus acquired the name of "Remonstrants," by which they were soon generally distinguished. The most deplorable contests ensued. Serious riots occurred in several of the towns of Holland; and James I of England could not resist the temptation of entering the polemical lists, as a champion of orthodoxy and a decided Gomarist. His hostility was chiefly directed against Vorstius, the successor and disciple of Arminius. He pretty strongly recommended the states-general to have him burned for heresy. His inveterate intolerance knew no bounds; and it completed the melancholy picture of absurdity which the whole affair presents to reasonable minds.

In this dispute, which occupied and agitated all, it was impossible that Barneveld should not choose the congenial temperance and toleration of Arminius. Maurice, with probably no distinct conviction, or much interest in the abstract differences on either side, joined the Gomarists. His motives were purely temporal; for the party he espoused was now decidedly as much political as religious. King James rewarded him by conferring on him the riband of the order of the Garter vacant by the death of Henry IV of France. The ceremony of investiture was performed with great pomp by the English ambassador at the Hague; and James and Maurice entered from that time into a close and uninterrupted correspondence.

BARNEVELD OUTWITS KING JAMES

During the long continuance of the theological disputes, the United Provinces had nevertheless made rapid strides towards commercial greatness; and the year 1616 witnessed the completion of an affair which was considered the consolidation of their independence. This important matter was the recovery of the towns of Briel and Flushing, and the fort of Rammekins, which had been placed in the hands of the English as security for the loan granted to the republic by Queen Elizabeth. The whole merit of the transaction was due to the perseverance and address of Barneveld acting on the weakness and the embarrassments of King James. Religious contention did not so fully occupy Barneveld but that he kept a constant eye on political concerns. He was well informed on all that passed in the English court: he knew the wants of James, and was aware of his efforts to bring about the marriage of his son with the infanta of Spain. The danger of such an alliance was evident to the penetrating Barneveld, who saw in perspective the probability of the wily Spaniard's obtaining from the English monarch possession of the strong places in question. He therefore resolved on obtaining their recovery; and his great care was to get them back with a considerable abatement of the enormous debt for which they stood pledged, and which now amounted to 8,000,000 florins. It was finally agreed that the states should pay in full of the demand 2,728,000 florins (about £250,000), being about one-third of the debt. Prince Maurice repaired to the cautionary towns in the month of June, 1616, and received them at the hands of the English governors, the garrisons at the same time entering into the service of the republic.

The accomplishment of this measure afforded the highest satisfaction to

the United Provinces. It caused infinite discontent in England; and James, with the common injustice of men who make a bad bargain (even though its conditions be of their own seeking, and suited to their own convenience) turned his own self-dissatisfaction into bitter hatred against him whose watchful integrity had successfully laboured for his country's good. Barneveld's leaning towards France and the Arminians filled the measure of James' unworthy enmity. Its effects were soon apparent, on the arrival at the Hague of Carleton, who succeeded Winwood as James' ambassador. The haughty pretensions of this diplomatist, whose attention seemed turned to theological disputes rather than politics, gave great disgust; and he contributed not a little to the persecution which led to the tragical end of Barneveld's life. Frans van Aarssens, son to him who proved himself so incorruptible when attempted to be bribed by Neyen, was one of the foremost of the faction who now laboured for the downfall of the pensionary. He was a man of infinite dissimulation; versed in all the intrigues of courts; and so deep in all their tortuous tactics, that cardinal Richelieu, well qualified to prize that species of talent, declared that he knew only three great political geniuses, of whom Francis Aarssens was one.

The honorary empire of the seas seems at this time to have been successfully claimed by the United Provinces: they paid back with interest the haughty conduct with which they had been long treated by the English; and they refused to pay the fishery duties to which the inhabitants of Great Britain were subject. The Dutch sailors had even the temerity, under pretext of pursuing pirates, to violate the British territory: they set fire to the town of Crookhaven, in Ireland, and massacred several of the inhabitants. King James, immersed in theological studies, appears to have passed lightly over this outrage. But he took fire at the news that the states had prohibited the importation of cloth dyed and dressed in England. It required the best exertion of Barneveld's talents to pacify him.

The influence of Prince Maurice had gained complete success for the Calvinist party, in its various titles of Gomarists, non-remonstrants, etc. The audacity and violence of these ferocious sectarians knew no bounds. Outrages, too many to enumerate, became common through the country; and Arminianism was on all sides assailed and persecuted. Barneveld frequently appealed to Maurice without effect; and all the efforts of the former to obtain justice by means of the civil authorities were paralysed by the inaction in which the prince retained the military force. Schism upon schism was the consequence, and the whole country was reduced to that state of anarchy so favourable to the designs of an ambitious soldier already in the enjoyment of almost absolute power.

All efforts were subservient to the one grand object of utterly destroying, by a public proscription, the whole of the patriot party, now identified with Arminianism. A national synod was loudly clamoured for by the Gomarists in spite of opposition on constitutional grounds. Uitenbogaard, the enlightened pastor and friend of Maurice, who on all occasions laboured for the general good, now moderated, as much as possible, the violence of either party; but he could not persuade Barneveld to render himself, by compliance, a tacit accomplice in a measure that he conceived fraught with violence to the public privileges. He had an inflexible enemy in Carleton the English ambassador. His interference carried the question; and it was at his suggestion that Dordrecht, or Dort, was chosen for the assembling of the synod. Du Maurier, the French ambassador, acted on all occasions as a mediator. †

MAURICE *versus* BARNEVELD, OR AUTOCRACY *versus* ARISTOCRACY

To recount fully the feud between Holland's most eminent politician and her most eminent soldier would require a further explication of fine religious and political distinctions than is possible in this work. It is desirable however, to contradict the impression given by many historians, that Maurice was altogether a self-seeking tyrant and Barneveld altogether a self-effacing patriot. It must be remembered always that Maurice refused the crown as positively as did George Washington, and that Barneveld was not only a man of a grasping and domineering nature, but also a representative of the aristocracy, not of the populace. The populace was as little represented in the republic of Holland as in the early republic of Switzerland. The internal contests in both came about from the mutual jealousies of states and cantons.

Holland, having borne more than half of the financial and other burdens of the seven provinces, had easily maintained control in time of war; but with peace came a desire for equality among the other states, and a corresponding unwillingness on the part of Holland to relinquish pre-eminence. The ensuing contest has been well likened to the quarrel between the doctrines of states' rights and of centralisation in the United States of America, with this modification — that in the Netherlands centralisation meant the states-general under the dominance of the states of Holland. As Motley^d says in his biography, "The states-general were virtually John of Barneveld." And Barneveld, being the advocate of Holland, felt a deeper concern for Holland than for the entire seven provinces, as later many a confederate leader felt a heavier duty to his own state than to the United States.

Involved in the tangle was Barneveld's strong feeling that the safety of the provinces lay in the friendship of France, then closely allied with Spain. He had already carried through his Spanish truce in spite of much opposition; and this collusion with the Catholic Spanish sovereignty, at a time of great religious bitterness, led many to believe that Barneveld was inclining to revert to Spanish domination and was even in Spanish pay — a cruelly unjust accusation, yet one that was honestly believed and openly averred. Furthermore, he stood for the eccentric and unpopular creed of religious tolerance; he wore an agnostic motto, "To know nothing is the safest creed," and he leaned towards the Arminian minority.

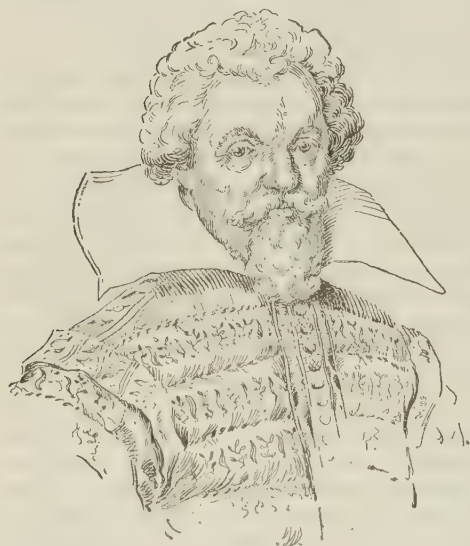
Prince Maurice, for his part, felt that he had many a just grievance. During the war he had been constantly hampered by the states-general, who disgusted him with their inexpert advice and compelled him to manœuvres that often risked his whole campaign. The truce with Spain, at a time when he felt himself capable of imposing a far more advantageous treaty, had provoked his vain opposition. The end of war had removed him from the field of glory and the focus of European admiration. Now, Maurice was the direct descendant of an emperor. His father had been called the "father of his country." He had been repeatedly offered the crown. Yet the son, Maurice, had won brilliant victories where William the Silent had been able only to manipulate defeat after defeat. If William of Orange had deserved the crown, Maurice of Orange deserved it. He would not have taken it, he said: and when the opportunity came, and his friends recommended this step, he forbore. Later, it was indeed his bitterest charge against Barneveld that the advocate had accused him of seeking the crown. But, none the less, he felt that he deserved a foremost place in the government of the country, and it irritated him to find himself constantly over

reached by Barneveld. His acts became more and more dictatorial; but, for the matter of that, Barneveld was similarly dictatorial, and if Maurice made use of the troops he had led to such prestige, Barneveld enrolled other troops, the Waardgelders, against them.

If Maurice sought to increase his own power, similarly Barneveld sought both to crush the other states under the sway of Holland and to insist upon the non-interference of the other states in the affairs of Holland. Maurice came gradually to represent the anti-Holland party and the anti-Barneveld faction. He began to gain away Barneveld's majority in the states-general, leaving him only the Holland delegation, and not all of that.

The intense religious disputes brought this duel between two ambitious politicians to that fanatic length whither religious disputes usually tend. The states-general, under Barneveld's strong control, had at first sought to allay the fever of the Gomarists or Calvinists, but had only infuriated them by this "interference" of the state in the solemn doctrines of the church. Barneveld thus became an object of hatred to the other states of the union and to the majority of religious enthusiasts. But Maurice gradually inclined to the Calvinist side, and found himself heading the mass of the public in the resistance to Barneveld. Maurice was distinctly the leader of the populace.

These statements are not meant as palliation of the cruel excesses to which Maurice afterward drifted, but only as an offset to the unjudicial tendency to make an ideal martyr of the splendid but domineering Barneveld, and a complete villain



PHILIPPE DUPLESSIS-MORNAY
(1549-1623)

of the illustrious warrior. Barneveld was undoubtedly the larger-minded, the wiser, and nobler of the two men, and, above all, he stood for religious toleration. He was, as Motley^d said, "the prime minister of Protestantism." But he also was human, and the pity for his fate should not lead to a misjudgment of his historical meaning.

As Blok^e admits, "Rarely has any state government been so complicated as was that of the young commonwealth in its early years of acknowledged independence." The union was rather adhesive than cohesive, its elements being unlike in almost every way: Holland and Zeeland were countships; Gelderland was a duchy; Sticht was a bishopric; Utrecht was more nearly democratic. Then there were the ancient privileges to which individual cities clung, as dearer than life.

A strong central power was lacking.¹ There was a council of state, but

[¹ Was the supreme power of the union, created at Utrecht in 1579, vested in the states-general? They were beginning theoretically to claim it, but Barneveld denied the existence of any such power either in law or fact. It was a league of sovereignties, he maintained; a confederacy of seven independent states, united for certain purposes by a treaty made some thirty years before. Nothing could be more imbecile, judging by the light of subsequent events and

the states-general disputed its right to authority, and limited its prerogatives more and more: The states-general was a college of deputies from the seven provinces, which called themselves "sovereign powers." The number of representatives from each province was not regulated by any uniform law, nor was their term of office. The deputies had assumed almost no responsibilities; they wished to be instructed from home on every point. The laws they made must be proclaimed by the separate provincial states, each in its own province; and disagreement between these two groups was constant.

The office of governor or stadholder was really an anachronism, Maurice having been elected solely as a counterweight to the grasping Leicester. Now he was stadholder in five of the provinces, and his cousin William Louis of Nassau in the other two. Owing to the fact that the stadholder Maurice happened to have become also the prince of Orange, his powers were enlarged into nearly royal dignities; he was furthermore financially independent, and he had the support of the great mass of people, who, though they cheerfully ignored any rights to suffrage, were yet of inevitably great weight in carrying any policy to success.

The shapelessness and disunity of the government were recognised, but no remedy could be agreed upon. A union under a countship had been suggested, but Maurice said he would rather throw himself from the tower at the Hague than accept so limited a sovereignty as had been offered to his father; and the majority was not inclined to relinquish the limitations. The city of Utrecht, however, was prey to various disturbances in 1610 and so strongly inclined to uplift Maurice to the sovereignty that a civil war threatened; but the states-general under Barneveld's leadership managed to repress the movement.

Next the Arminian and Gomarist religious war broke out; and Barneveld, fearing a renewal of the church disturbances of Leicester's time, felt that only vigorous action by the states-general could avert serious trouble. He declared it to be better to be ruled by a lord than by a mob, though he equally abhorred hierarchy, monarchy, and democracy. He cared little about creeds, but he cared much about peace. The states forbade the Gomarist or counter-



JAKOBUS ARMINIUS

(1560-1609)

the experience of centuries, than such an organisation. Yet it was difficult to show any charter, precedent, or prescription for the sovereignty of the states-general. Necessary as such an incorporation was for the very existence of the union, no constitutional union had ever been enacted. Practically the province of Holland, representing more than half the population, wealth, strength, and intellect of the whole confederation, had achieved an irregular supremacy in the states-general. But its undeniable superiority was now causing a rank growth of envy, hatred, and jealousy throughout the country, and the great Advocate of Holland, who was identified with the province, and had so long wielded its power, was beginning to reap the full harvest of that malice. — MOTLEY.^{d]}

remonstrant synod, repressed the violence of preachers, and sought to gain control over church administration by reviving an ordinance of 1591.

This provoked such fierce opposition that Barneveld, Grotius, and others felt that military repression of the mob's intolerance for the Arminians would be needed. But where was it to be found? Not among the militia, because the populace was generally in favour of the counter-remonstrants. Not in the army, for Prince Maurice had been gradually driven to take a counter-remonstrant stand, though at first he had declined to meddle in theology and declared that he "knew nothing of predestination whether it were green or blue. He only knew that his flute and Barneveld's were not likely to make music together."

Frans van Aarssens and others called loudly on Maurice to protect the church from Arminian heresy and from Barneveld. It was the latter word that decided him, for he seems honestly to have believed that Barneveld was intriguing with France, Spain, and the archdukes, and was in their pay. When, then, Barneveld, on February 23rd, 1616, asked him to help the states-general to discipline the churchmen, he refused and demanded that a synod be called.

The turmoil grew more furious, and Barneveld seems to have tried to persuade the states of Holland even to offer Maurice the countship for his support; this step they refused. Yet something must be done, he felt, to maintain their authority. In despair he proposed that force should be employed and that four thousand mercenaries, or *Waardgelders*, be recruited by the magistrates of the towns for independent action. This meant to bring matters to a crisis and Maurice to open opposition. It was a desperate step and against a large majority with which Maurice allied himself more and more definitely. Barneveld found the states of Holland more and more timid of solving the question of church government as definitely as he wished. The city of Amsterdam was openly opposed to him. The states-general showed a majority against him.

The counter-remonstrants seized a church, August 5th, 1617. In rebuke of this, Barneveld managed to put through the states of Holland the so-called Sharp Resolution (*Scherpe Resolutie*) declaring the supremacy of the states in church matters, refusing to call any synod to debate matters in the province of the states, empowering the levy of *Waardgelders* to quell disturbance, and calling on all officials and all officers and soldiers to take an immediate oath of obedience to the states on pain of dismissal. Several towns accordingly enlisted bodies of *Waardgelders*, and administered the oath of obedience.

This brought Maurice to the forefront of the opposition. He carried through the states-general a motion forbidding the states of Holland to demand the oath; they then withdrew the clause concerning the oath, but the levy of troops went on. Now, Holland found herself without allies except Utrecht, and not agreed within her own bounds. The storm of pamphlets and orations against Barneveld left no part of his career, origin, or family unscathed, and finally drove him to publish an eloquent review of his life, a *Remonstrantie*, appealing to Maurice to recognise his fidelity to the nation.

But, in spite of Barneveld, the states-general declared that the national synod of churchmen should be called to solve the problems which Barneveld believed to belong to state jurisdiction and to take measures for deciding what and what only could be believed and preached in the Netherlands. July 9th, 1619, the states-general demanded the disbandment of the *Waardgelders* of Utrecht. They now sent the prince and others with troops to carry

[1618 A.D.]

out the order. Holland sent emissaries, Hugo Grotius among them, to persuade Utrecht to resist. Maurice prevailed, the Utrecht mercenaries were disbanded, and disarmed; the municipal officers took flight, and were replaced by counter-remonstrants chosen for life. Briel had been similarly reduced.

Holland was to be disarmed next; but eight cities declared that they would retain their Waardgelders in spite of Maurice and as a protection against him. Barneveld and others begged the prince not to use force. He refused to grant the request. The mercenaries were ordered to disband. In spite of their early bravado, they dispersed, and the threatened opposition did not materialise, for Barneveld refused to put himself at its head and begin a civil war. He was warned then to take flight. This counsel also he refused.^a

THE ARREST OF BARNEVELD

On August 18th, 1618, Barneveld proceeded to the assembly of the states of Holland. A messenger informed him that the prince desired to speak with him. He accordingly went into the chamber where they were accustomed to hold their conferences, and was immediately arrested by Nythof, lieutenant of the prince's bodyguard, in the name of the states-general. The same pretence was used towards Grotius and Hoogerbeets, who were in like manner seized and conducted to separate apartments, each in ignorance of what had happened to the others. To these was afterwards added Ledenberg, secretary of the states of Utrecht.¹ Uitenbogaard fortunately effected his escape to Antwerp, where he continued during the remainder of the truce.

Although the arrest had been made in the name of the states-general, it had never been proposed in that assembly, but was resolved on by those members only who had accompanied Maurice to Utrecht, and executed by order of the prince himself. Barneveld, moreover, was under the especial protection of the states of Holland; and the two others as pensionaries of Rotterdam and Leyden were under the jurisdiction of those towns, or the court of Holland only; nor could they be legally arrested at all, unless *flagrante delicto*, without a previous complaint made to the municipal governments.

Violent and arbitrary as the arrest was, however, the states-general signified their approval of it. The states of Holland unhesitatingly expressed their surprise that a matter of such importance should have been resolved on and executed without their consent, or even knowledge, and demanded in strong terms satisfaction for the injury they had sustained by a proceeding so derogatory to the privileges and liberty of the province.

The remonstrance of the majority, accordingly, had but little weight with the prince, who replied that what had been done was by the command of the states-general, with whom the province of Holland must arrange the matter of their jurisdiction. Similar applications from Rotterdam and Leyden met with a like reception. The sons-in-law of Barneveld, the lords of Van der Myle, and Veenhuizen, with his son, the lord of Groeneveld, having besought the prince that their father, in consideration of his age and infirmity, might be allowed his own house as a prison, he threw this likewise upon the

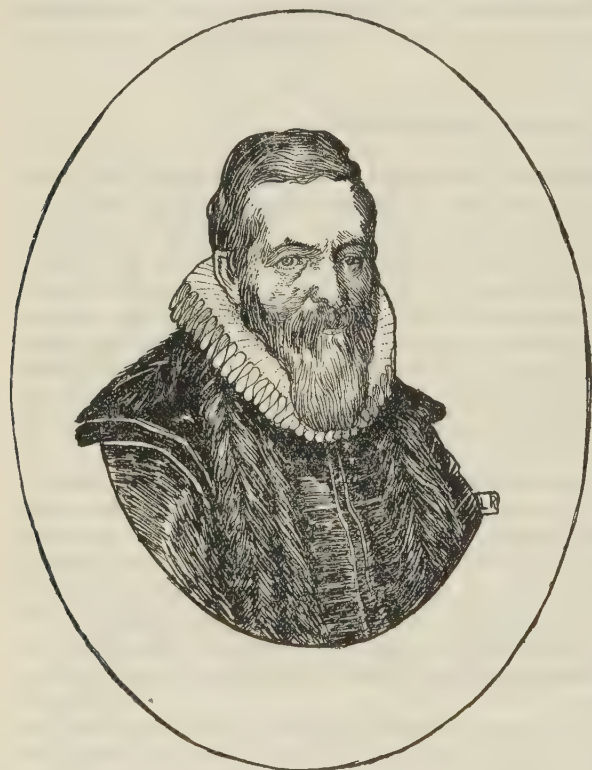
¹ It was supposed by many persons that the ambassador Carleton was a party to this transaction, from the circumstance of his having arrived at the Hague the evening before from England, and having continued till a late hour of the night in conversation with the prince of Orange.

states-general, saying that it was their business alone. He added that their father should suffer no more harm than himself.¹

Maurice now repaired at the head of his body-guard of three hundred troops, first to Schoonhoven, where he discharged the magistrates from their oaths, and deposed all those members of the great council who had recommended toleration in religious matters, filling their places with the most violent of the counter-remonstrants. Thence he proceeded to effect a similar change in Briel, Delft, and other places, which, the garrisons being favourable

to him, offered not the slightest resistance. The governments of Haarlem, Leyden, and Rotterdam soon after shared a like fate with the rest, and Amsterdam itself, which, though conspicuous on the side of the counter-remonstrants, had only been so in consequence of a small majority in the council, underwent a similar change.

On intelligence of the arrest of Barneveld, Louis XIII of France commanded Boissize, his ambassador extraordinary to the states-general, in conjunction with Du Maurier, to use his utmost efforts towards preventing them, if possible, from proceeding to extremities against the prisoners, and to offer his mediation in appeasing the present discontents. The states-general made answer that the country was in no such danger as had been falsely represented to the king; that the prince of



JAN VAN OLDEN-BARNEVELD
(1549-1691)

Orange had, by mild measures, and without tumult or bloodshed, remedied the disorders that had arisen in the civil constitution, and that those which infected the church would be appeased by the synod which was shortly to be held at Dordrecht.

THE SYNOD OF DORT (OR DORDRECHT)

This measure had since the consent of Holland encountered no further difficulty. As a preliminary, it was necessary that provincial synods should

¹ It is evident from the letters of this period that considerable persuasion, and even importunity, was necessary to engage Maurice to adopt the unconstitutional measures he was hurried into; the ministers of the church, and the English ambassador, Carleton, made themselves particularly active.

[1618 A.D.]

be held, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the assembly, which was fixed for the 8th of November. To secure the majority in these synods was a measure of vital importance to the counter-remonstrants, and they accordingly employed every means they could devise to this end. The foreign churches that had been invited to commission delegates to the synod all complied with the request, except the Reformed church of France, whose delegates were forbidden by the king to repair thither. At the head of those appointed by King James was George Carleton, bishop of Llandaff.

On the 13th of November, this renowned assembly held its first meeting at Dordrecht, in the house called the "Doel," a building and yard set apart in the Dutch towns for the military exercises of the schuttery. The number of ecclesiastical delegates from the provinces amounted to thirty-eight ministers, twenty elders, and five professors of theology; to these were added eighteen "political commissioners," or deputies from the states-general. The whole number of delegates sent by the different foreign churches was twenty-eight, so that the native members, being in considerable majority, were enabled to outvote them whenever it might be found expedient.

The remonstrants, on the opening of the synod, demanded that they might send deputies under a safe conduct, to be present as parties, who should be permitted to defend their opinions in any manner they thought best. The political commissioners, however, determined that they could not recognise any other body in the Netherland church than that which was represented by the synod, and that the remonstrants were to be heard in no other way than in answer to a citation issued to those among them whom the assembly itself should choose. The synod accordingly issued citations to thirteen ministers of that party.

During the time that intervened before the cited parties could appear, the question was discussed of a new and accurate translation of the Bible into the Dutch language; work begun in pursuance of an order of the states in 1594, by Philip van Marnix, lord of Sainte-Aldegonde, who died before it was finished. Six theologians of eminent learning were now appointed to this task, who applied themselves to its execution with sedulous care and diligence, and their version has accordingly been held in high esteem by posterity. Finally, the expulsion of the remonstrants, in which act not a third of the synod participated, was approved of by a decree of the states-general.

The canons, consisting of the refutation and condemnation of the opinions of the remonstrants on the five articles, and an exposition of the doctrines held to be orthodox by the synod, laid down that "God has pre-ordained, by an eternal and immutable decree, before the creation of the world, upon whom he will bestow the free gift of his grace; that the atonement of Christ, though sufficient for all the world, is efficacious only for the elect; that conversion is not effected by any effort of man, but by the free grace of God given to those only whom he has chosen from all eternity; and that it is impossible for the elect to fall away from this grace."

The canons having been read and approved of, the 137th and 138th sessions were occupied in passing judgment on the persons of the remonstrants who had been cited. They were pronounced innovators, and disturbers of the church and nation; obstinate and rebellious; leaders of faction, teachers of false doctrine, and workers of schism; and deprived of their offices, both ecclesiastical and academical, till such time as they had satisfied the churches with evident signs of repentance; which sentence was subsequently confirmed by a decree of the states-general. Sentence of condemna-

tion was passed upon Vorstius and his doctrine: the former being declared unfit to serve the office of preacher and minister in the Reformed church; the latter, impious, blasphemous, and such as should be rooted out with abhorrence. He was banished from the United Provinces on pain of death.

Thus terminated this celebrated synod with the 180th session, after having been assembled more than seven months, at a cost to the state of 1,000,000 guilders [or £100,000]; and which, by some, has been looked up to with reverence as an assembly of learned and pious divines, whose decrees were inferior in purity and excellence of doctrine only to Scripture itself; while by others it has been regarded as a meeting of bigoted polemics, whose proceedings aimed rather at the discomfiture and mortification of their antagonists than the discovery and promulgation of truth. Without subscribing to either of these opinions, we may observe that, exhibiting little of the Christian spirit of forbearance, the synod proposed no one single measure of toleration or of conciliation, nor devised any other mode of putting an end to the divisions of the church, than the entire oppression of the weaker party; and that, instead of tending to unite the different sects upon the common doctrines of the Reformation, it promulgated opinions of such an extreme tendency as to cause a still wider alienation between the Lutherans and Calvinists; an alienation of which the consequences were, perhaps, more severely felt in the course of after events than is commonly supposed.¹

THE TRIAL OF BARNEVELD

The resolute spirit displayed by the remonstrants at the synod contributed, with some disturbances which occurred at Alkmaar and Hoorn, to exercise a sinister influence on the destiny of the prisoners of state, the career of one of whom was now drawing fast to a close. From the period of their arrest they had, contrary to the provisions of the law of Holland, whereby persons accused of a capital crime are to be tried within six weeks of their arrest, been detained three months without examination, in order that the change of the deputies of Holland, both in the states of that province and the states-general, might ensure an appointment of judges by the latter entirely adverse to them. During this time Barneveld, now past seventy years of age, had been closely confined in the room which had served as a prison for the Spanish commander Mendoza, after the battle of Nieuport; and, besides being subjected to every petty indignity that malice could invent, was debarred the sight of his wife and children, and deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper, as were also the other two captives.

On the assembly of the newly-organised states of Holland, they allowed the states-general and prince of Orange to usurp, without opposition, that

[¹ Grattan thus vigorously sums it up: "Theology was mystified; religion disgraced; Christianity outraged. And after six months' display of ferocity and fraud, the solemn mockery was closed by the declaration of its president that its miraculous labours had made hell tremble. Proscriptions, banishments, and death were the natural consequences of this synod. The divisions which it had professed to extinguish were rendered a thousand times more violent than before. Its decrees did incalculable ill to the cause they were meant to promote. The Anglican church was the first to reject the canons of Dort with horror and contempt. The Protestants of France and Germany, and even Geneva, the nurse and guardian of Calvinism, were shocked and disgusted, and unanimously softened down the rigour of their respective creeds. But the moral effects of this memorable conclave were too remote to prevent the sacrifice which almost immediately followed the celebration of its rites. A trial by twenty-four prejudiced enemies, by courtesy called judges, which in its progress and its result throws judicial dignity into scorn, ended in the condemnation of Barneveld and his fellow patriots for treason against the liberties they had vainly laboured to save."]

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authority over the prisoners which belonged to themselves alone; and these, with equally little scruple, superseded the ordinary courts of justice by the institution of a commission of inquiry, of which, besides the attorneys-general of Utrecht and Gelderland, Pieter van Leeuwen and Lawrence Sylla, most of the members had been deputies to Utrecht on the occasion of the disbanding of the Waardgelders, and the whole had rendered themselves conspicuous by their implacable hostility to Barneveld in particular. These persons exercised their functions with an injustice and severity unequalled even in the trials of the counts of Egmont and Horn, under the government of Alva. Barneveld was subjected to twenty-three examinations, during which he was neither allowed to take down the questions in writing, to make memoranda of his answers, nor to refer to notes; the interrogatories were not confined to any definite period, but extended over his whole public life, no effort being spared to involve him in those contradictions which, from decay of memory, or confusion of dates, might easily occur. Ledenberg, secretary of the states of Utrecht, was so terrified by the menaces of torture which they used, that, dreading lest he might be forced by such means to make any admission detrimental to his friends, he committed suicide in prison.

As the commission was not invested with judicial powers, the states-general, after the conclusion of the examinations, appointed twenty-four judges, half the number only being Hollanders, an appointment illegal alike in its origin and constitution. By this court Barneveld was, after forty-eight interrogatories, found guilty, and condemned to death upon the following accusations among others: that he had disturbed the peace of religion, and maintained the exorbitant and pernicious maxim that the sovereignty belonged to each province over its own ecclesiastical matters; that he had dictated the protest of Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel against the acts of the states-general; that he had opposed the application of any remedies to the disorders in the Church and State; that he had encouraged disunion and disorders in the provinces, placing himself at the head of a faction, and had held separate assemblies of deputies from eight of the towns of Holland devoted to his interests; that in these assemblies the "severe edict" was resolved on, whereby the authority of the ordinary courts of justice was suspended; that he was one of the principal promoters of the levy of the Waardgelders; that he had degraded the character of the prince of Orange by his calumnies, accusing him of aiming at the sovereignty of the provinces; that he had attempted to seduce the regular troops from their allegiance to the states-general; that he had received divers large sums of money from foreign princes, without giving due information thereof; and that he had squandered the finances of the country, and created general distrust among the inhabitants and allies of the provinces.

With respect to some of these charges, such as placing himself at the head of a faction, introducing his friends into public offices and the like, it will be observed that similar imputations may be made at any time against any distinguished member of a party in a free state, and certainly could never form the ground of a criminal accusation. The "exorbitant and pernicious maxim," that each province retained its sovereignty with regard to religious matters, was a principle acted upon from the commencement of the revolt of Holland, without which the Pacification of Ghent, in 1576, between the Reformed provinces of Holland and Zealand, and the Catholic ones of Brabant and Flanders, never could have been effected, and which was expressly laid down in the exposition of the thirteenth article of the Union of Utrecht.

The only capital charge, that of entertaining a correspondence with Spain,

which before his trial had been so long and so vehemently insisted on by his enemies, was entirely abandoned. This accusation the court of inquiry had taken the utmost pains to prove, even going so far as to use alternate threats and promises to Grotius in order to force him to say something in confirmation of it, but had wholly failed. The states-general, aware of the doubt that the entire innocence of the prisoner on the principal charge would tend to throw on his guilt with respect to the whole — which, moreover, had he been guilty and responsible for all the acts contained therein, would, neither separately nor together, have constituted treason — issued a manifesto to the several provinces, declaring that many other crimes were laid to his charge, which could not be proved without stricter examination, such as the great age of the prisoner rendered inadvisable; by which was understood the application of the torture. It is somewhat difficult to imagine why the same consideration for his age which prevented the judges from adopting measures to prove his crime, should not have prevailed to deter them from condemning him without proof.

THE EXECUTION OF BARNEVELD (1619)

On the evening of Sunday, the 12th of May, Pieter van Leeuwen and Lawrence Sylla, two of the judges, entered the prison of Barneveld, for the purpose of summoning him the next morning to receive sentence of death. "Sentence of death," exclaimed the aged patriot; "sentence of death! I did not expect that." He then asked permission to write a farewell letter to his wife. While Leeuwen was gone to make his request known to the states, he said to the attorney-general of Gelderland, "Sylla, Sylla, could your father but see that you have allowed yourself to be employed in this business!" — the only expression of anger or impatience which the heroic old man permitted to escape him during the whole of this trying period.

The materials being brought him, he began to write with the utmost composure, when Sylla observed to him to be careful what he said, lest it might prevent the delivery of the letter. "What, Sylla," he answered, half smiling, "are you come to dictate to me what I shall write in my last hour?" He then sent to the prince of Orange, to ask his forgiveness if he had offended him, and to entreat him to be gracious to his children.

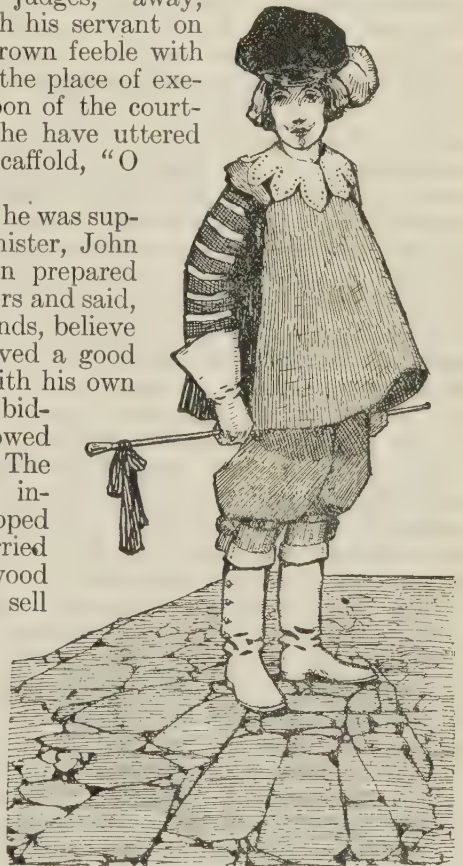
Maurice, whether from an excess of dissimulation, or that he in fact repented of having pushed matters so far, received the minister with tears; he professed that he had always loved the advocate, but that two things had vexed him: first, that he had accused him of aiming at the sovereignty, and next, that he had exposed him to danger at Utrecht; adding that, nevertheless, he freely forgave him, and would protect his children so long as they deserved it. As the messenger left the room the prince, calling him back, asked him if the prisoner had made no mention of pardon. "No," he answered, "he spoke not a word of it." Barneveld constantly refused to acknowledge himself in the slightest degree guilty of any of the accusations brought against him, except in so far as that, sometimes, provoked at the insults and libels directed against the states of Holland, his masters, he had expressed himself with too much haste and acrimony: "I governed," said he, "when I was in authority, according to the maxims of that time; and now I am condemned to die according to the maxims of this."

Before he left his prison, Barneveld wrote his last letter to his family, recommending his servant, John Franken, who had attended him throughout with affectionate fidelity, to their care. He was shortly after led into a lower room of the court-house to hear his sentence. During the reading

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he turned round quickly several times, and rose from his seat, as if about to speak. When it was concluded, he observed that there were many things in it which were not in the examinations; and added, "I thought the states-general would have been satisfied with my blood, and would have allowed my wife and children to keep what is their own." "Your sentence is read," replied Leonard Vooght, one of the judges, "away, away." Leaning on his staff, and with his servant on the other side to support his steps, grown feeble with age, Barneveld walked composedly to the place of execution, prepared before the great saloon of the court-house. With how deep feeling must he have uttered the exclamation as he ascended the scaffold, "O God! what then is man?"

Kneeling down on the bare boards, he was supported by his servant, while the minister, John Lamotius, delivered a prayer. When prepared for the block, he turned to the spectators and said, with a loud and firm voice, "My friends, believe not that I am a traitor. I have lived a good patriot, and such I die." He then, with his own hands, drew his cap over his eyes, and bidding the executioner "be quick," bowed his venerable head to the stroke.¹ The populace, from various feelings, some inspired by hatred, some by affection, dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, or carried away morsels of the blood-stained wood and sand: a few were even found to sell these as relics. The body and head were laid in a coffin and buried decently, but with little ceremony, at the court church of the Hague. The states of Holland rendered to his memory that justice which he had been denied while living, by the words in which they recorded his death. After stating the time and manner of it, and his long period of service to his country, the resolution concludes, "a man of great activity, diligence, memory, and conduct; yea, remarkable in every respect. Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall; and may God be merciful to his soul."



A DUTCH COSTUME OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS

The scaffold upon which the advocate had been beheaded was left standing for fifteen days after his death, with the view, as the two remaining prison-

[¹ The sword flickered in the sun and the head of the greatest Netherland statesman, who had "carried Holland in the heart," rolled down in the sand. The last word about the troubles of the Truce must be that both parties were culpable in their actions, but that the dominant party committed the greater sin by the judicial murder of their great opponent—a judicial murder, as Macaulay,ⁱ Motley,^d and Fruin^j rightly termed the atrocious execution of May 13th, 1619. Olden-Barneveld was not condemned according to the demands of justice, but according to those of policy conflicting with principles which he himself had earnestly espoused. — BLOK.^e]

ers, Grotius and Hoogerbeets, supposed, of compelling their wives and friends by fear into an acknowledgment of their guilt, by soliciting their pardon. The wife of Grotius, especially, was strongly urged to this course, and promises were held out to her of a favourable hearing on the part of the prince of Orange. But she refused to cast this dishonour on her husband, with an almost terrific resolution: "I will not do it," she said; "if he have deserved it, let them strike off his head." The more to alarm the prisoners, sentence was executed on the dead body of Ledenberg, which was hanged in the coffin to a gallows. The accusations against Grotius and Hoogerbeets were nearly similar to those against Barneveld. Upon these they were found guilty; but the Prince of Orange, dreading probably, if he sacrificed Grotius to his vengeance, that the execrations of Europe — through the greater part of which the immortal works and fame of his wonderful genius had already spread — would fall upon him, forbore to shed their blood. They were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Louvestein.

The conduct of the dominant party, from the conclusion of the synod, strongly evinced how much that assembly had tended to exasperate rather than allay the spirit of persecution; and that, had not the feeling of the times been abhorrent of bloodshed, this spirit would have displayed itself in as relentless a manner as it had ever done amongst the Catholics. Were it not indeed for the change of names, we might imagine ourselves to have turned some pages back, and to be reading again the penal edicts of the emperor Charles and Philip III. All assemblies of the remonstrants were strictly prohibited; and everyone who attended them was condemned to pay a fine of twenty-five guilders. This proving ineffectual, a second edict was promulgated, offering a reward of 500 guilders to whoever should arrest a remonstrant minister, and 300 for a student in theology. This system of severity was adopted against the remonstrants alone, since the Lutherans and Anabaptists were permitted to enjoy their respective places of worship in public, and on equal terms with the Calvinists; and the Catholics and Jews had the liberty of holding their private assemblies.

The ministers who had appeared before the synod, and had been deprived of their functions by that assembly, were afterwards offered a competent maintenance by the states-general if they would bind themselves to abstain entirely from preaching; a condition with which all except one, Henry Leo, steadily and repeatedly refused compliance. Sentence of banishment was, in consequence, pronounced against them after they had, in violation of the safe-conduct they had received, been many months under arrest, and immediately carried into effect. Without being allowed time to arrange their affairs, or to take leave of their families, they were conveyed in carriages, provided for them by the states-general, from the Hague to Waalwijk, amid the benedictions and tears of a multitude of persons who had assembled to bid them farewell; a mournful spectacle for those patriots who had contributed to shed a deluge of blood for a liberty of conscience which, if it were not a right inherent in man, themselves had formerly been far less entitled to claim than the sufferers now before them. The professors at the University of Leyden, not only of theology but of other sciences, were displaced, and their offices filled with counter-remonstrants, and all the pupils who refused to subscribe to the canons were expelled.

Notwithstanding fines, imprisonment, and banishment, however, the remonstrants persisted in holding their assemblies. The scenes of 1565 were acted over again. In some of the towns, the soldiers of the garrison, at the command of the magistrates, rushed in among the defenceless multitude

[1619 A.D.]

while engaged in their devotions, and bloodshed and massacre were the consequence. Again the people were forced to take refuge in the woods and fields, to worship God according to their conscience. Many voluntarily quitted their country, and retired to Antwerp; and thus, by a singular revolution in human affairs, the dominions of the archdukes, formerly the stronghold of religious persecutions, now became an asylum for the persecuted refugees of a nation whose very existence was founded on religious liberty.^{c 1}

THE ESCAPE OF GROTIUS

Thus Arminianism, deprived of its chiefs, was for the time completely stifled. The remonstrants, thrown into utter despair, looked to emigration as their last resource. Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden and Frederick duke of Holstein offered them shelter and protection in their respective states. Several availed themselves of these offers; but the states-general, alarmed at the progress of self-expatriation, moderated their rigour, and thus checked the desolating evil.² Several of the imprisoned Arminians had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of their gaolers; but the escape of Grotius is the most remarkable of all, both from his own celebrity as one of the first writers of his age in the most varied walks of literature, and from its peculiar circumstances.

Grotius was freely allowed during his close imprisonment all the relaxations of study. His friends supplied him with quantities of books, which were usually brought into the fortress in a trunk something less than four feet long, which the governor regularly and carefully examined during the first year. But custom brought relaxation in the strictness of the prison rules; and the wife of the illustrious prisoner, his faithful and constant visitor, proposed the plan of his escape, to which he gave a ready and, all hazards considered, a courageous assent. Shut up in this trunk for two hours, and with all the risk of suffocation, and of injury from the rude handling of the soldiers who carried it out of the fort, Grotius was brought clear off by the very agents of his persecutors, and safely delivered to the care of his devoted and discreet female servant, who knew the secret and kept it well. She attended the important consignment in the barge to the town of Gorkum; and after various risks of discovery, providentially escaped, Grotius at length found himself safe beyond the limits of his native land. His wife, whose torturing suspense may be imagined the while, concealed the stratagem as long as it was possible to impose on the gaoler with the fiction of her husband's

¹ It was not, however, in the spirit of disinterested charity that they were protected by the archduke's government, but in the hope of their being made useful to cause some embarrassment to the United Provinces. Neither bribes nor promises were spared to induce them to espouse measures hostile to their country, but in vain. To such proposals their leader, Uitenbogaard, replied, according to Brandt,^g with true Dutch frankness, "Let not the king of Spain trust to any revolt excited in our fatherland by the remonstrants; it will never happen." England was now shut out from the fugitives, who had formed the most exaggerated idea of the persecuting spirit of the government of that country. The remonstrant preachers were not unfrequently in dread of being seized and sent thither, where they conceived that the stake and the tar-barrel awaited them.

² Though the story of the Puritans belongs chiefly to the history of England and her American colonies, it may be well to remember that the persecuted members of the Scrooby church fled to Leyden in 1609, the year of the Truce. Their pastor, John Robinson, agreed fully with the Gomarists and was a fierce opponent of Arminian arguments. The Puritans thus escaped persecution, and attracted little or no attention in Holland; Motley,^d indeed, searched the archives at the Hague in vain for even a mention of them. Eventually, they decided to emigrate to America. The states-general declined to offer them protection in New Amsterdam, and they obtained permission from the Virginia Company of England. They sailed in the *Mayflower*, and reached America in 1620.^{a]}

illness and confinement to his bed. The government, infuriated at the result of the affair, at first proposed to hold this interesting prisoner in place of the prey they had lost, and to proceed criminally against her. But after a fortnight's confinement she was restored to liberty, and the country saved from the disgrace of so ungenerous and cowardly a proceeding. Grotius repaired to Paris, where he was received in the most flattering manner, and distinguished by a pension of 1,000 crowns allowed by the king. He soon published his vindication — one of the most eloquent and unanswerable productions of its kind, in which those times of unjust accusations and illegal punishments were so fertile.

END OF THE TRUCE (1620)

The expiration of the twelve years' truce was now at hand; and the United Provinces, after that long period of intestine trouble and disgrace, had once more to recommence a more congenial struggle against foreign enemies, for a renewal of the war with Spain might be fairly considered a return to the regimen best suited to the constitution of the people. The republic saw, however, with considerable anxiety, the approach of this new contest. It was fully sensible of its own weakness. Exile had reduced its population, patriotism had subsided; foreign friends were dead; the troops were unused to warfare; the hatred against Spanish cruelty had lost its excitement; the finances were in confusion; Prince Maurice had no longer the activity of youth; and the still more vigorous impulse of fighting for his country's liberty was changed to the dishonouring task of upholding his own tyranny.

The archdukes, encouraged by these considerations, had hopes of bringing back the United Provinces to their domination. They accordingly sent an embassy to Holland with proposals to that effect. It was received with indignation; and according to Wagenaar^h the ambassador Pecquius was obliged to be escorted back to the frontiers by soldiers, to protect him from the insults of the people. Military operations were, however, for a while refrained from on either side, in consequence of the deaths of Philip III of Spain and the archduke Albert. Philip IV succeeded his father at the age of sixteen; and the archduchess Isabella found herself alone at the head of the government in the Belgian provinces. She held the reins of power with a firm and steady hand.

In the celebrated Thirty Years' War¹ which had commenced between the Protestants and Catholics of Germany, in 1618, the former had met with considerable assistance from the United Provinces. Barneveld, who foresaw the embarrassments which the country would have to contend with on the expiration of that truce, had strongly opposed its meddling in the quarrels but his ruin and death left no restraint on the policy which prompted the republic to aid the Protestant cause. Fifty thousand florins a month to the revolted Protestants, and a like sum to the princes of the union, were for some time advanced. Frederick, the elector palatine, nephew of the prince, was chosen by the Bohemians for their king: but the new monarch, aided only by the United Provinces, and that feebly, was utterly defeated at the battle of Prague, and obliged to take refuge in Holland.

Spinola was resolved to commence the war against the republic by some important exploit. He therefore laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom, a place of great consequence, commanding the navigation of the Maas and the coasts

[¹ The causes and details of this conflict will be found in the volumes devoted to Spain, France, Germany, and Austria.]

[1620-1623 A.D.]

of all the islands of Zealand. But Maurice repaired to the scene of threatened danger; and succeeded, after a series of desperate efforts on both sides, in raising the siege, forcing Spinola to abandon his attempt with a loss of upwards of 12,000 men. Frederick Henry in the meantime had made an incursion into Brabant with a body of light troops; and ravaging the country up to the very gates of Mechlin, Louvain, and Brussels, levied contributions to the amount of 600,000 florins. The states completed this series of good fortune by obtaining the possession of West Friesland, by means of Count Mansfeld, whom they had despatched thither at the head of his formidable army, and who had, in spite of the opposition of Count Tilly, successfully performed his mission.

THE PLOT OF BARNEVELD'S SONS (1623)

Prince Maurice had enjoyed without restraint the fruits of his ambitious daring. His power was uncontrolled and unopposed. In the midst, however, of the apparent calm, a deep conspiracy was formed against the life of the prince. The motives, the conduct, and the termination of this plot excite feelings of many opposite kinds. Commiseration is mingled with blame, when we mark the sons of Barneveld, urged on by the excess of filial affection, to avenge their venerable father's fate. Willem of Stoutenburg and Reinier of Groeneveld were the names of these two sons of the late pensionary. The latter, of a more impetuous character than his brother, was the principal in the plot. Instead of any efforts to soften down the hatred of this unfortunate family, these brothers had been removed from their employments,¹ their property was confiscated, and despair soon urged them to desperation.

In such a time of general discontent it was easy to find accomplices. Seven or eight determined men readily joined in the plot: of these, two were Catholics, the rest Arminians; the chief of whom was Henricus Slatius, a preacher of considerable eloquence, talent, and energy. The death of the prince of Orange was not the only object intended. During the confusion subsequent to the hoped-for success of that first blow, the chief conspirators intended to excite simultaneous revolts at Leyden, Gouda, and Rotterdam, in which town the Arminians were most numerous. A general revolution throughout Holland was firmly reckoned on as the infallible result; and success was enthusiastically looked for to their country's freedom and their individual fame.

But the plot, however cautiously laid and resolutely persevered in, was doomed to the fate of many another, and the horror of a second murder averted from the illustrious family to whom was still destined the glory of consolidating the country it had formed. Four sailors had laid the whole of the project before the prince, and measures were instantly taken to arrest

[The promise Maurice made to Barneveld, in his last moments, to protect his children, he had violated in every possible manner. Their estates had been confiscated, notwithstanding an ordinance of the states-general, issued in 1593, decreeing that no noble should forfeit more than eighty guilders, except for treason, in addition to the penalty of death; to evade which, the judges had been reassembled a year after the delivery of the sentence, when their commission had been for some time expired, to declare that their meaning was to condemn the prisoners as guilty of high treason, of which not a word had been mentioned in the sentence. The eldest son of the advocate, Reinier, lord of Groeneveld, had been deprived, for no cause whatever except the personal animosity of the prince, of the office of deputy grand master of the rivers and forests, which Maurice had some years before bestowed on him; and William Barneveld lord of Stoutenburg, the younger son, was in like manner stripped of the government of Bergen-op-Zoom.]

the various accomplices. Groeneveld, Slatius, and others were intercepted in their attempts at escape. Stoutenburg, the most culpable of all, was the most fortunate. By the aid of a faithful servant, he accomplished his escape through various perils, and finally reached Brussels, where the archduchess Isabella took him under her special protection. He for several years made efforts to be allowed to return to Holland; but finding them hopeless, even after the death of Maurice, he embraced the Catholic religion, and obtained the command of a troop of Spanish cavalry, at the head of which he made incursions into his native country, carrying before him a black flag with the effigy of a death's head, to announce the mournful vengeance which he came to execute.

Fifteen persons were executed for the conspiracy. If ever mercy was becoming to a man, it would have been pre-eminently so to Maurice on this occasion; but he was inflexible as adamant. The mother, the wife, and the son of Groeneveld threw themselves at his feet, imploring pardon. Prayers, tears, and sobs were alike ineffectual. It is even said that Maurice asked the wretched mother why she begged mercy for her son, having refused to do as much for her husband? To which she is reported to have made the sublime answer — "Because my son is guilty, and my husband was not."

THE LAST ACTS OF MAURICE

These bloody executions caused a deep sentiment of gloom. The conspiracy excited more pity for the victims than horror for the intended crime. Maurice, from being the idol of his countrymen, was now become an object of their fear and dislike. When he moved from town to town, the people no longer hailed him with acclamations; and even the common tokens of outward respect were at times withheld. The Spaniards, taking advantage of the internal weakness consequent on this state of public feeling in the states, made repeated incursions into the provinces, which were now united but in title, not in spirit. Spinola was once more in the field, and had invested the important town of Breda, which was the patrimonial inheritance of the princes of Orange.

Maurice was oppressed with anxiety and regret. He could effect nothing against his rival; and he saw his own laurels withering from his care-worn brow. The only hope left of obtaining the so much wanted supplies of money was in the completion of a new treaty with France and England. Cardinal Richelieu, desirous of setting bounds to the ambition and the successes of the house of Austria, readily came into the views of the states; and an obligation for a loan of 1,200,000 livres during the year 1624, and 1,000,000 more for each of the two succeeding years, was granted by the king of France, on condition that the republic made no new truce with Spain without his mediation.

An alliance nearly similar was at the same time concluded with England. Perpetual quarrels on commercial questions loosened the ties which bound the states to their ancient allies.¹ King James agreed to furnish six thousand

[¹ In 1623 occurred the Amboyna Massacre, long a subject of bitterness in English memory. Amboyna, one of the Molucca Islands, had been taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1607. The English entered it, but were expelled. In 1619 they secured by treaty a trading privilege. In 1623 the Dutch claimed that the English were conspiring with the natives to seize the island, and having wrung a confession by torture—a confession denied on the gallows—they put 10 Englishmen and 10 Javanese to death. Three Englishmen, being pardoned, carried home the story of the tortures inflicted on their countrymen. The whole nation was horrified and demanded revenge. In 1654 Holland agreed to pay the heirs of the victims £300,000 as compensation. Amboyna was captured by the British in 1796 and in 1810, but

[1625 A.D.]

men, and supply the funds for their pay, with a provision for repayment by the states at the conclusion of a peace with Spain. Prince Maurice had no opportunity of reaping the expected advantages from these treaties.

Chagrined at his ill success, Maurice discovered too late that, in grasping at the sole authority by the destruction of his illustrious rival, he had, in fact, annihilated the source of his own prosperity. With the advocate, the stay and support of his fortunes was gone; the head which had planned his most brilliant achievements, the hand that had always been able to place money and troops at his disposal the instant he required them, he himself had laid in the dust; in the bitterness of his heart, he was heard to exclaim that God had abandoned him. His present coadjutor, Adrian Duyk, who had succeeded Barneveld, under the title of pensionary (that of advocate being ever after dropped by tacit consent) was immeasurably inferior to him in talents, diligence, and resources.

The disappointments and vexations Maurice suffered were supposed to have contributed greatly to increase the disease (obstruction of the liver) under which he had for some time laboured, and which now began to manifest alarming symptoms. Finding his strength rapidly declining, he summoned from the camp at Sprang his brother Frederick Henry, between whom and himself there had long existed a coldness, arising from the favour which the former had openly testified, and the still greater degree which he was suspected of secretly entertaining towards the remonstrants. He now induced him to gratify his last wish by consenting to a union with Amelie, princess of Solmes. Three weeks after the marriage, April 23rd, 1625, the prince of Orange died, aged fifty-seven years and five months, having filled the office of stadholder for nearly forty years. As he never married, he left Prince Frederick Henry heir to all his possessions, with the exception of legacies to his sister, the princess of Portugal, his mistress, Anne van Mechelen, and her two sons.

The character of Maurice has been often produced in bold and marked features, in the transactions in which he bore so conspicuous a share. In military talent he equalled the most celebrated captains of any age or nation. Whether in the attack and defence of cities, in the enforcement of discipline or the conduct of an army in rapid and difficult marches, his reputation is yet unsurpassed; nor was he less distinguished by his profound knowledge of mathematics, and his skill in the invention of military engines and contrivances for passing rivers and marshes. The Fabius of his country, he, with a handful of soldiers, not only defended her frontiers against numerous armies of veteran troops, commanded by (next to himself) the ablest generals in Europe, but carried the war with success into the enemy's territory.

In his political capacity he appears to far less advantage. His ambition, unlike the pure and noble passion which swayed his father, was wholly selfish, devoted to his individual advancement, and directed quite as much to the emoluments as to the dignity of his offices.

The escutcheon of Maurice is bright with the record of many a deed of glory. But there is one dark deep stain on which the eye of posterity, unheeding the surrounding radiance, is constantly fixed: it is the blood of Barneveld.

PROSPERITY OF THE PERIOD

The truce, which, as the foundation of the dissensions between the heads of the government, was productive of so many evils to the provinces, opened in both cases restored by subsequent treaties. It should be remembered that torture was still used in the courts of both England and Holland, though the methods differed.]

on the other hand a new field for the rapid advancement of commerce and navigation. The year preceding it (1608) was signalised by the invention of the telescope, by one Zachary Jansen, an optician of Middelburg.

In the year 1609 was established the celebrated bank of Amsterdam, which for a long series of years afforded such immense facilities to commerce, and maintained its credit so high that a large portion of the wealth of Europe was by degrees drawn into its coffers.

Alliances of commerce and amity with Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and the Hanse towns secured to the Dutch an easy and profitable trade in the northern seas; and their frequent voyages thither gave occasion to the establishment of a company at Amsterdam (1614), for carrying on the whale-fishery from the coast of Nova Zembla to Davis Strait, Spitzbergen, and the surrounding islands. The fishery, notwithstanding the opposition of the English, who sometimes attacked and rifled the vessels on their return, was for several years a source of considerable revenue to the proprietors. The charter, granted at first but for three years, was renewed for four more in 1617; and the company, uniting in 1622 with another formed in Zealand, obtained a fresh charter for twelve years, which was renewed in 1633. After its expiration in 1645, the whales having become scarce, and the profits of the fishery no longer sufficing for the support of a company, it dissolved itself, and the fishery again became free.

Shortly after the erection of this company, the states, in order to encourage their subjects to undertake distant voyages, granted to the discoverer of a new territory the privilege of making four voyages before anyone else was permitted to trade thither, provided he gave information of such discovery to the government within fourteen days of his return. The first who entitled himself to the benefit of this regulation was the famous Jacob le Maire, a merchant of Amsterdam, who, in the beginning of the year 1616, sailed through the straits to which he gave his name, and completed his voyage round the world, having discovered on his route the islands of Staten, Prince's Island, and Barneveld, of which he took possession in the name of the states. Cape Horn, which received its name from a native of Hoorn (Willem Schouten the pilot), was discovered at the same time.

In the year 1609 Henry Hudson, an English pilot in the employ of the East India Company of Holland, being sent with a single vlie-boat and twenty men to find a northwest passage to China, discovered the river and bay which received his name. Instead, however, of returning to Holland, he went to England, which he was not permitted to leave. The Dutch afterwards planted a colony on that tract of country to which they gave the name of New Holland, and about 1624 built the town of New Amsterdam.

The character of the Dutch people, at once energetic and patient, enterprising and steady, renders them peculiarly adapted for the formation of flourishing and successful colonies. In planting them it is to be remarked that they never sought an extension of empire, but merely an acquisition of trade and commerce; and consequently they were always either commercial or agricultural, never military. They attempted conquest only when forced by the pressure of exterior circumstances — such, for instance, as the hostilities of the Portuguese in the East Indies.

To this general rule the formation of the West India Company formed a singular exception. The project had been agitated before the commencement of the truce, but steadily opposed by Barneveld, after whose death the states gave permission for the establishment of a company, which was not however effected till 1621, when a charter was granted for the term of twenty-

four years, on conditions nearly similar to that of the East India Company, with the sole privilege of trade from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, and in America from the south boundary of Newfoundland and the Anian or Bering Straits, to those of Magellan and Le Maire. As Spain claimed the sovereignty of a vast portion of this tract in America, and was in actual possession of the places where the company purposed forming their settlements, conquest must be a necessary preliminary; and the colonists, maintaining a hostile possession, must be constantly prepared with arms in their hands, if not engaged in actual warfare. Accordingly, at the very outset, the company were obliged to incur the cost of equipping a large fleet of men-of-war, instead of making an essay at first with a few vessels as the projectors of the East India trade had done.^c





CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION OF THE EIGHTY YEARS' WAR

[1625-1648 A.D.]

FREDERICK HENRY succeeded to almost all his brother's titles and employments, and found his new dignities clogged with an accumulation of difficulties sufficient to appal the most determined spirit. Everything seemed to justify alarm and despondency. If the affairs of the republic in India wore an aspect of prosperity, those in Europe presented a picture of past disaster and approaching peril. Disunion and discontent, an almost insupportable weight of taxation, and the disputes of which it was the fruitful source, formed the subjects of internal ill. Abroad were to be seen navigation harassed and trammelled by the pirates of Dunkirk, and the almost defenceless frontiers of the republic exposed to the irruptions of the enemy. The king of Denmark, who endeavoured to make head against the imperialist and Spanish forces, was beaten by Tilly, and made to tremble for the safety of his own states. England did nothing towards the common cause of Protestantism, in consequence of the weakness of the monarch; and civil dissensions for a while disabled France from resuming the system of Henry IV for humbling the house of Austria.

Frederick Henry was at this period in his forty-second year. His military reputation was well established; he soon proved his political talents. He commenced his career by a total change in the tone of government on the subject of sectarian differences. He exercised several acts of clemency in favour of the imprisoned and exiled Arminians, at the same time that he upheld the dominant religion. By these measures he conciliated all parties; and by degrees the fierce spirit of intolerance became subdued. The foreign relations of the United Provinces now presented the anomalous policy of a fleet furnished by the French king, manned by rigid Calvinists, and commanded by a grandson of Admiral Coligny, for the purpose of combating the remainder of the French Huguenots, whom they considered as brothers in religion, though political foes: and during the joint expedition which was undertaken by the allied French and Dutch troops against Rochelle, the stronghold of Protestantism, the preachers of Holland put up prayers for the

[1625-1628 A.D.]

protection of those whom their army was marching to destroy. The states-general, ashamed of this unpopular union, recalled their fleet, after some severe fighting with that of the Huguenots. Cardinal Richelieu and the king of France were for a time furious in their displeasure; but interests of state overpowered individual resentments, and no rupture took place.

Charles I had now succeeded his father on the English throne. He renewed the treaty with the republic, who furnished him with twenty ships to assist his own formidable fleet in his war against Spain. Frederick Henry had, soon after his succession to the chief command, commenced an active course of martial operations, and was successful in almost all his enterprises.^b

Maurice had, before his death, made the most strenuous exertions to collect troops for the relief of Breda. Nevertheless, every effort on the part of Prince Frederick Henry to raise the siege or to introduce supplies into the town proved futile; and being reduced to extreme scarcity of provisions, the governor, Justin of Nassau, capitulated to Spinola on favourable conditions in 1625. But the strength of Spain, so imposing in outward appearance, so exhausted in reality, was now put forth only in isolated and convulsive efforts, followed by long intervals of prostrate inanition. The conquest of Breda reduced the spirit and resources of the Spanish army, as the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom had done, to so low an ebb that it was forced to act entirely on the defensive; and the summer of the next year passed without any event worthy of remark. Taking advantage of the continued inactivity of the enemy, the prince of Orange commenced the siege of Groenlo with one hundred companies of infantry, fifty-five of cavalry, and ninety pieces of artillery. The capture of this strong town, within the space of a month, and in sight of a hostile army which made strenuous attempts to relieve it, added greatly to the reputation of Frederick Henry, more especially as his brother had in the year 1606 failed in a similar enterprise, under far more favourable circumstances.

But it was on sea that the Dutch constantly gained such advantages as brought at once ruin and dishonour on their enemies. The West India Company, having equipped a fleet of twenty-four vessels, placed them under the command of one Pieter Pietersen Heijn, or "Piet Heijn" of Delfshaven — a man who, by his courage and ability, had raised himself from a low station to the rank of admiral, and had signalled himself, as well by the share he had taken in the conquest of San Salvador as by the destruction of twenty-six Spanish vessels in the last year. He now (1628) received orders to sail towards America, for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish fleet, commonly called the "silver fleet," on its return from thence laden with specie. On his arrival off the island of Havana, he received intelligence that



PIETER PIETERSE HEIJN, LIEUTENANT-ADMIRAL
OF HOLLAND (1578-1629)

the fleet was close at hand and could not escape him; and, in effect, early on the following morning, he fell in with ten ships, which he captured in a few hours. About mid-day eight or nine more galleons were perceived at three leagues' distance, of which the Dutch immediately went in chase under press of sail.

Heijn brought the whole of his booty, except two of the captured vessels, safely into the ports of Holland. It was estimated at 12,000,000 florins, a portion of it being 138,600 lbs-weight of pure silver. On his return the office of lieutenant-admiral, vacant by the death of William of Nassau, who was killed before Groenlo, was in a manner forced upon him, in spite of his modest refusal of a dignity unbecoming, he said, his mean birth and unpolished manners. To acquit himself honourably of his charge, he resolved to undertake the extirpation of the pirates of Dunkirk.

On the 17th of June, 1629, he espied three privateers, to which he gave chase, and coming up with his single ship, which had left the others far behind, he placed himself between two of the enemy's vessels, and fired a broadside into both at the same time. The third discharge of the privateer's guns stretched him dead upon the deck; but his crew, becoming furious at the spectacle, attacked with such vigour that they soon captured both vessels, putting every man on board to death, in obedience to the barbarous custom enjoined by the states. The body of Heijn was interred near that of William, prince of Orange, at Delft, and a monument of white marble erected to his memory.^d

The year 1629 brought three formidable armies at once to the frontiers of the republic, and caused a general dismay all through the United Provinces: but the immense treasures taken from the Spaniards enabled them to make preparations suitable to the danger; and Frederick Henry, supported by his cousin William of Nassau, his natural brother Justin, and other brave and experienced officers, defeated every effort of the enemy. He took many towns in rapid succession; and finally forced the Spaniards to abandon all notion of invading the territories of the republic. Deprived of the powerful talents of Spinola, who was called to command the Spanish troops in Italy, the armies of the archduchess, under the count of Berg, were not able to cope with the genius of the prince of Orange. The consequence was the renewal of negotiations for a second truce. But these were received on the part of the republic with a burst of opposition. All parties seemed decided on that point; and every interest, however opposed on minor questions, combined to give a positive negative on this.

The gratitude of the country for the services of Frederick Henry induced the provinces of which he was stadholder to grant the reversion in this title to his son, a child three years old; and this dignity had every chance of becoming as absolute as it was now pronounced almost hereditary, by the means of an army of 120,000 men devoted to their chief. However, few military occurrences took place, the sea being still chosen as the element best suited to the present enterprises of the republic. In the widely-distant settlements of Brazil and Batavia the Dutch were equally successful; and the East and West India companies acquired eminent power and increasing solidity.

The year 1631 was signalled by an expedition into Flanders consisting

^d According to Cerisier, the states having upon the occasion of his death sent a message of condolence to his mother, an honest peasant who, notwithstanding the elevation of her son, had been content to remain in her original station, she replied: "Ay, I thought what would be the end of him. He was always a vagabond; but I did my best to correct him. He has got no more than he deserved."

[1631-1635 A.D.]

of 18,000 men, intended against Dunkirk, but hastily abandoned, in spite of every probability of success, by the commissioners of the states-general, who accompanied the army and thwarted all the ardour and vigour of the prince of Orange. But another great naval victory in the narrow seas of Zealand recompensed the disappointments of this inglorious affair.

ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE: BELGIAN EFFORTS FOR FREEDOM (1633)

The splendid victories of Gustavus Adolphus against the imperial arms in Germany changed the whole face of European affairs. Protestantism began once more to raise its head; and the important conquests by Frederick Henry of almost all the strong places on the Maas, including Maestricht, the strongest of all, gave the United Provinces their ample share in the glories of the war. The death of the archduchess Isabella, which took place at Brussels in the year 1633, added considerably to the difficulties of Spain in the Belgian provinces.

The defection of the count of Berg, the chief general of their armies, who was actuated by resentment on the appointment of the marquis of Sainte-Croix over his head, threw everything into confusion, in exposing a widespread confederacy among the nobility of these provinces to erect themselves into an independent republic, strengthened by a perpetual alliance with the United Provinces against the power of Spain. But the plot failed, chiefly, it is said, by the imprudence of the king of England, who let the secret slip, from some motives vaguely hinted at, but never sufficiently explained. After the death of Isabella, the prince of Brabançon was arrested. The prince of Epinoi and the duke of Burnonville made their escape; and the duke of Aerschot, who was arrested in Spain, was soon liberated, in consideration of some discoveries into the nature of the plot. An armistice, published in 1634, threw this whole affair into complete oblivion.

The king of Spain appointed his brother Ferdinand, a cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, to the dignity of governor-general of the Netherlands. He repaired to Germany at the head of seventeen thousand men, and bore his share in the victory of Nordlingen; after which he hastened to the Netherlands, and made his entry into Brussels in 1634. Richelieu had hitherto only combated the house of Austria in these countries by negotiation and intrigue; but he now entered warmly into the proposals made by Holland, for a treaty offensive and defensive between Louis XIII and the republic. By a treaty soon after concluded (February 8th, 1635), the king of France engaged to invade the Belgian provinces with an army of thirty thousand men, in concert with a Dutch force of equal number. It was agreed that, if Belgium would consent to break from the Spanish yoke, it was to be erected into a free state; if, on the contrary, it would not co-operate for its own freedom, France and Holland were to dismember and to divide it equally.

The plan of these combined measures was soon acted on. The French army took the field under the command of the marshals De Châtillon and De Brézé; and defeated the Spaniards in a bloody battle, near Avein, in the province of Luxemburg, on the 20th of May, 1635, with the loss of four thousand men. The victors soon made a junction with the prince of Orange; and the towns of Tirlemont, St. Trond, and some others, were quickly reduced. The former of these places was taken by assault, and pillaged with circumstances of cruelty that recall the horrors of the early transactions of the war. The prince of Orange was forced to punish severely the authors of these offences. The consequences of this event were highly injurious to the allies.

A spirit of fierce resistance was excited throughout the invaded provinces. Louvain set the first example. The citizens and students took arms for its defence; and the combined forces of France and Holland were repulsed, and forced by want of supplies to abandon the siege and rapidly retreat. The prince-cardinal, as Ferdinand was called, took advantage of this reverse to press the retiring French; recovered several towns; and gained all the advantages as well as glory of the campaign. The remains of the French army, reduced by continual combats, and still more by sickness, finally embarked at Rotterdam to return to France in the ensuing spring, a sad contrast to its brilliant appearance at the commencement of the campaign.

The military events for several ensuing years present nothing of sufficient interest to induce us to record them in detail. A perpetual succession of sieges and skirmishes afford a monotonous picture of isolated courage and skill; but we see none of those great conflicts which bring out the genius of opposing generals, and show war in its grand results, as the decisive means of enslaving or emancipating mankind. The prince-cardinal, one of the many who on this bloody theatre displayed consummate military talents, incessantly employed himself in incursions into the bordering provinces of France, ravaged Picardy, and filled Paris with fear and trembling. He, however, reaped no new laurels when he came into contact with Frederick Henry, who on almost every occasion, particularly that of the siege of Breda in 1637, carried his object in spite of all opposition. The triumphs of war were balanced; but Spain and the Belgian provinces, so long upheld by the talent of the governor-general, were gradually become exhausted. The revolution in Portugal and the succession of the duke of Braganza, under the title of John IV, to the throne of his ancestors, struck a fatal blow to the power of Spain. A strict alliance was concluded between the new monarch of France and Holland; and hostilities against the common enemy were on all sides vigorously continued.^b

It was in this year that the singular mania, "tulipo-mania" as it was afterwards termed, the offspring of wealth and luxury, became prevalent among the Dutch, especially in the province of Holland. The price of tulips suddenly rose to an incredible height, the most esteemed varying from 2,600 guilders to 150 for a single root. Large fortunes were acquired by speculations on this article, which, in Amsterdam alone, involved, it is said, no less a sum than 10,000,000 guilders. Persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages neglected their ordinary avocations to amuse themselves with this novel species of gambling; but as those who purchased were often of slender means and unable to fulfil their engagements, the speculation became so unsafe that men lost their confidence in it, and in course of time it died away of itself. The Hollanders, though still retaining their passion for tulips, have since been able to restrain it within more reasonable bounds. However we may condemn this idle traffic, and however well deserved the ridicule it has incurred, it is still gratifying to reflect in what a state of ease and prosperity, how free from care and light-hearted a people must be, who could find opportunity and inclination to devote their attention to such agreeable trifles.^d

The successes of the republic at sea and in their distant enterprises were continual, and in some instances brilliant. Brazil was gradually falling into the power of the West India Company. The East India possessions were secure. The great victory of Tromp,¹ known by the name of the battle

[¹ He had been made vice-admiral in place of Van Dorp who had in 1637 not only allowed a Spanish fleet carrying four million florins, to escape him, but had allowed the Dunkirk pirates to capture certain Dutch ships.]

[1639-1642 A.D.]

of the Downs, from being fought off the coast of England, on the 21st of October, 1639, raised the naval reputation of Holland as high as it could well be carried. Fifty ships taken, burned, and sunk were the proofs of their admiral's triumph; and the Spanish navy never recovered the loss. The victory was celebrated throughout Europe, and Tromp was the hero of the day. The king of England was, however, highly indignant at the hardihood with which the Dutch admiral broke through the etiquette of territorial respect, and destroyed his country's bitter foes under the very sanction of English neutrality. But the subjects of Charles I did not partake their monarch's feelings. They had no sympathy with arbitrary and tyrannic government; and their joy at the misfortune of their old enemies the Spaniards gave a fair warning of the spirit which afterwards proved so fatal to the infatuated king, who on this occasion would have protected and aided them.

MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

In an unsuccessful enterprise in Flanders, in 1640, Count Henry Kasimir of Nassau was mortally wounded, adding another to the list of those of that illustrious family whose lives were lost in the service of their country. His brother, Count William Frederick, succeeded him in his office of stadholder of Friesland; but the same dignity in the provinces of Groningen and Drent devolved on the prince of Orange. The latter had conceived the desire of a royal alliance for his son William. Charles I readily assented to the proposal of the states-general that this young prince should receive the hand of his daughter Mary. Embassies were exchanged; the conditions of the contract agreed on. The marriage took place at Whitehall, May 1st, 1641; Tromp, with an escort of twenty ships, conducted the princess, then twelve years old, to the country of her future husband. The republic did not view with an eye quite favourable this advancing aggrandisement of the house of Orange. Frederick Henry had shortly before been dignified by the king of France, at the suggestion of Richelieu, with the title of "highness," instead of the inferior one of "excellency"; and the states-general, jealous of this distinction granted to their chief magistrate, adopted for themselves the sounding appellation of "high and mighty lords." The prince of Orange, whatever might have been his private views of ambition, had, however, the prudence to silence all suspicion, by the mild and moderate use which he made of the power which he might perhaps have wished to increase but never attempted to abuse.

On the 9th of November, 1641, the prince-cardinal Ferdinand died at Brussels in his thirty-third year; Don Francisco de Mello, a nobleman of highly reputed talents, was the next who obtained this onerous situation. He commenced his governorship by a succession of military operations, and after taking some towns, and defeating the marshal De Guiche in the battle of Honnecourt tarnished all his fame by the great faults which he committed in the famous battle of Rocroi. The duke d'Enghien, then twenty-one years of age, and subsequently so celebrated as the great Condé, completely defeated De Mello, and nearly annihilated the Spanish and Walloon infantry. The military operations of the Dutch army were this year remarkable only by the gallant conduct of Prince William, son of the prince of Orange, who, not yet seventeen years of age, defeated near Hulst, in 1642, under the eyes of his father, a Spanish detachment in a very warm skirmish.

Considerable changes were now insensibly operating in the policy of

Europe. Cardinal Richelieu had finished his dazzling but tempestuous career of government, in which the hand of death arrested him on the 4th of December, 1642. Louis XIII soon followed to the grave him who was rather his master than his minister. Anne of Austria was declared regent during the minority of her son, Louis XIV, then only five years of age: and Cardinal Mazarin succeeded to the station from which death alone had power to remove his predecessor.

The civil wars in England now broke out, and their terrible results seemed to promise to the republic the undisturbed sovereignty of the seas. The prince of Orange received with great distinction the mother-in-law of his son, when she came to Holland under pretext of conducting her daughter: but her principal purpose was to obtain, by the sale of the crown jewels and the assistance of Frederick Henry, funds for the supply of her unfortunate husband's cause. The prince and several private individuals contributed largely in money; and several experienced officers passed over to serve in the royalist army of England. The provincial states of Holland, however, sympathising wholly with the parliament, remonstrated with the stadholder; and the Dutch colonists encouraged the hostile efforts of their brethren, the Puritans of Scotland, by all the absurd exhortations of fanatic zeal. The province of Holland, and some others, leaned towards the parliament; the prince of Orange favoured the king; and the states-general endeavoured to maintain a neutrality.

The struggle was still furiously maintained in Germany. Everything tended to make peace necessary to some of the contending powers, as it was at length desirable for all. Among other strong motives to that line of conduct, the finances of Holland were in a state perfectly deplorable. Every year brought the necessity of a new loan; and the public debt of the provinces now amounted to 150,000,000 florins, bearing interest at 6½ per cent. Considerable alarm was excited at the progress of the French army in the Belgian provinces; and escape from the tyranny of Spain seemed only to lead to the danger of submission to a nation too powerful and too close at hand not to be dangerous, either as a foe or an ally. These fears were increased by the knowledge that Cardinal Mazarin projected a marriage between Louis XIV and the infanta of Spain, with the Belgian provinces, or Spanish Netherlands as they were now called, for her marriage portion. This project was confided to the prince of Orange, under the seal of secrecy, and he was offered the marquisate of Antwerp as the price of his influence towards effecting the plan. The prince revealed the whole to the states-general. Great fermentation was excited: the stadholder himself was blamed, and suspected of complicity with the designs of the cardinal. Frederick Henry was deeply hurt at this want of confidence, and the injurious publications which openly assailed his honour in a point where he felt himself entitled to praise instead of suspicion.

DEATH OF FREDERICK HENRY; ACCESSION OF WILLIAM II

The French laboured to remove the impression which this affair excited in the republic: but the states-general felt themselves justified by the intriguing policy of Mazarin in entering into a secret negotiation with the king of Spain, who offered very favourable conditions. The negotiations were considerably advanced by the marked disposition evinced by the prince of Orange to hasten the establishment of peace. Yet, at this very period, and while anxiously wishing this great object, he could not resist the desire for another

[1647-1648 A.D.]

campaign; one more exploit, to signalise the epoch at which he finally placed his sword in the scabbard. Frederick Henry was essentially a soldier, with all the spirit of his race; and this evidence of the ruling passion, while he touched the verge of the grave, is one of the most striking points of his character. He accordingly took the field; but, with a constitution broken by a lingering disease, he was little fitted to accomplish any feat worthy of his splendid reputation. He failed in an attempt on Venlo, and another on Antwerp, and retired to the Hague, where for some months he rapidly declined.

On the 14th of March, 1647, he expired, in his sixty-third year; leaving behind him a character of unblemished integrity, prudence, toleration, and valour. He was not of that impetuous stamp which leads men to heroic deeds, and brings danger to the states whose liberty is compromised by their ambition. He was a striking contrast to his brother Maurice, and more resembled his father in many of those calmer qualities of the mind, which make men more beloved without lessening their claims to admiration. Frederick Henry had the honour of completing the glorious task which William began and Maurice followed up. He saw the oppression they had combated now humbled and overthrown; and he forms the third in a sequence of family renown, the most surprising and the least chequered afforded by the annals of Europe.¹

William II succeeded his father in his dignities; and his ardent spirit longed to rival him in war. He turned his endeavours to thwart all the efforts for peace. But the interests of the nation and the dying wishes of Frederick Henry were of too powerful influence with the states to be overcome by the martial yearnings of an inexperienced youth.



FREDERICK HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE

TREATIES OF MÜNSTER AND WESTPHALIA

The negotiations were pressed forward; and, despite the complaints, the murmurs, and the intrigues of France, the treaty of Münster was finally signed by the respective ambassadors of the United Provinces and Spain, on the 30th of January, 1648. This celebrated treaty contains seventy-nine

[¹ His veneration for his father, whom he resembled in many points of his character, amounted almost to idolatry, a sentiment which he evinced by his adoption of the motto *Patriæque, patrique*, signifying that his life was devoted to his country, and to vengeance for the murder of his father. Without brilliancy of genius, or extraordinary power of mind, his clear good sense and sound judgment combined with his moderation and integrity to render him one of the best and most esteemed stadholders the provinces ever possessed. By virtue of the Act of Reversion, passed in 1631, his offices devolved immediately on his son William; but the states of Holland and Zealand, desiring to convince the young prince that the stadholdership was their free gift, and not a right he was entitled to claim, allowed the delay of a year to intervene before they confirmed him in the office. — DAVIES,^a]

articles. Three points were of main and vital importance to the republic: the first acknowledges an ample and entire recognition of the sovereignty of the states-general, and a renunciation forever of all claims on the part of Spain; the second confirms the rights of trade and navigation in the East and West Indies, with the possession of the various countries and stations then actually occupied by the contracting powers; the third guarantees a like possession of all the provinces and towns of the Netherlands, as they then stood in their respective occupation — a clause highly favourable to



THE CHARLATAN: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STREET SCENE

(From a painting by Franz von Mieris)

the republic, which had conquered several considerable places in Brabant and Flanders.

The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Münster with great solemnity on the 15th of May following the signature; the peace was published in that town and in Osnabrück on the 19th, and in all the different states of the king of Spain and the United Provinces as soon as the joyous intelligence could reach such various and widely separated destinations. Thus, after eighty years of unparalleled warfare, only interrupted by the truce of 1609, during which hostilities had not ceased in the Indies, the new republic rose from the horrors of civil war and foreign tyranny to its uncon-

[1648 A.D.]

tested rank as a free and independent state among the most powerful nations of Europe. No country had ever done more for glory; and the result of its efforts was the irrevocable guarantee of civil and religious liberty, the great aim and end of civilisation.

The internal tranquillity of the republic was secured from all future alarm by the conclusion of the general Peace of Westphalia, definitely signed the 24th of October, 1648. This treaty was long considered not only as the fundamental law of the empire, but as the basis of the political system of Europe. As numbers of conflicting interests were reconciled, Germanic liberty secured, and a just equilibrium established between the Catholics and Protestants, France and Sweden obtained great advantages; and the various princes of the empire saw their possessions regulated and secured, at the same time that the powers of the emperor were strictly defined.^b

DAVIES' REVIEW OF THE WAR AND THE DUTCH CHARACTER

Thus ended this long and remarkable war, having continued for a period of sixty-eight years, exclusive of the twelve years' truce — a war which, unexampled in the history of nations, had brought commerce, wealth, civilisation, learning, and the arts in its train; and which well deserved its high exemption from the common lot of humanity, because of the nobleness, the purity, and the elevation of the motives from whence it originated; a war which had its foundation in justice, and its termination in glory.¹ Often, in the annals of other nations, examples of bold and successful struggles for liberty against the oppressor and invader have roused the sympathy and inspired the pen of the historian: Athens has had her Marathon, Sparta her Thermopylæ, Switzerland her Morgarten, and Spain her Saragossa; but it was left for Holland alone to present the spectacle of the continuance of such a struggle, against power, wealth, discipline, numbers — in defiance, it seemed, of fate itself for a long series of years: with resolution unwavering, with courage undaunted, with patience unwearied; rejecting, proudly and repeatedly, the solicitations for peace proffered by their mighty foe, and yielding to them at last only when she had, as it were, the destiny of that foe in her hands.

The results of this war, as wonderful as were its commencement and progress, are to be attributed chiefly to the moral qualities of the Dutch; to their maritime power; to the constitution of their government anterior to the revolt; their geographical position; and the rapid increase of their population by the influx of foreigners of all nations. Among the moral qualities which distinguished the Dutch of this period, the most remarkable was honesty — a homely virtue, but none the less real, none the less efficacious in the circumstances in which they were placed. Of the advantage it proved to them in their pecuniary relations with other states, their history affords

[¹ Grotius,^c indeed, adduces as the sole motive of the war the reluctance of the Dutch to pay the tenth demanded by Alva, but in this instance he does his countrymen a cruel injustice. It was not the mere payment of the tax, but the mode of its levy (without consent of the states), and the fear of its perpetuity, which drove the Hollanders to revolt, as after events most fully proved; and he himself makes the observation, a few pages lower down, "*Omnia dabant, ne decimam darent*" ["they gave all, rather than give a tenth"]; it was because they knew that their forefathers had been accustomed to arrest the arbitrary measures of their sovereigns chiefly by withholding the supplies; because they knew that, if deprived of this power, their only means of redress, except by arms, was gone, and those privileges which they might expect to recover when the government became needy or impoverished would then be lost forever; because they must then afford their tyrant a constant supply of strength to oppress them; in the words of their historian, Bor,^d "everyone feared an eternal slavery."]]

sufficient evidence. At the time when their affairs were most desperate, none ever doubted their national credit; the parsimonious queen of England, the cautious William of Orange, the mistrustful German princes, never hesitated for a moment to advance them loans, or to trust to their honour for the payment of the troops which served under their standards. Carried into their commercial transactions, this probity won them the confidence of the merchants of foreign countries, and caused them to become in course of time the providers and cashiers of nearly the whole civilised world. Permeating their political counsels, it produced a spirit of mutual confidence which bound together all ranks of men in an indissoluble tie. The government, acting in perfect good faith itself, never suspected the fidelity of the people, nor descended to the mean arts of rousing their passions by fictions or misrepresentations; they never deceived them as to their relations with foreign powers, as to the exact condition of their strength and resources, or as to the true nature of the contest in which they were engaged; and the people on their part awarded to the government entire reliance and obedience. Thus a state, formed of the most heterogeneous parts, was united by the strong bond of mutual fidelity into a firm and compact whole, which defied alike the assaults of force from without and the undermining of intrigue from within.

From the effects of this virtue of integrity sprang another, which characterised the Dutch no less strongly — that of firmness. Never led astray by false rumours or false opinions, they contemplated calmly and clearly the object they had in view — security of person and property, and freedom of religion — and employed with undeviating steadiness of purpose the means they conceived calculated to attain it; they desired no more, they would be satisfied with no less; the most flattering promises, the most advantageous offers of peace, which did not realise that object to the full extent, never caused them to waver for a moment; they were exempt from that reckless spirit of innovation, that prurient desire of change, usually remarkable in the actors in great revolutions. The goal which they had determined to reach, therefore, did not change its position from day to day, as whim, ambition, or circumstances dictated; in their deepest reverses, at their highest elevation of prosperity, it was still the same; they pursued their path towards it with slow and measured steps; and when at last they attained it, they suffered no disappointment, they experienced no reaction; they did not, as it too often happens, in the bitterness of a deceived hope, rush back to a condition worse than that they had left; but were content to find what they had sought — freedom and security; and riches, glory, and honour were added to them.

Not the least among the moral causes which led to the national aggrandisement of the Dutch may be found in the singular absence of selfishness and personal vanity observable in all ranks of men. In the great events which occurred during the revolt and subsequent war, and which might easily be supposed to call forth stirring and ambitious spirits, each man performed his part quietly and unostentatiously, without aiming to draw on himself public attention, or to place himself in a prominent light. In other cases it often appears as if the revolution were made for the man; in this, the man was made for the revolution: his individuality was lost, if we may so express it, in his nationality; the Dutchman was less a man than a Dutchman, less a Dutchman than a Hollander or Zealander; himself and his country were identified — her glory was his glory, her wealth his wealth, her greatness his greatness. This sentiment it was which rendered the Dutch so universally

incorruptible that neither during the war nor the truce, though offers and promises were never spared by Spain, do we find a single instance of a traitor of that nation bought with gold.

The reputation of their military officers was little displayed, since the stadholders, as captains-general, being constantly in the field, the credit of all the successes obtained redounded to them; but very rarely do we find their movements embarrassed, or their plans disordered, by want of capacity or promptitude in their inferiors: and the results of their operations bear



DUTCH LANDSCAPE

(From the painting by Ruysdael, 1630)

testimony that they must have been as ably carried out as skilfully combined. Their naval commanders, as their sphere of action was more extensive and independent, so their genius and ability shone out with a more marked and brilliant lustre; Heemskerk, Warmont, Heijn, Matelief, Coen, and Spilbergen are names of which any people may justly be proud. Nor was it only in profound and practical knowledge of matters relating to their profession that these great captains excelled; the admirable treaties made with the native sovereigns of India, and the advantageous terms they obtained for their merchants and factors in foreign countries, proved them no less skilled in the mysteries of political science, and the delicate and intricate subject of the commercial interests of their nation. The merchants also of Holland were as remarkable for enterprise and judgment as for integrity in the management of their commerce; nor less so for the dexterity with which they secured a footing in foreign countries, and the confidence and prudence with which, often in spite of very adverse circumstances, they contrived to retain it.

But though probity, firmness, courage, patriotism, and wisdom might have given the Dutch strength to prolong the contest, and to obtain at the end favourable terms of peace, these qualities might yet scarcely have sufficed to render them independent and powerful, had they not been favoured by

some considerable incidental advantages. Among such may be reckoned, as one of the principal, the excellence of their navy. We have shown that, at the reign of Philip III (II of Spain) the fleets of the Netherlands were able to cope with, if they did not surpass, those of any of the great powers of Europe. These fleets consisted for the most part of armed merchant ships, and of vessels of war belonging, not to the central government but to the municipal governments of the towns by which they were equipped. The breaking out of hostilities, therefore, found the Dutch prepared with a maritime force sufficient to keep the seas against the enemy. The ships merely, which were banished from the ports of England in 1572, were twenty-four in number, at that time a considerable armament; and, in the next year, the fleet of the towns of North Holland was sufficiently powerful to obtain a signal victory over that of Alva, which gave them the possession of the Zuyder Zee.

From the very early period of the war, indeed, when they were to all appearance a mere feeble band of insurgents, they were rarely worsted by the enemy in any naval encounter; and the mastery of the seas which they thus retained enabled them at all times to supply themselves with ammunition, corn, and other provisions, and to transport in safety the subsidies in money and troops afforded them by England; to prevent the conveyance of the armies from Spain by water, forcing them to undergo the tedious and difficult journey overland at an immense waste of men and money; and to hinder the passage of supplies and oblige the enemy to have recourse to themselves, drawing by this means the greater portion of the sums applied to the maintenance of the troops into their own hands. While thus benefiting by the streams that flowed from the treasury of their enemy, they were often able to drain it at its very source, by the capture of the vessels laden with the specie on which her sole dependence was placed; while the provinces themselves, trading in comparative security, collected from all parts of the world the wealth which enabled them to sustain burdens apparently so disproportioned to their strength.

The municipal system of government, which for so many centuries prevailed in the United Provinces, has been remarked upon as tending to disunion, since, attaching its subjects principally to their own town or province, it caused them sometimes to overlook, in their anxiety for its interest, the interest of the whole. But in circumstances where all were bound together by one strong tie, where the same powerful impulse directed the movements of all in unison, it went far towards rendering them invincible. The oppressor found that he had the Hydra to subdue, and that each head was imbued with the strength of the whole body. Every city was, as it were, a fresh nation to conquer.

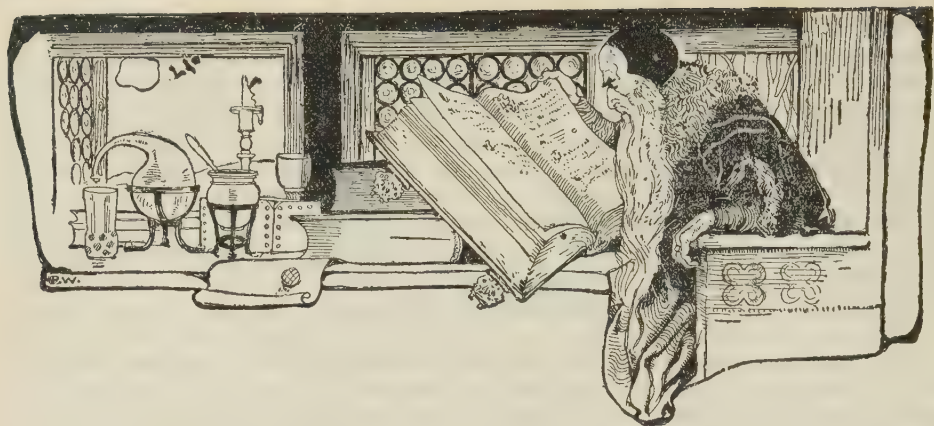
As another cause of the rapid increase of Holland has justly been adduced, the influx of multitudes of refugees of different nations who sought shelter within her boundaries. Fugitives from the Spanish Netherlands, from Spain itself, Protestants driven from Germany by the miseries of the Thirty Years' War, Jews from Portugal, and Huguenots from France, found here welcome, safety, and employment. Nor was it more in the numbers than in the sort of population she thus gained, that Holland found her advantage. The fugitives were not criminals escaped from justice, speculators lured by the hope of plunder, nor idlers coming thither to enjoy the luxuries which their own country did not afford; they were generally men persecuted on account of their love of civil liberty, or their devotion to their religious tenets; had they been content to sacrifice the one or the other to their present ease and interest

they had remained unmolested where they were; it was by their activity, integrity, and resolution that they rendered themselves obnoxious to the tyrannical and bigoted governments which drove them from their native land; and these virtues they carried with them to their adopted country, peopling it not with vagabonds or indolent voluptuaries, but with brave, intelligent, and useful citizens. Thus, not only was the waste in the population of the provinces consequent on the war rapidly supplied, but by means of the industry and skill of the new-comers their manufactures were carried to so high a pitch of perfection that, in a short time, they were able to surpass and undersell the traders of every other nation.^d

Thorold Rogers thus enthusiastically characterises the victory of the Dutch over the Spanish:

"I hold it that the revolt of the Netherlands and the success of Holland is the beginning of modern political science and of modern civilisation. It utterly repudiated the divine right of kings, and the divine authority of an Italian priest, the two most inveterate enemies which human progress has had to do battle with. At present, the king in civilised communities is the servant of the state, whose presence and influence is believed to be useful. The priest can only enjoy an authority which is voluntarily conceded to him, but has no authority over those who decline to recognise him. These two principles of civil government the Dutch were the first to affirm. The debt which rational and just government owes to the seven provinces is incalculable. To the true lover of liberty, Holland is the Holy Land of modern Europe, and should be held sacred."^g





CHAPTER XIII

SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART IN THE NETHERLANDS

NEVER, if we except the ancient Greeks, has a people restricted to so small a territory accomplished such great things in a century and a half, or given the world such illustrious examples as the Dutch. From the oldest times the struggle with the sea had strengthened the character of the peoples from the delta of the Rhine to beyond Friesland. But now, calling on the eternal rights of man, they had declared themselves free. As wise as they were brave and enduring, they took advantage of every circumstance in European politics which could be turned to their profit. The new commonwealth which they founded suggested new ideas to the statesmen and philosophers of Europe. They became the creators of a colonial system which we cannot, however, place on a par with that of the Hellenes, for it was founded solely on egoism.

The Dutch did not, like the Greeks from Cyrene, Massilia, and numerous other seaport towns, spread a beautiful and lofty civilisation from the sea inland. And yet the extended sea authority called all forces into the field, even the scientific; geography, cartography, astronomy reached a height undreamed of. The cities grew so rapidly that the Russian ambassadors who appeared in Holland in 1615 described the country even then as one continuous city. The little land could not shine by natural production: the natives, to be sure, boast that certain branches, as horticulture and the production of art works, brought large sums into the country; but it was chiefly through its industries and through its colonial organisation that Holland, even after England had begun to be a formidable rival, remained a model state until well into the eighteenth century. Even the high taxes were held to be only a sign of prosperity. The popular spirit found expression not only in festivals but also more worthily in state buildings and public institutions. In Holland, the democratic idea, which had already been proclaimed in single imperial cities and in the Hanse towns, was kept alive at just the time that the latter declined; Holland became in the north the home of the modern system of institution for the common good. The council house at Amsterdam (used as a palace by Louis Bonaparte in 1808) was

called the eighth wonder of the world; institutions for the insane and prisons arose, in which care was taken for the improvement of the inmates.

Especially creditable, and also advantageous for the states-general, was their attitude towards intellectual culture and the sciences. Like every art, so also learning and ideas of liberty in their origins were closely associated with religion. Discussions concerning subtle doctrines of faith took place in Holland at the family table and in the taverns. A translation of the Bible was undertaken by Philip van Marnix, lord of Sainte-Aldegonde; but not until 1637, at the instigation of the synod of Dort (Dordrecht), did the so-called state Bible gain official recognition.

In the year in which the Peace of Westphalia was concluded (1648) Holland received its fifth university, Harderwijk; the other four were Leyden, Franeker, Utrecht, and Groningen. In addition the *Athenæum illustré*, founded at Amsterdam in 1632, had almost the rank of a university. Leyden always held the first place, as well in mathematics, jurisprudence, and medicine as especially in philology. Holland became the chief seat of polyhistory — a new kind of learning which may be regarded as the successor of Italian humanism.

The scholars of Leyden and of other places did indeed start out in their investigation of classic authors from textual correction and from a linguistic standpoint, but they sought, above all, the realities; they tried to explain the real nature of the so-called antiquities and heaped up an enormous amount of erudition for that purpose.



GERARDUS JOHANNES VOSSIUS (1577-1649)
(The typical Dutch polyhistor, known also as "the perfect grammarian")

SPINOZA

Holland in its great century attained the highest reputation among posterity for the freedom and protection it afforded to thought. It was here that Descartes¹ and Locke developed their systems. In no other country of Europe could the great thinker Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza have shown to an after world the spectacle of an independent scholar who, bound by no religious obligations, lived for truth alone.

Spinoza, born at Amsterdam in 1632, was descended from an immigrant Portuguese Jew. He received a rabbinical education and studied ancient languages with a Dutch physician, Van den Ende. But his abandonment of their idea of God could not long remain hidden to the Jews; the formula of the Jewish ban (*cherem*) was pronounced against him, and he even received a knife wound in front of the synagogue. After that time he kept wholly aloof from the Jewish community, without formally assuming any Christian tie. He was, however, in close connection with the Arminians and

[¹ The celebrated French philosopher spent the last twenty years of his life, from 1629-1649, in Holland, and did all his important work there. John Locke spent the years 1683-1689 in voluntary exile in Holland and there wrote his "Essay concerning Human Understanding."]

occasionally urged others to attend their preaching services. He earned his living by grinding lenses, and refused a call to Heidelberg to avoid giving offence to any man. One of his most important works, the *Ethics* was not published until after his death.

The wonderful calm of his style of writing, where everything is proved mathematically, has from the first not failed to make a deep impression upon simple readers. Since Spinoza recognises only one Being, a single, unlimited, self-existing substance, in which all individual existence with its opposites is included; since this substance takes the place of God with him, there is lacking in his conception of divinity the personality which seems indispensable to most people and the likeness to man which is indispensable to mythology. Since, moreover, this universal existence moves in time and space according to immutable laws, there is no place for the freedom of will.



BARUCH SPINOZA (1632-1677)

Spinoza's conception of good and evil likewise did not fit into any current moral system. If we further take into consideration that in his states, doctrine the connection of right and might could easily be misinterpreted into an abolition of all moral obligation, we see that there were elements enough to make his whole philosophy appear objectionable for long years to come. Thus the stigma of atheism remained attached to him, whereas in reality the last axioms of his philosophy teach that the highest cognition is the knowledge of God; from this springs the highest intellectual bliss, the inward repose which comes from reflecting upon the necessity of all things; the release from the fruitless struggle with the finality of our being. The highest spiritual virtue according to him is love to God; who really loves God does not expect God to love him in return; his reward consists in the blessedness of that higher cognition.

Among the foreigners who from Holland attacked antiquated doctrines and aroused a spirit of doubt and criticism, Pierre Bayle was unquestionably the one who exercised the most direct and active influence, especially through the tireless energy by means of which he was able to create new forms of expression. In Bayle the spirit of investigation and contradiction was ever active. In the seventeenth century he was known pre-eminently as the doubter, somewhat like Hume in the eighteenth.

In the Spanish Netherlands, which remained monarchistic and Catholic, intellectual activity retreated wholly into the background during the seventeenth century. The rhetorical chambers had already been suppressed under Philip II; the sciences also could not flourish under the absolute dominion and the clerical servitude. Philip's daughter Isabella and her husband Duke Albert had patronised literature to a certain extent and had attended lectures by the celebrated philologist Lipsius. During the newly beginning seventeenth century there is no literary activity of a national character to be recorded, in the country now called Belgium; only a few Jesuits like Haschins distinguished themselves as Latin poets.^b In Holland, however, there had been a splendid efflorescence.

GOLDEN AGE OF DUTCH LITERATURE

The first writer who used the Dutch tongue with grace and precision of style was a woman and a professed opponent of Lutheranism and reformed thought. Modern Dutch literature practically begins with Anna Bijns. Against the crowd of rhetoricians and psalm-makers of the early part of the sixteenth century, she stands out in relief as the one poet of real genius. The language, oscillating before her time between French and German, formless, corrupt, and invertebrate, took shape and comeliness, which none of the male pedants could give it, from the impassioned hands of a woman. Anna Bijns, who is believed to have been born at Antwerp in 1494, was a schoolmistress at that city in her middle life and in old age she still "instructed youth in the Catholic religion." She was named "the Sappho of Brabant" and the "princess of all rhetoricians." She bent the powerful weapon of her verse against the faith and character of Luther. In Dirk Volckersten Coornhert (1522-1590) Holland for the first time produced a writer at once eager to compose in his native tongue and to employ the weapons of humanism.

Towards the end of the period of transition, Amsterdam became the centre of all literary enterprise in Holland. In 1585 two of the most important chambers of rhetoric in Flanders, the "White Lavender" and the "Fig-Tree," took flight from the south, and settled themselves in Amsterdam by the side of the "Eglantine." The last-named institution had already observed the new tendency of the age, and was prepared to encourage intellectual reform of every kind, and its influence spread through Holland and Zeeland. In Flanders, meanwhile, crushed under the yoke of Parma, literature and native thought absolutely expired.

In the chamber of the Eglantine at Amsterdam two men took a very prominent place, more by their intelligence and modern spirit than by their original genius. Hendrick Laurensen Spieghel (1549-1612) was a humanist of a type more advanced and less polemical than Coornhert.

Roemer Pieterssen Visscher (1545-1620) proceeded a step further than Spieghel in the cultivation of polite letters. He was deeply tinged with a spirit of classical learning that was much more genuine and nearer to the true antique than any that had previously been known in Holland. His own disciples called him the Dutch Martial, but he was at best little more than an amateur in poetry, although an amateur whose function it was to perceive and encourage the genius of professional writers.

The Visscher Family

Roemer Visscher stands at the threshold of the new Renaissance literature, himself practising the faded arts of the rhetoricians, but pointing by his counsel and his conversation to the naturalism of the great period. It was in the salon at Amsterdam which the beautiful daughters of Roemer Visscher formed around their father and themselves that the new school began to take form. The republic of the United Provinces, with Amsterdam at its head, had suddenly risen to the first rank among the nations of Europe, and it was under the influence of so much new emotion and brilliant ambition that the country no less suddenly asserted itself in a great school of painting and poetry. The intellect of the whole of the Low Countries was concentrated in Holland and Zeeland, while the six great universities, Leyden, Groningen, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Harderwijk, and Franeker, were enriched by a flock of learned exiles from Flanders and Brabant. It had occurred, however, to Roemer Visscher only

that the path of literary honour lay, not along the utilitarian road cut out by Maerlant and Boendale, but in the study of beauty and antiquity. In this he was curiously aided by the school of ripe and enthusiastic scholars who began to flourish at Leyden, such as Drusius, Vossius, and Hugo Grotius, who themselves wrote little in Dutch, but who chastened the style of the rising generation by insisting on a pure and liberal latinity. Out of that generation arose the greatest names in the literature of Holland — Vondel, Hooft, Cats, Huygens — in whose hands the language, so long left barbarous and neglected, took at once its highest finish and melody. By the side of this serious and æsthetic growth there is to be noticed a quickening of the broad and farcical humour which had been characteristic of the Dutch nation from its commencement.

Of the famous daughters of Roemer, two cultivated literature with marked success: Anna (1584–1651) was the author of a descriptive and didactic poem, *De Roemster van den Aemstel* (the Glory of the Aemstel), and of various miscellaneous writings; Tesselschade (1594–1649) wrote some lyrics which still place her at the head of the female poets of Holland, and she translated the great poem of Tasso. They were women of universal accomplishment, graceful manners, and singular beauty; and their company attracted to the house of Roemer Visscher all the most gifted youths of the time, several of whom were suitors, but in vain, for the hand of Anna or of Tesselschade.

Hooft and Vondel

Of this Amsterdam school, the first to emerge into public notice was Pieter Cornelissen Hooft (1581–1647). In his poetry, especially in the lyrical and pastoral verse of his youth, he is full of Italian reminiscences both of style and matter; in his noble prose work he has set himself to be a disciple of Tacitus. Mr. Motley^c has spoken of Hooft as one of the greatest historians, not merely of Holland but of Europe. His influence in purifying the language of his country and in enlarging its sphere of experience can hardly be overrated.

Very different from the long and prosperous career of Hooft was the brief, painful life of the greatest comic dramatist that Holland has produced, Gerbrand Adriaanssen Brederoo (1585–1618), the son of an Amsterdam shoemaker.

The greatest of all Dutch writers, Joost van der Vondel, was born at Cologne on the 17th of November, 1587. In 1612 he brought out his first work, *Het Pascha*, a tragedy or tragicomedy on the exodus of the children of Israel, written, like all his succeeding dramas, on the recognised Dutch plan, in alexandrines, in five acts, and with choral interludes between the acts. There is comparatively little promise in *Het Pascha*. In 1625 he published what seemed an innocent study from the antique, his tragedy of *Palamedes, or Murdered Innocence*. All Amsterdam discovered, with smothered delight, that under the name of the hero was thinly concealed the figure of Barneveld, whose execution in 1618 had been a triumph of the hated Calvinists. Thus, at the age of forty-one, the obscure Vondel became in a week the most famous writer in Holland.

A purely fortuitous circumstance led to the next great triumph in Vondel's slowly developing career. The Dutch Academy, founded in 1617, almost wholly as a dramatic guild, had become so inadequately provided with stage accommodation that in 1638, having coalesced with the two chambers of the "Eglantine" and the "White Lavender," it ventured on the erection of a large

public theatre, the first in Amsterdam. Vondel, as the greatest poet of the day, was invited to write a piece for the first night; on the 3rd of January, 1638, the theatre was opened with the performance of a new tragedy out of early Dutch history, the famous *Gysbreght van Aemstel*. The next ten years were rich in dramatic work from Vondel's hand. In 1654, having already attained an age at which poetical production is usually discontinued by the most energetic of poets, he brought out the most exalted and sublime of all his works, the tragedy of *Lucifer*.¹ Very late in life, through no fault of his own, financial ruin fell on the aged poet, and from 1658 to 1668 — that is, from his seventieth to his eightieth year — this venerable and illustrious person, the main literary glory of Holland through her whole history, was forced to earn his bread as a common clerk in a bank, miserably paid, and accused of wasting his masters' time by the writing of verses.

Vondel is the typical example of Dutch intelligence and imagination at their highest development. Not merely is he to Holland all that Camoens is to Portugal and Mickiewicz to Poland, but he stands on a level with these men in the positive value of his writings.

Cats and Huygens

While the genius of Holland clustered around the circle of Amsterdam, a school of scarcely less brilliance arose in Middelburg, the capital of Zeeland. The ruling spirit of this school was the famous Jakob Cats (1577–1660). In this voluminous writer, to whom modern criticism almost denies the name of poet, the genuine Dutch habit of thought, the utilitarian and didactic spirit which we have already observed in Houwaert and in Boendale, reached its zenith of fluency and popularity.

A poet of dignified imagination and versatile form was Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) the diplomatist. Though born and educated at the Hague, he threw in his lot with the great school of Amsterdam, and became the intimate friend and companion of Vondel, Hooft, and the daughters of Roemer Visser. His famous poem in praise of the Hague, *Batava Tempe*, appeared in 1621, and was, from a technical point of view the most accomplished and elegant poem till that time produced in Holland. Huygens represents the direction in which it would have been desirable that Dutch literature, now completely founded by Hooft and Vondel, should forthwith proceed, while Cats represents the tame and mundane spirit which was actually adopted by the nation. Huygens had little of the sweetness of Hooft or of the sublimity of Vondel, but his genius was eminently bright and vivacious, and he was a consummate artist in metrical form. The Dutch language has never proved so light and supple in any hands as in his, and he attempted no class of writing, whether in prose or verse, that he did not adorn by his delicate taste and sound judgment.

Three Dutchmen of the seventeenth century distinguished themselves very prominently in the movement of learning and philosophic thought, but the illustrious names of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) can scarcely be said to belong to Dutch literature, since they wrote in Latin. Balthazar Bekker (1634–1698), on the contrary, was a disciple of Descartes, who deserves to be remembered as the greatest philosophical writer who has used the Dutch language.^d

[¹ This great work bears so much similarity to a greater work, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, that it is frequently stated that Milton must have been acquainted with it. Milton's poem was begun in 1655, and finished in 1667.]

Hugo Grotius

In the annals of precocious genius there is no greater prodigy on record than Hugo Grotius [in Dutch, Huig de Groot], who was able to make good Latin verses at nine, was ripe for the university at twelve, and at fifteen edited the encyclopædic work of Martianus Capella. At Leyden he was much noticed by J. J. Scaliger, whose habit it was to engage his young friends in the editing of some classical text, less for the sake of the book so produced

than as a valuable education for themselves. At fifteen Grotius accompanied Count Justin of Nassau and the grand pensionary Olden-Barneveld on their special embassy to the court of France. After a year profitably spent in that country in acquiring the language and making acquaintance with the leading men, Grotius returned home. He took the degree of doctor of law at Leyden, and entered on practice as an advocate.

Grotius vied with the latinists of his day in the composition of Latin verses. Some lines on the siege of Ostend were greatly admired, and spread his fame beyond the circle of the learned. He wrote three dramas in Latin: *Christus Patiens*; *Sophomphaneas*, on the story of Joseph and his brethren; and *Adamus Exul*, a production which



HUGO GROTIUS (1583-1645)

is still remembered as having given hints to Milton. In 1603 the United Provinces, desiring to transmit to posterity some account of their struggle with Spain, determined to appoint a historiographer. Several candidates appeared, Dominicus Bandius among them. But the choice of the states fell upon Grotius, though only twenty years of age, and not having offered himself for the post.

His next preferment was that of advocate-general of the fisc for the provinces of Holland and Zealand. He had already passed from occupation with the classics to studies more immediately connected with his profession. In the winter of 1604 he composed a treatise entitled *De jure prædæ*. This treatise he did not publish, and the MS. of it remained unknown to all the biographers of Grotius till 1868, when it was brought to light, and printed at the Hague under the auspices of Professor Fruin. It discovers to us that

the principles and the plan of the celebrated *De jure belli*, which was not composed till 1625, more than twenty years after, had already been conceived by a youth of twenty-one.

A short treatise which was printed in 1609, Grotius says without his permission, under the title of *Mare Liberum*, is nothing more than a chapter (the twelfth) of the *De jure prædæ*. It was necessary to Grotius's defence of Heemskerk that he should show that the Portuguese pretence that Eastern waters were their private property was untenable. Grotius maintains that the ocean is free to all, and cannot be appropriated by any one nation. Many years afterwards the jealousies between England and Holland gave importance to the novel doctrine broached in the tract by Grotius, a doctrine which Selden set himself to refute in his *Mare clausum* (1632).

In June, 1619, Grotius, as we have seen, was immured in the fortress of Loevestein, near Gorkum. He had now before him, at thirty-six, no prospect but that of a lifelong captivity. He did not abandon himself to despair, but sought refuge in returning to the classical pursuits of his youth.

The address and ingenuity of Madame Grotius at length devised a mode of escape. His first place of refuge was Antwerp, from which he proceeded to Paris, where he arrived in April, 1621. In October he was joined by his wife. There he was presented to the king, Louis XIII, and a pension of 3,000 livres conferred upon him. French pensions were easily granted, all the more so as they were never paid.

In March, 1625, the printing of the *De jure belli*, which had taken four months, was completed. But though his book brought him no profit it brought him reputation, so widely spread and of such long endurance as no other legal treatise has ever enjoyed.

As in many other points Grotius inevitably recalls to us Erasmus, so he does in his attitude towards the great schism. Grotius was indeed a man of profound religious sentiment, which Erasmus was not; but he had an indifference to dogma equal to that of Erasmus, although his disregard sprang from another source. Erasmus felt the contempt of a man of letters for the barbarous dissonance of the monkish wrangle. Grotius was animated by an ardent desire for peace and concord. He thought that a basis for reconciliation of Protestant and Catholic might be found in a common piety, combined with reticence upon discrepancies of doctrinal statement. His *De veritate religionis Christianæ* (1627), a presentment of the evidences, is so written as to form a code of common Christianity, irrespective of sect. The little treatise diffused itself rapidly over Christendom, gaining rather than losing popularity in the eighteenth century. It became the classical manual of apologetics in Protestant colleges, and was translated for missionary purposes into Arabic (by Pocock, 1660), Persian, Chinese, etc.

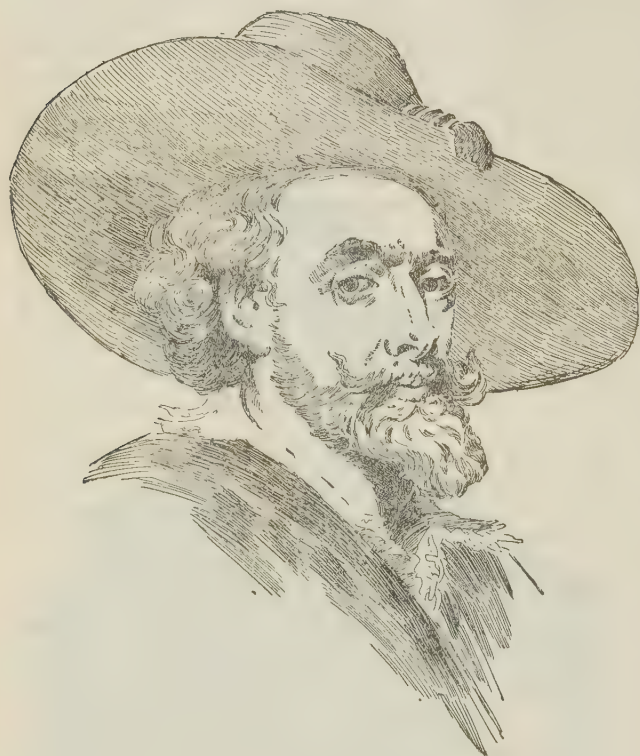
Grotius was a great jurist, and his *De jure belli et pacis* (Paris, 1625), though not by any means the first attempt in modern times to ascertain the principles of jurisprudence, went far more fundamentally into the discussion than anyone had done before him. It is in the larger questions to which he opened the way that the merit of Grotius consists. His was the first attempt to obtain a principle of right, and a basis for society and government, outside the church or the Bible. The distinction between religion on the one hand and law and morality on the other is not indeed clearly conceived by Grotius, but he wrestles with it in such a way as to make it easy for those who followed him to seize it: The law of nature is unalterable: God himself cannot alter it any more than he can alter a mathematical axiom. This law has its source in the nature of man as a social being; it would be

valid even were there no God, or if God did not interfere in the government of the world.

These positions, though Grotius' religious temper did not allow him to rely unreservedly upon them, yet, even in the partial application they find in his book, entitle him to the honour of being held the founder of the modern

science of the law of nature and nations. The *De jure* exerted little influence on the practice of belligerents, yet its publication was an epoch in the science. Mackintosh^e affirmed that his work is "perhaps the most complete that the world has yet owed, at so early a stage in the progress of any science, to the genius and learning of one man."ⁱ

From 1600 to 1650 was the blossoming time in Dutch literature. During this period the names of greatest genius were first made known to the public, and the vigour and grace of literary expression reached their highest development. It happened, however, that three men of particularly commanding talent survived to an ex-



PETER PAUL RUBENS

(1577-1640)

treme old age, and under the shadow of Vondel, Cats, and Huygens there sprang up a new generation which sustained the great tradition until about 1680, when the final decline set in.^d

TAINÉ ON FLEMISH ART

There are moments in the history of a nation when it resembles Christ transported by Satan to the mountain top; it becomes necessary for it to choose between the higher ideal and the lower. In the case of the Netherlands the tempter was Philip II with his army; put to the same test, the people of the North and the people of the South differed decidedly, following the slight differences of make-up and character. The choice once made, these differences increased, exaggerated by the result of the situation they had produced. The two peoples were two almost similar varieties of the same species; they became two distinct species. There always exist moral as well as physical

types; their origin is the same, but as they develop they vary and this variation is the birth of their separate existence.

After the separation, when the southern provinces became Belgium, the predominating idea was a need of peace and well-being, a disposition to accept existence comfortably and mirthfully — in a word, the spirit of Teniers, the state of mind that can laugh and sing, smoke a good pipe, quaff a good beer in a bare tavern, a dilapidated cottage, or on a wooden bench. In fact, it was now possible to sleep in beds, to amass provision, to enjoy work, travel, converse, live without fear; one had a house, a country: the future opened up. All the ordinary affairs of life took on interest; the people felt the resurrection and seemed to live for the first time. It is under such conditions that the arts and literature are born. The great shock undergone had broken the uniform glazing that tradition and custom had spread over everything. Man now occupied the centre of things; the essential traits of his nature, transformed and renewed, were grasped; the mind was as Adam's at his awakening. Later was to come the refining and weakening; at this moment the conception of things was large and simple. Man was competent because he was born in a period of disintegration and raised in the midst of naked tragedy; like Victor Hugo and George Sand, Rubens as a child was in exile, near his imprisoned father, and heard on all sides the din of tempests and ruin.

After the generation of activity which had suffered and created came the poetic generation which expressed itself in literature and the arts. It explained and amplified the desires and energies of the world founded by its fathers. This was the cause of Flemish art glorifying in heroic types the sensual instincts, the coarse enjoyments, the rude energy of the surrounding souls, and the finding in the tavern of Teniers the heaven of Rubens.

Peter Paul Rubens

Among the painters was one who stood out from all the others. This was Peter Paul Rubens.¹

Rubens was not an isolated genius, and the resemblance of the works of the painters of his period to his, shows that the tree of which he was the most splendid shoot was the product of his nation and his epoch. Before him came his master Adam van Noort and the master of Jordaens; around him his contemporaries educated in other studios, and whose creative faculties were as great as his — Jordaens, Crayer, Gerard Zeghers, Rombouts, Abraham Janssens, Van Roose; after him his pupils — Van Thulden, Diepenbeck, Van den Hoecke, Cornelius Schut, Boyermans, Vandyke greatest of them all; and Jakob van Oost of Bruges; the great animal and still-life painters Snyder, Jan Fyt, the Jesuit Seghers: the same sap gave sustenance to all these branches, the large and small alike.

In Belgium as in Italy the religion consisted in rites: Rubens went to mass in the mornings and gave a picture to obtain indulgences; after which

[¹ His father, a legal scholar and lay assessor of Antwerp, had fled to Cologne, and it is generally supposed that Rubens was born there, or, as has been latterly stated, at Siegen. In his tenth year his mother brought him to Antwerp. In 1600 he went to Italy, received from the duke of Mantua the title of court equerry, and was sent by him to Madrid. After 1608 Antwerp became his home; Duke Albert appointed him to be court painter. Yet at one time he accepted commissions in Paris for a considerable period, and then sold his art collection to the duke of Buckingham for 100,000 guildens. In 1629 he took part in the peace negotiations between Spain and England, for which Charles I gave him a golden chain with his picture. Rubens lived the life of a great lord, and had many paintings executed after his sketches by numerous pupils. He died at Antwerp in 1640.^b]

he would return to the poetic feeling of his daily existence, and paint in the same style a Magdalene overflowing with repentance or a corpulent siren. Aside from this his art is truly Flemish; it is harmonious, spontaneous, original, in this being distinct from the preceding period, which was but a discordant imitation. From Greece to Florence, from Florence to Venice, from Venice to Antwerp, one can follow all the steps of passage. The conception of man and life lost in nobleness and gained in breadth.

Rubens is to Titian what Titian is to Raphael and what Raphael is to Phidias. Never has the artistic sympathy grasped nature with so frank and general an embrace. The ancient landmarks, already so often pushed back, seemed to be entirely destroyed in order to open an infinite course. The historic laws were disregarded; he put together allegorical and realistic

figures, cardinals and a nude Mercury. So with the moral laws: he introduced into the ideal, mythological, and evangelistic heaven brutal or malignant figures — a Magdalene who is a nurse, a Ceres who whispers a joke into her neighbour's ear. He did not fear shocking the physical sensibilities; he went to the limit of the horrible, through all the tortures of suffering flesh and all the thrill of agonised screams. He did not shrink from shocking the moral sense; he represents Minerva as a shrew who lashes herself into a fury, Judith as a butcher accustomed to blood, Paris as a scoffer and an amateur epicure. To describe the impression given by his Susannas, Magdalenes, his Saint Sebastians, his graces, his sirens, his great kirmesses of divinity and humanity, ideal or realistic, Christian or pagan, would require the words of a Rabelais.



ADAM VAN NOORT (1557-1641)

(Rubens' first master)

With him all the animal instincts enter upon the scene. He fails in nothing except the very pure and idealistic; he has under the control of his brush all human nature save the highest plane. This is the reason that his creations are the most numerous ever seen and that they include all types: Italian cardinals, Roman emperors, contemporary nobles, bourgeois, peasants, cowherds, with the innumerable variations that the play of nature creates in these types; and more than fifteen hundred pictures have failed to exhaust his creative faculties.

For the same reason, in representing the human body, he more than anyone has understood it; in this he surpasses the Venetians as they surpassed the Florentines; he feels even more than they that the flesh is a substance that is constantly renewing itself. This is why no one has surpassed him in rendering contrasts, or in showing so visibly the destruction and the blooming of life: sometimes it is death — heavy, flabby, without blood or substance, pale, bluish, drawn with suffering, a clot of blood at the mouth, the eyes glazed, feet and hands corpse-like, swollen, and deformed; at other times the freshness of the living flesh tints, the young athlete, blooming and radiant, the easy flexibility of his torso acting in a youthful body well nourished, the cheeks smooth and rosy; the placid frankness of a maiden

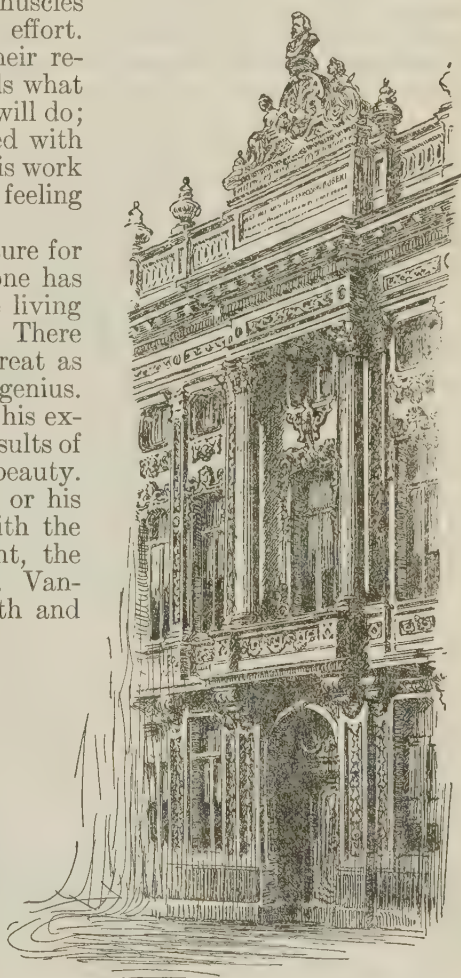
in whom no harmful thought has ever quickened the pulse or dulled the eye; the groups of chubby cherubims and trifling cupids, the delicacy, the pucker, the delicious under rose-glow of the child-skin like the wet petal of a rose impregnated by the light of dawn. No one has given to figures such an impulse, gestures so impetuous, motion so furious and with so much abandon, so great and general a movement of muscles swollen and twisted in one great effort. His characters are speaking, even their repose is on the edge of action; one feels what they wish to do and that which they will do; the present with them is impregnated with the past and full of the future. In his work most subtle and fine distinctions of feeling are found.

In this respect Rubens is a treasure for the novelist and psychologist; no one has gone further in the knowledge of the living organisation of the human animal. There is but one Rubens in Flanders. Great as were the others they lack some of his genius. Crayer has neither his audacity nor his excess; he painted, with the delicate results of fresh soft colouring, a quiet happy beauty. Jordaens has not his royal grandeur or his fund of heroic poetry; he painted with the wine colouring of the thick-set giant, the packed crowds, the plebeian roisterers. Vandyke even had not his love of strength and life for itself.^g

Fromentin's Estimate of Vandyke

With his many works, his immortal portraits, his soul capable of the finest sensations, his individual style, his distinguished personality, his taste, his standard and charm in all he touched, one asks what Vandyke¹ would have been without Rubens.

How would he have seen nature, how conceived painting? What palette would he have created — what model would he have chosen? What laws of colour would he have laid down — what poetry have accepted? Would he have leaned to the Italian schools? If the revolution made by Rubens had been later, or had never been, what would have happened to the followers for whom he prepared the way — all his gifted scholars, and particularly Vandyke the most gifted of all? Take away from them the influence, direct



RUBENS' HOUSE IN ANTWERP

[¹ Born at Antwerp in 1599, educated at the school founded by Rubens in Belgium. Vandyke went himself to drink from the fertile and living source open by the Italian masters in the sixteenth century. He took this voyage in 1620, and returned in 1626. During this period he visited all the great art centres of Italy and studied seriously. While studying all the great masters, it was Titian whom he chose as a model. In 1632 he was knighted by Charles I, and lived in England as court painter till his death in 1641 at London.^h]

or indirect, of Rubens, and imagine what is left to these luminous satellites. There is always more sentiment, and profound sentiment, in the refined Vandyke than in Rubens. Yet is this certain, or is it an affair of differences of temperament? Between these two souls, so unequal in other things also, there was a feminine influence, first of all a difference of sex. Vandyke made slender the statues that Rubens made heavy; he put less muscle, bone, and blood. He was more quiet, never brutal; his conceptions were not so vulgar; he laughed less, felt compassion often, but did not know the great sob of the more passionate temperament. He often corrected the unevenness of

his master; he was easy in his work because with him his talent was wonderfully natural; he is free, active, but never loses himself.

He was twenty-four years younger than Rubens; he belongs not at all to the sixteenth century but entirely to the generation of the seventeenth. This one feels physically and morally, in the man and in the painter, in his own well-cut features and in his choice of beautiful faces; and most of all is this felt in his portraits. In this regard he is wonderfully in touch with the world, his world and the world of the period. Never having created one set type which would blind him to the truth, he was exact, correct, and saw the right likeness. Perhaps he put into all his portraits something of his own graceful personality — an air more noble, a finer bearing, more beautiful hands; in any case he knew better than



* RUBENS AND HIS WIFE. AFTER HIS OWN PAINTING, SHOWING EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ARISTOCRATIC COSTUME

his master the proper adjustment, the things of his world, and had taste in the painting of silks, satins, ribbons, plumes, and swords.

His were not chevaliers but cavaliers. The men of war had forsaken their armours and helmets; these were courtiers in unbuttoned doublets, floating laces, silk shoes, knee-breeches, all the fashions and customs which were familiar to him and which he better than anyone else knew how to reproduce in the perfection of their worldliness. With his manner, in his line, by the unique conformity of his nature with his times he occupied a high place in the world of art. His Charles I, in its perfect understanding of the model and subject, the easiness of style and its nobility, the beauty of the whole

work, the drawing of the face, the colouring, the wonderful technique, bears comparison with the highest achievements.

He created in his country an original style, and consequently he is a factor in the new school of art. He also had a foreign following: Reynolds, Lawrence, Gainsborough, in fact almost all the genre painters who were faithful to English traditions and the strongest landscape painters, are the result of Vandyke, and indirectly of Rubens through Vandyke. Posterity, always just in its decisions, has given to Vandyke a place of his own, between the greatest and the next rank. After his death, as during his life, he seems to have stood near the throne and to have held well his position there.^h

David Teniers

David Teniers the Younger, the son of an able painter of the same name, was born at Antwerp in 1610. He is especially noteworthy because in his choice of subjects he took the road which led the Dutch to their peculiar greatness. It is significant that Louis XIV would not hear of him; but Duke Leopold William made him inspector of his picture gallery, which was afterwards taken to Vienna.

Teniers even became rich so that at his castle of the Three Towers (Dry Toren) at Lereck, not far from Brussels, he gathered the scholars and artists of Belgium about him like a princely Mæcenas. He died at Brussels in 1685. He liked to paint contented people in modest circumstances, peasant dances, card players, bowlers, and fairs; his figures, even those of youths and maidens, he reproduces without any idealisation as the national style demanded. He has fantastic representations of an alchemist in a room crowded full of peculiar apparatus; also St. Anthony tempted with visions by the devil.

DUTCH ART

In Holland, however, there was developed a new school of art, which cut itself loose from all symbolic restrictions and apparently even from all idealism; but which in compensation obtained new and unsuspected charm and deep sentiment out of human life and external nature. It should be remembered, on the one hand, that a certain sense of droll humour always existed in the Netherlands and that it was there that the fable of Reynard was developed in which the human traits of animals are shown in their life. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that in the seventeenth century philosophers and naturalists attempted to investigate objects as they actually exist without any preconceived opinions and that at the same time the English drama represented the impulses of humanity with living, objective, reality and without regard for time, manner, or position. Human existence develops its innermost pulsebeats and the external world its most intimate traits, in an environment which in antiquity and in the early Middle Ages was seldom handled poetically and even less often artistically.^b

Taine's estimate of Rembrandt

One of the greatest merits of the Dutch school is its colouring. This was the result of the natural training of the eye. This country, a great alluvial tract of land, like that of the Po, with its rivers, canals, and humid atmosphere, resembled Venice. Here, as in Venice, nature made colourists of men. In Italy a tone remains the same; in the Netherlands it varies

incessantly with the variations of the light and ambient mists. At times full light strikes an object: it is not usual, and the green stretch of country, the red roofs, the varnished façades, the satiny flesh or flush stand out with extraordinary distinctness. At other times the light is dull; this is the usual condition in Holland, and objects scarcely show, almost losing themselves in the shadows. The eye becoming accustomed to this obscure light, the painter instead of using his whole scale of colours employs but the beginning of that scale; all his picture is in shade save one point. He gives us a continuous low-keyed concert broken sometimes by a brilliant burst of sound. In this way he discovers unknown harmonies, all those of obscure light, all



REMBRANDT VAN RIJN (1607-1669)

(Portrait drawn by himself)

those of the soul, harmonies infinite and penetrating; with a daub of dirty yellow, of wine dregs, of mixed grey, of vague blacks, in the midst of which is placed a dash of life, he stirs the farthest depths of our souls. This is the last great creation in the art of painting; it is in this style that to-day the painter speaks most effectively to the modern soul, and such was the colour that the light of Holland furnished to the genius of Rembrandt.

Among all the Dutch painters Rembrandt Van Rijn (1607-1669) through his wonderfully trained eye and an extraordinary almost savage genius, went ahead of his nation and century, and grasped the common instincts which

unite the Germanic races and lead to modern ideas. This man, collector, recluse, drawn along by the development of a mighty power, lived as Balzac did, a magician and a visionary, in a world of his own to the door of which he alone held the key. Superior to all other painters in the fineness and natural acuteness of his impressions, he understood and followed in all its consequences the great truth that for the eye all the essence of a visible object is in a spot, that the simplest colour is infinitely complex, that all visual sensation is the outcome of its own elements and the outside surroundings, that every seen object is but a spot modified by other spots, and that therefore the principal element of a picture is the coloured vibrating atmosphere in which the figures are plunged as fish in a sea. He rendered this atmosphere palpable, filled with mysterious life; he has put into it the light of his country, that light dull and yellowish like that of a lamp in the depths of a cave; he felt its pitiful struggle with the shadow, the weakness of the rays that died away into the depths, the trembling of the reflections that clung to the shining walls and all the vague population of the half-shadows, which, invisible to

the ordinary observer, seem in his pictures and etchings like a submarine world viewed across an abyss of waters. From out of this obscurity, the full light for his eyes was a dazzling shower; he felt it as a flash of lightning, a magic illumination, or a bundle of arrows. Thus he found in the inanimate world the most complete and expressive drama, all the contrasts, all the conflicts, all that is most oppressive and most lugubrious in the night, that which is most elusive and most melancholy in ambiguous shadows, that which is most violent and irresistible in the breaking forth of day. This done, he had but to pose in the midst of the natural drama, his human drama; a theatre so constructed gave birth to its own characters.

The Greeks and Italians knew man and life in their most correct and highest paths, the healthy flower that blossoms in the light; Rembrandt saw far back to the source, all that goes down and moulds in the shadows; the obscure paupers, the Jews of Amsterdam, the deformed and stunted, the begrimed suffering populace of a large city and a bad climate, the crooked, the bald head of the old decrepit artisan, faces with the paleness of ill-health, all the mass of humanity alive with evil passions and hideous miseries which multiply in our civilisation like worms in a rotten tree.

Once started on this road he was able to understand the religion of sorrow, the true Christianity, to interpret the Bible as a Lollard would have done, to find again the eternal Christ. He himself as a result was capable of feeling pity; in contrast with his conservative and aristocratic contemporaries, he was of the people; at least he is the most human of them all: his sympathies, more broad, embrace nature in its entirety; no ugliness was repugnant to him and no appearance of joy or nobility hid from him the reality that lay beneath. Thus, untrammelled and guided by his fine sensibility, his interpretation of humanity not only includes the general framework and the abstract type which suffices for classical art, but also the peculiarities and depth of the individual, the infinite complexity and indefinable traits of the moral character, all this moving picture which concentrates in a human face in a single moment the life history of a soul, and which has been seen clearly by only one other man — Shakespeare. In this he is the most original of the modern artists and has forged one end of a chain the other end of which was made by the Greeks; all the other great masters lie between, and when to-day our over-excited sentiment, our insatiable curiosity in the pursuit of fine distinctions, our pitiless search after the truth, our divination of the remote characteristics and under-currents of human nature seek for precursors and masters, it is in Rembrandt and Shakespeare that Balzac and Delacroix would find them.

Fromentin's Estimate of Frans Hals

It is at Haarlem that one best sees Frans Hals (1584-1666). Here as elsewhere in the French galleries and other Dutch galleries, the idea one receives of this brilliant master is that he is unequal although seductive, amiable, spiritual, neither true nor equitable. The man loses what the artist gains. He astonishes, amuses. With his quickness, his wonderful good nature, his tricks of technique, he separates himself by his joking of mind and hand from the severe atmosphere of the painters of his time. Sometimes he astounds; he gives the impression that he is wise as well as highly gifted, and that his irresistible humour is but the happy grace of great genius; then almost immediately he compromises himself, discredits himself and discourages one. To-day the name of Hals reappears in our modern school at the moment when

the love of realism enters with great noise and not less excess. His method has served as precedent to certain theories in virtue of which the most vulgar realism is wrongly taken for the truth. To invoke in support of this the works which he flatly contradicted in his best moods is a mistake and but injures him.

In the large hall of Haarlem which contains many of his works, Frans Hals has eight large canvases. These pictures cover the whole period of his work. The first (1616) was painted at the age of thirty-two, the last, in 1664, two years before his death, at the advanced age of eighty. In these works one sees his debut, his growth, and his searching for the way. He arrived at his zenith late, toward middle age, even a little later; his strongest work and development was in his old age.^h

Public Paintings.

The most interesting pictures are those which, in expressive groups, represent the public life of the Netherlands as it flourished under the influence of civil and religious freedom. Holland has had no poet to immortalise its growth, like Æschylus in the *Persians* or Shakespeare in his historical dramas; on the other hand the native civic life, elevated by culture, appears before us strong and cheerful. Pictures were banished from the Reformed church, and it cannot be denied that from now on public taste was largely influenced by the needs of private ownership. Nevertheless the halls of the council houses, of the guilds, also of the universities provided exhibition room, although for commemorative pictures of monumental importance. After the independence of the United Provinces had been recognised by the Peace of Westphalia, the festivities which greeted this event at home were preserved in animated paintings, some of which are groups of portraits. Among these is the *Banquet* at Amsterdam (in the museum of that place) by Bartholomeus van der Helst, a work of the first rank; the strong, cheerful faces around the richly spread table, in the midst the captain with the city banner, show at once that the scene is taken from a flourishing state life. By the same painter is the *Distribution of Prizes by the Amsterdam Rifle Corps* (now in the Louvre). Rembrandt himself represents the departure of the sharpshooters from Amsterdam under the leadership of Captain Korn, in that splendid colour picture which is often incorrectly called the *Night Watch*.

In the *Hospital for Lepers*, Amsterdam had a group picture by Ferdinand Bol of Dordrecht, one of Rembrandt's best pupils, which portrays the five directors of the hospital as they are receiving a poor peasant boy. We should also mention Rembrandt's *Anatomy*, celebrated for its wonderful colouring, which shows Professor Tulp as he explains a dead body to his pupils.

Terburg and Other Painters of the Dutch School

Since in such pictures portraits are grouped in one scene or action, they take the form of representations of actual life, of so called *genre* pictures. We use the word without here investigating its origin. Even many a picture from the Old and New Testaments is turned into a family or street scene in the Dutch treatment. When Teniers paints the liberation of Peter, our gaze lingers in the foreground where the guards who should be watching the apostle are playing at dice while he escapes. In the same way in the old German or Dutch passion-plays we find scenes introduced where a peddler is offering his salves for sale and Mary Magdalene is bargaining with him.

It is of great importance, however, that the Dutch painting applies itself to the reproduction of actual life with as much skill as affection, that it makes a

scene of most intimate family associations into a work of art and increases its value by the perfection of the style. One paints persons of the lower classes in quiet situations, represents a drinker, a soldier smoking, a cook at her work, with all the contentment of unaffected existence; another prefers animated scenes, disputes, even brawls in a tavern. But the life of the higher classes in its more dignified attitude likewise finds perfect expression, whereby the highest art is manifested in silken garments, draperies, ornaments, just as in the earthen pitchers or the dully lighted-up wooden benches of the former class.

Terburg, Van Ostade, and Steen

Here we must mention Terburg, who shows us scenes from the higher classes of society painted with great delicacy and spirit; his pictures and others like them have not unjustly been called novelistic. Adrian van Ostade, who likes to paint comfortable scenes in peasant homes with admirable use of hearth and chimney-fire effects, was born at Lübeck; like various other Germans who were either educated in Holland or else assimilated the Dutch style by long residence in the country, he is reckoned among the painters of the Netherlands, as is also Balt-hasar Denner of Hamburg, who was so opposed to a smooth and elegant style of representation that he of a preference painted old men and women and most carefully supplied their faces with all the natural wrinkles, hairs, and warts. Gaspar Netscher from Heidelberg is distinguished for his society pictures and is unexcelled in the reproduction of costly stuffs (died 1684).



FRANS VAN MIERIS (1635-1681)

A real Hollander, however, was Jan Steen of Delft, who was himself an innkeeper for a time and reproduces jovial scenes from tavern life as well as cozy family pictures, with a masterful gift of observation and splendid execution; no painter excels him in the complete unaffectedness with which his characters seem to act in the situation he portrays. Steen died in 1679 in bitter poverty. Less realistic in his choice of quiet scenes is Gerard Dow [Douw], who is extremely exact and painstaking in his treatment. Close to him in the minute execution of detail stand his pupils Frans van Mieris and Gabriel Metz u of Leyden.

Landscape, Still Life, and Animal Painters

Landscape painting first began with the putting of objects like woods, hills, towers, and bridges into the background of religious pictures instead of painting them on a gold ground. These beginnings hardly give an inkling of the deep importance which this branch of art, as it was developed in the Netherlands, was to have in the future. Landscape painting clothes the objects of external nature with character and tone; in forest and meadow, on

the strand of the sea, by the clear light of day, by twilight and moonlight, it coaxes from nature those motives which appeal to human sentiment.

The greatest Dutch master in this field is Jakob Ruysdael of Holland, whose composition is especially happy in the treatment of woods and water and in such subjects as impress by a feeling of solitude. During the last decades it has become customary to put Meyndert Hobbema, who was formerly little known, on a level with him. In this field, as also in that of the genre painting, each painter chooses his own narrow sphere. Only through the most extreme care and technical finish could they attain that perfection of art which makes so-called cabinet pieces of their works, which in our day are the joy of art lovers. New schools arise in marine and in animal pictures. The monumental demand, consideration of church and council-house, retreat into the back ground; the artists work solely for private ownership; their works are reviewed and compared.

Only thus could the branch of still-life painting come into existence, which shows lifeless objects, table appointments and goblets, dead game, flowers, and fruit; it is effective through its pleasing combination of colour and acquires a special life of its own by affording a glimpse into a wealthy or luxurious existence. Whereas in the older periods of art, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Albrecht Dürer had achieved great things in several fields at once and had besides comprehended in spirit the knowledge and researches of their times, we now see single masters restrict themselves to an extremely narrow sphere in order there to claim complete mastery. The number of good painters brought forth by Holland in the seventeenth century is almost incalculable. But one (Schalcken) paints only small groups lighted by candle-light; another only the interior of churches; Pieter Wouverman, the unsurpassed horse painter, does indeed also paint hunting scenes, fairs, and the meeting of cavaliers and is likewise great in landscape. In the pictures of Paul Potter, who lived to be only twenty-nine years old, the faithfulness to life of his stalled animals, cows, and sheep astonishes us.

Johann Heinrich Roos, who was born in the Palatinate and died at Frankfurt, likewise devoted his attention to animals; Frans Snyders of Antwerp acquired a reputation for his hunting scenes. Art drew nature and human life in its most varied scenes within its realm. It was long before it began to be felt that a one-sided cultivation of perfection leads to tedium.^b

DECLINE OF DUTCH ART

Such a period of bloom is necessarily but temporary, for the sap which produced it is expended in the production. Towards 1667, after the naval defeats of the English, slight indications showed the alteration in the customs and feeling which had given rise to the national art. The well-being was too great. The India companies paid a dividend of 45 per cent. The heroes became bourgeois. They desired enjoyment, and the houses of the great, which the Venetian ambassadors in the commencement of the century found so simple and bare, became luxurious; in the homes of the prominent bourgeois, tapestries, priceless pictures, and vessels of gold and silver were to be found. The rich interiors of Terburg and Metzger show us new elegance, robes of pale silks, velvet jackets, jewels, pearls, hangings embossed with gold, high mantels of marble. The old activity relaxed.

When Louis XIV in 1672 invaded the country he found no resistance. With this declining of national energy declined the arts; taste altered. In 1669, Rembrandt died in poverty, forgotten by almost all; the new element of

luxury took its models from foreigners in France and Italy. Already, during the flourishing period, many painters had gone to Rome to paint figures and landscapes; Jan Both, Berghem, Karel Dujardin, twenty others, Wouverman himself, formed side by side with the national school a semi-Italian school; but this school was natural and spontaneous; among the mountains, the ruins, the fabrics, and the rags, from beyond the mountains, the mistiness of the air, the well-being of the figures, the softness of the reds, the gaiety and humour of the painter had marked the tenacity of instinct of the Hollander. Now on the contrary these national characteristics begin to disappear before the invasion of fashion. On the Kaisergracht and on the Heeregracht sprung up great hôtels in the Louis XIV style. Gerard de Lairesse, a Flemish painter, founder of the Academy, commenced to decorate them with his learned allegories and his mythological hybrids.

True, the national art did not disappear immediately; it survived by a series of chefs d'œuvre until the early years of the eighteenth century; at the same time the national sentiment, awakened by its humiliation and danger, provoked a popular revolution, heroic sacrifices, the inundation of the country, and all the successes which followed. During the war of the Succession in Spain, Holland, when the stadholder had become king of England, was sacrificed to the allies; after the treaty of 1713 she lost her supremacy on the sea, fell to the second class, and then still lower; soon Frederick the Great was to say of her that she was towed by the English as a fishing boat is towed by a liner. France trampled upon her during the war of the Austrian Succession; later England imposed on her the right of visitation and took away from her the Coromandel coast. Finally Prussia overwhelmed her republican party and established the stadholderate. Following the fate of the weak, she was roughly treated by the strong, and after 1789 conquered and reconquered. The result was fatal; she resigned herself to her fate and was content to become a good commercial and banking country. Herein is the cause of the disappearance of creative art with the disappearance of practical energy.

Ten years after the commencement of the eighteenth century, all the great painters are dead. For a century the decadence in art had shown itself by a poorer style, a restrained imagination, and the minute finish found in the works of Frans van Mieris, Schaleken, and others. One of the last, Adrian van der Werf, by his painting cold and polished, by his creamy reds, by his weak return to the Italian style, showed that the Dutch had forgotten their native taste and their proper genius. His successors resemble the man who would speak but has nothing to say; the pupils of the masters or of illustrious fathers, Pieter van der Werf, Hendri van Limboech, Philip van Dyck, Mieris the son, Mieris the grand-son, Nicholas Verkolie, Constantin Netscher, but repeat automatically the phrases they have heard. Talent survived only in the genre painting of Jacob de Witt, Rachel Ruysch, and Van Huysum, which required but slight creation, and endured but a few years, like a tenacious briar clinging to the dry earth where all the great trees have died. It in turn died and the soil rested barren — last proof of the bond which links individual originality to social life and proportions, the creative faculties of the artist to the active energy of the nation. /



CHAPTER XIV

THE DE WITTS AND THE WAR WITH ENGLAND

[1648-1672 A.D.]

THE completion of the Peace of Münster opens a new scene in the history of the republic. Its political system experienced considerable changes. Its ancient enemies became its most ardent friends, and its old allies loosened the bonds of long continued amity. The other states of Europe, displeased at its imperious conduct or jealous of its success, began to wish its humiliation; but it was little thought that the consummation was to be effected at the hands of England. While Holland prepared to profit by the peace so brilliantly gained, England, torn by civil war, was hurried on in crime and misery to the final act which has left an indelible stain on her annals. Cromwell and the parliament had completely subjugated the kingdom. The unfortunate king, delivered up by the Scotch, was condemned to an ignominious death.

The United Provinces had preserved a strict neutrality while the contest was undecided. The prince of Orange warmly strove to obtain a declaration in favour of his father-in-law Charles I. The prince of Wales and the duke of York, his sons, who had taken refuge at the Hague, earnestly joined in the entreaty; but all that could be obtained from the states-general was their consent to an embassy. Pauw and Joachimi, the one sixty-four years of age, the other eighty-eight, the most able men of the republic, undertook the task of mediation. They were scarcely listened to by the parliament, and the bloody sacrifice took place.

The details of this event and its immediate consequences belong to English history; and we must hurry over the brief, turbid, and inglorious stadholderate of William II, to arrive at the more interesting contest between the republic and the rival commonwealth.

[1648-1650 A.D.]

THE AMBITIONS OF WILLIAM II

William II was now in his twenty-fourth year. He had early evinced that heroic disposition which was common to his race. He panted for military glory. All his pleasures were those usual to ardent and high-spirited men, although his delicate constitution seemed to forbid the indulgence of hunting, tennis, and the other violent exercises in which he delighted. He was highly accomplished; spoke five different languages with elegance and fluency; and had made considerable progress in mathematics and other abstract sciences. His ambition knew no bounds. Had he reigned over a monarchy as absolute king, he would most probably have gone down to posterity a conqueror and a hero. But, unfitted to direct a republic as its first citizen, he has left but the name of a rash and unconstitutional magistrate. From the moment of his accession to power he was made sensible of the jealousy and suspicion with which his office and his character were observed by the provincial states of Holland.

The province of Holland, arrogating to itself the greatest share in the reforms of the army, and the financial arrangements called for by the transition from war to peace, was soon in fierce opposition to the states-general, which supported the prince in his early views. Cornelis Bikker, one of the burgomasters of Amsterdam, was the leading person in the states of Holland; and a circumstance soon occurred which put him and the stadholder in collision, and quickly decided the great question at issue.

The admiral Cornelis de Witt arrived from Brazil¹ with the remains of his fleet, and without the consent of the council of regency established there by the states-general. He was arrested in 1650 by order of the prince of Orange, in his capacity of high admiral. The admiralty of Amsterdam was at the same time ordered by the states-general to imprison six of the captains of this fleet. The states of Holland maintained that this was a violation of their provincial rights, and an illegal assumption of power on the part of the states-general; and the magistrates of Amsterdam forced the prison doors and set the captains at liberty.

William, backed by the authority of the states-general, now put himself at the head of a deputation from that body, and made a rapid tour of visitation to the different chief towns of the republic, to sound the depths of public opinion on the matters in dispute. The deputation met with varied success; but the result proved to the irritated prince that no measures of compromise were to be expected, and that force alone was to arbitrate the question. The army was to a man devoted to him. The states-general gave him their entire and somewhat servile support. He therefore on his own authority arrested the six deputies of Holland, in the same way that his uncle Maurice had seized on Barneveld, Grotius, and the others; and they were immediately conveyed to the castle of Louvestein.

In adopting this bold and unauthorised measure, he decided on an imme-

[¹ In 1645 the West India Company had begun rapidly to lose the conquests they had been acquiring in South America during the last fifteen years. The company had, in the last year, recalled Count Maurice of Nassau, in order to spare the expenses attendant on a governor of his rank and dignity, and the same ill-judged parsimony which thus left the colony destitute of any chief of ordinary military skill had kept the establishment of troops in a condition wholly inefficient for its protection. Immediately on the departure of Maurice, the Portuguese broke out into open revolt, captured several forts, amongst which were Surinam and St. Vincent, and had it not been for a timely succour sent by the Company in the next year, the Dutch must have been forced to abandon all their possessions in South America. Cornelis de Witt was a captain in the service of the company.]

diate attempt to gain possession of the city of Amsterdam, the central point of opposition to his violent designs. William Frederiek count of Nassau, stadholder of Friesland, at the head of a numerous detachment of troops, marched secretly and by night to surprise the town; but the darkness and a violent thunder storm having caused the greater number to lose their way, the count found himself at dawn at the city gates with a very insufficient force; and had the farther mortification to see the walls well manned, the cannon pointed, the drawbridges raised, and everything in a state of defence. The courier from Hamburg, who had passed through the scattered bands of soldiers during the night, had given the alarm. The first notion was, that a roving band of Swedish or Lorraine troops, attracted by the opulence of Amsterdam, had resolved on an attempt to seize and pillage it. The magistrates could scarcely credit the evidence of day, which showed them the count of Nassau and his force on their hostile mission. A short conference with the deputies from the citizens convinced him that a speedy retreat was the only measure of safety for himself and his force, as the sluices of the dykes were in part opened, and a threat of submerging the intended assailants only required a moment more to be enforced.

Nothing could exceed the disappointment and irritation of the prince of Orange consequent on this transaction. He at first threatened, then negotiated, and finally patched up the matter in a manner the least mortifying to his wounded pride. Bikker nobly offered himself for a peace-offering, and voluntarily resigned his employments in the city he had saved; and De Witt and his officers were released. William was in some measure consoled for his disgrace by the condolence of the army, the thanks of the province of Zealand, and a new treaty with France, strengthened by promises of future support from Cardinal Mazarin; but, before he could profit by these encouraging symptoms, domestic and foreign, a premature death cut short all his projects of ambition. Over-violent exercises in a shooting party in Gelderland brought on a fever, which soon terminated in an attack of small-pox. On the first appearance of his illness he was removed to the Hague; and he died there on the 6th of November, 1650, aged twenty-four years and six months.

The death of this prince left the state without a stadholder, and the army without a chief. The whole of Europe shared more or less in the joy or the regret it caused. The republican party, both in Holland and in England, rejoiced in a circumstance which threw back the sovereign power into the hands of the nation;¹ the partisans of the house of Orange deeply lamented the event. But the birth of a son, of which the widowed princess of Orange was delivered within a week of her husband's death, revived the hopes of those who mourned his loss, and offered her the only consolation which could assuage her grief.

This child was, however, the innocent cause of a breach between his mother and grandmother, the dowager princess, who had never been cordially attached to each other. Each claimed the guardianship of the young prince; and the dispute was at length decided by the states, who adjudged the important office to the elector of Brandenburg and the two princesses jointly. The states of Holland soon exercised their influence on the other

[¹ On the meeting of the deputies from the provinces, or, as it was termed, the Great Assembly, the proceedings were opened January 18th, 1651, by the pensionary of Holland, Jacob Catz, who, in a long oration, recommended to the assembly the consideration of the maintenance of the Union, as framed in 1579; of religion, as established by the decrees of the synod of Dort (Dordrecht); and of the militia, in conformity with the resolutions passed at the time of the peace.^c The Union, notwithstanding the complaints lately made of the violation of it by the states of Holland, was adjudged to exist in its integrity and pristine vigour.]

[1649-1650 A.D.]

provinces. Many of the prerogatives of the stadholder were now assumed by the people; and, with the exception of Zealand, which made an ineffectual attempt to name the infant prince to the dignity of his ancestors under the title of William III, a perfect unanimity seemed to have reconciled all opposing interests. The various towns secured the privileges of appointing their own magistrates, and the direction of the army and navy devolved to the states-general.^b

FOREIGN RELATIONS

At the termination of the negotiations at Münster, the United Provinces found themselves on a footing of cordial amity with scarcely any nation of Europe, except Spain, their ancient enemy, and Denmark, whom they had forced to conclude a disadvantageous treaty with Sweden a few years before. Sweden, closely allied with France, shared in some degree the resentment of that nation against the states-general, on account of their separate treaty with Spain; and was further alienated by the support they had given to the claims of the elector of Brandenburg to the restoration of Pomerania.

The truce with Portugal, so hastily concluded in 1641, had never since been observed, either in the East or West Indies; and the revolt of Pernambuco was strongly suspected to have been fomented, if not occasioned, by the secret machinations of that court. Hostilities continued in Brazil, until terminated in the manner we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.

LOSSES OF THE WAR WITH ENGLAND

The feeling with which the intelligence of the execution of Charles I was received by all ranks of men in the United Provinces was one of unmingled detestation. The states-general and states of Holland immediately waited upon the prince of Wales, attired in deep mourning, to condole with him for his loss; they saluted him with the title of majesty as king of Scotland; but Holland and Zealand, whom the interests of their commerce obliged to keep some appearance of terms with the new republic, obtained that the title of king of Great Britain should be omitted, and no mention made of congratulations upon his accession to the throne of his ancestors. But, however modified this proceeding, it failed not to give the deepest offence to the parliament, more particularly as not one of the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Christina, queen of Sweden, ventured to pay the fugitive monarch a similar compliment. The ministers of the churches at the Hague, also, a class of men hitherto the most unfriendly to the royalists of England, presented an address of condolence to Charles, in which they compared the execution of the deceased king to the martyrdom of St. Stephen. But for this they were sharply reprehended by the states of Holland, as assuming an interference in political affairs unbecoming their character and calling.

On the other hand, the ambassador of the parliament, Strickland, had been constantly refused a public audience by the states-general; and the melancholy fate of Isaac Dorislaus, who was now sent over to propose a league of amity between the two republics, afforded new matter of bitterness and hatred. This man, the son of a minister of Enkhuizen, had been made professor of history in the university of Cambridge; but afterwards espousing warmly the side of the parliament, was nominated one of the counsel for conducting the prosecution of the king.

These circumstances rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the royalist party, of whom great numbers had taken refuge at the Hague, and he was

accordingly marked out as the first victim upon whom vengeance was to be exercised. The evening after his arrival, as he was sitting with some other persons in the room of an inn at the Hague, four men entered in masks, leaving several others stationed outside to keep watch. They first mortally wounded a gentleman of Gelderland, whom they mistook for Dorislaus. The latter endeavoured to make use of the opportunity to escape; but, unable in his agitation to open the door, he was seized upon and murdered with several wounds. The assassins, who proved to be followers of the earl of Montrose, then dispersed unmolested; and were subsequently enabled, by the aid of their numerous friends, to quit the Hague in safety.

The court of Holland immediately took Strickland under their special protection, and offered a reward of 1,000 guilders for the discovery of the criminals; but the parliament of England persisted in believing, or affecting to believe, that they were allowed to escape by connivance; and made violent complaints of the outrage committed against them in the person of their ambassador, to Joachimi, resident of the states in London. Not long after, Strickland quitted the provinces without having succeeded in procuring an audience of the states-general; and Joachimi, to whom they refused to send letters of credence to the new government of England, was commanded to leave that country. Thus matters appeared ripe for an immediate rupture; the only friendly relations between the commonwealths being maintained by the states of Holland, who sent a commissioner to London with instructions to award to the republican government such style and title as might be found most pleasing, and to watch over the commercial interests of the province.

The death of William II had inspired the parliament with the hope that, through the influence of Holland with the other provinces which had now no counterpoise, they might be brought to consent to an alliance of close and exclusive amity with England. Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland were accordingly sent with this view as ambassadors to the Hague, where — so much were affairs changed — they immediately obtained a public audience of the great assembly which was then sitting, and commissioners were appointed to treat with them concerning the terms of the proposed alliance. Never, perhaps, were negotiations opened between two powers to both of whom the maintenance of peace with the other was an object of more vital importance.

A war with England was to the United Provinces ever an event to be deprecated and dreaded. It must necessarily be maritime; and, even if attended with the most signal success, as ruinous to themselves as to her. In debasing the power of England, they cast down the bulwark of their own religion and liberties against their natural enemies, the Catholic and absolute sovereigns of Europe; in destroying her commerce, they annihilated the most ready and advantageous market for their own wares; while the expense of protecting their vessels must in any case swallow up the profits of their merchants, and occasion a certain and immense decay of trade. In the event of adverse fortune, which, considering the relative strength of their antagonist, would appear almost inevitable, the very existence of the provinces was endangered.

Neither was it from motives of national interest alone that the Dutch might be supposed to view a war with England with the deepest aversion. They could not but reflect in how large a measure she had contributed to their own happiness and glory; that all their proudest recollections were associated with her; that nearly a century had now elapsed since the Dutch-

[1650 A.D.]

man had appeared on the field of battle without the Englishman by his side, or a drop of his blood been shed but the bravest and noblest of England had been mingled with it; that the bones of their fathers had lain whitening together on the ramparts of Haarlem and on the strand of Nieuport. Long and intimate intercourse had, indeed, so mixed together the population of the two countries, that a war between them was scarcely less than fratricidal.

Neither was it less incumbent upon the present government of England to keep peace with the provinces, the only foreign power from whence any vigorous attempt to restore the exiled royal family was to be apprehended. The nation, exhausted by the civil war she had now waged for so many years, filled with discontents, and weary of the extortions of the parliament, was ill-prepared to sustain the vast charges which a war with so powerful a maritime nation as the Dutch must necessarily bring in its train. In this state of affairs, and with no objects of dispute existing between the two nations but such as might have been readily arranged, it might be supposed that an alliance would prove a matter of speedy and easy accomplishment. Yet was this desirable object frustrated by unforeseen, and, as it would appear, wholly inadequate causes.



OFFICER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, AFTER PAINTING BY TERBURG

Among other visionary schemes in which the parliament of England indulged was that of forming a coalition between the two republics under one sovereign, and a council, sitting in England, wherein the states were to be represented by a certain number of members. To this end the negotiations of the ambassadors were to be directed; but fearful that if too abruptly broached, the proposal would be at once rejected by the states as absurd and infeasible, they were instructed to keep it carefully in the background, and to pave the way for its introduction by the offer of a close and intimate alliance between the two republics. But even this was proposed upon terms with which it was utterly impossible for the states to comply, had they been ever so well inclined. The parliament demanded that the states should expel

those who were declared rebels in England from the United Provinces, or any territory belonging to the prince or princess of Orange, and that they should not permit the prince or princess to aid or succour such rebels in any manner, on pain of forfeiture for life of the estates on which they had been harboured. As the English fugitives were protected and warmly favoured by the Orange party, any attempt to dislodge them from the boundaries of the provinces would be resisted by the whole power of that party. The states therefore, unanimously resolved that they would not interfere in any manner in the quarrel between the English parliament and Charles II of Scotland. The negotiations thus made no progress, and were soon terminated by the hasty recall of the ambassadors, in consequence of the treatment they had experienced at the Hague.

The Orange party in the United Provinces, strongly attached to the royal cause in England, were even desirous of involving their country in a war to accomplish the restoration of Charles II. The English ambassadors, immediately on their arrival at the Hague, were surrounded, and greeted with the cry of "regicides" and "executioners," by a rabble of the lowest class, to whom, it is said, a page of the princess royal had distributed money; and during the whole period of their stay, neither themselves nor any of their household could appear in the streets without being loaded with reproaches and contumely, and even incurring danger of personal violence from the populace, encouraged and assisted by the English royalists and the chiefs of the Orange party. Prince Edward, son of the titular Queen of Bohemia, who had taken a prominent share in these outrages, was summoned to appear before the court of Holland, and one of his servants was scourged and another banished. But all the efforts of the authorities to arrest the petulance of the mob proved futile; and a military guard was at length placed over the house where the ambassadors resided.

THE ACT OF NAVIGATION (1651)

The insults they had received sank deep into the minds of the ambassadors, more especially St. John. On his return to England, he delayed not to exhibit his feelings of vengeance by carrying through the parliament the celebrated Act of Navigation, the object of which was the ruin of the Dutch commerce. By this act it was decreed that no productions of Asia, Africa, or America should be brought to England, except in vessels belonging to that nation, and of which the greater portion of the crews were English; and that no productions of Europe were to be imported into England except in ships belonging to the country of which such productions were the growth or manufacture. As the United Provinces had little of their own produce to export, but maintained an immense carrying trade to England, as well from the other nations of Europe as the more distant quarters of the globe, the drift of this measure could scarcely be mistaken, even had it not been rendered evident by an article declaring that the prohibition did not extend to bullion or silk wares brought from Italy; while salted fish, whales, and whale oil, commodities of special traffic with the Dutch, were expressly forbidden to be exported or imported except in English bottoms. This step was followed by letters of reprisal issued to such persons as conceived themselves aggrieved by the inhabitants of the United Provinces; and by the equipment of two men-of-war, which inflicted immense injury on the Holland and Zealand merchant ships.

[1652 A.D.]

FIRST NAVAL ENGAGEMENT (1652)

Regarding these proceedings as equivalent to a declaration of hostility, the states-general, while they dispatched an embassy to London to complain to the parliament on the subject, and to propose the renewal of a treaty, framed, as far as present circumstances permitted, upon the model of that of 1496, resolved on the immediate equipment of one hundred and fifty ships of war to protect their navigation and fishery. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Marten Harpertzoon Tromp, with instructions to cruise in the Channel, but to avoid as much as possible the coasts of England; the question of striking the flag to the vessels of that nation being left to his discretion.

Tromp, receiving intelligence that seven rich merchantmen from Turkey were closely pressed by some English privateers, sailed towards the coast of Dover, with forty-two vessels, where he encountered the English admiral, Blake, at the head of a squadron fifteen in number. He was preparing for lowering his sails to the English flag, when Blake fired two shots into his ship. A third, Tromp answered with a shot that went through the English admiral's flag. Blake instantly sent a broadside into the Dutch ship, which Tromp was not slow in returning. The English being reinforced with eight vessels from the Downs, both fleets then engaged in a fierce contest, which, after four hours' duration, was terminated by the approach of night, with the loss of two ships on the side of the Dutch.

Such is the account given by Tromp, in a letter to the states-general; but Blake asserted that Tromp, being warned by three shots to strike to the English flag, fired a broadside instead of obeying. Which of the two was to blame, is impossible to decide.

Immediately on information of this engagement, the states, desirous of proving that they were not wilfully the aggressors, commissioned Adrian Pauw, lately chosen pensionary of Holland on the resignation of Jacob Catz, to represent to the parliament that if Tromp had committed the first act of hostility, it was entirely in consequence of a misunderstanding, since no instructions of that nature had been given him; and to endeavour to terminate the affair by an amicable arrangement. To this the parliament showed itself by no means inclined; they demanded a reimbursement of their expenses, or satisfaction, as they termed it, and security for the preservation of peace in future, by which was meant an immediate compliance with their proposal of coalition between the two republics; conditions which were of course inadmissible for a moment. The states-general, therefore, ordered Tromp to engage with the English ships on every opportunity, and the war now commenced in good earnest.

WAR OPENLY DECLARED

Blake having attacked the Dutch herring boats, destroyed several, and scattered the remainder, Tromp directed his course in search of the English fleet; but, being overtaken by a violent storm, he was forced to seek refuge, with his ships much disabled, in the ports of Holland. This misfortune, though wholly beyond his control, brought Tromp into temporary disfavour with the common people; and many members of the government suspecting that, to serve the purposes of the house of Orange, of which he was a zealous partisan, he had wilfully given rise to the dispute concerning the flag, in order to involve

his country in a war, he was superseded by Michel de Ruyter. The new admiral, at the head of thirty light vessels and eight fire-ships, fell in with Sir George Ayscue, near Plymouth. After a sharp and well-fought engagement, Ayscue was forced to retire into the harbour, whither the Dutch ships were prevented by a contrary wind from following him. De Ruyter having soon after joined another squadron, under the vice-admiral, Cornelis de Witt, they were attacked while cruising on the Flemish coast by Blake and Ayscue. In this encounter, twenty of the Dutch ships kept out of gunshot; and De Ruyter, finding himself considerably weaker than his opponent, retired to the haven of Gorée.

The unrivalled skill and experience of Tromp, in maritime affairs, prompted the states once more to reinstate him in his post as head of the fleet, De Ruyter taking the command of a squadron under him. The coasts of Dover and Folkestone were the next scene of combat, when two English ships were captured; Blake, being himself wounded, and many of his ships disabled, was obliged to retire to the Thames, leaving the sea clear for the passage of a large number of merchant ships into the ports of the United Provinces.

Both the belligerents took advantage of the cessation of hostilities during the winter months to improve the condition of their naval armaments. The states proposed to add another hundred and fifty vessels to the fleet of that number they already possessed; but the public finances not admitting of so heavy an expense, they were obliged to content themselves with repairing and refitting the old ones. Seventy only remained under the immediate command of Tromp, the rest being employed in various quarters as convoys. With these he received orders to blockade the Thames; but while previously escorting two hundred merchant ships on their return home, he was intercepted by Blake off Portland Point, Feb. 28, 1653. The two fleets were equal in number, but vastly disproportioned in strength, from the inferior size and equipment of the Dutch vessels, of which a great number were merely armed merchant ships, hired by the states in the beginning of the war.

Blake commenced the attack by a distant fire into the ship of the Dutch admiral, which Tromp left unanswered till he had come within musket-shot of the enemy, when he gave him a broadside, and rapidly veering round sent in another from the opposite side of his vessel. The lightness of his ship enabling him to sail round his antagonist, he discharged a third fire into her opposite side, which was followed by a loud cry, as though several in the English ship were wounded. Blake, then retreating, kept up only a skirmishing fight. De Ruyter at first engaged with the *Prosperity*, of fifty-four guns, his own vessel being no more than twenty-eight. Suffering considerably from the enemy's cannon, he ran close up for the purpose of boarding, and on the second assault captured the English vessel. But, being afterwards surrounded by twenty others, he was obliged to abandon it; and with difficulty extricated himself from his perilous situation by the aid of the vice-admiral, Evertsen. He afterwards, with two of his captains, engaged seven large vessels of the English. Many others performed prodigies of valour; but, as evening approached, Tromp desisted about six-and-twenty of his ships taking advantage of the wind to escape.

Darkness at length separated the combatants. Two vessels were sunk on the side of the English, and as many on that of the Dutch; one of the latter was captured and burned, another blew up, and that of De Ruyter was greatly damaged. During the night the Dutch retired towards the Isle of Wight, whither they were pursued by the English, who renewed the attack the next morning. The latter now fired, chiefly from a distance, at the masts and

[1653 A.D.]

rigging of their opponents, with the view, after having disabled the vessels of war, to take possession of the merchantmen, which Tromp was endeavouring to protect by ranging the fleet in a semicircle around them. The contest was again prolonged, with unflinching courage on both sides, until evening, when the fleets separated without any decisive advantage; but the Dutch had expended nearly all their ammunition, and De Ruyter's ship was so disabled that she was obliged to be taken in tow. Nevertheless, Tromp commanded his captains to show a good face to the enemy, and prepared to renew the engagement, which commenced at ten in the forenoon of the following day. At the first attack Tromp approached close to the ship of the vice-admiral, which he cannonaded so briskly as to force him to retire. De Ruyter, though still in tow, was found in the midst of the enemy until his ship was so damaged as to become utterly helpless. But again a portion of the Dutch captains failed in their duty by retreating from the fight; some did so in consequence of having no more ammunition, others had no excuse but their cowardice.

Mere exhaustion at length compelled both parties to a cessation of hostilities; yet, after sunset, Blake made as if he was about to renew the attack. Tromp took in his sails to await his approach, when the English admiral, changing his purpose, sailed towards the shores of England, and the Dutch continued their course homewards without pursuit. The Dutch had nine vessels missing, the English only five or six; but the loss in killed among the latter far surpassed that of their antagonists, amounting to two thousand, while no more than six hundred perished on the side of the Dutch. The former claimed the victory; but



MARTIN HARPERTZOOM TROMP (1597-1653)

the latter reckoned it as an advantage, more than equivalent to a triumph, that they had been able to preserve all their merchant vessels — except twenty-four, which fell into the hands of the enemy. The states-general testified the highest satisfaction at the conduct of Tromp and De Ruyter, and the other commanders who had offered such determined resistance to a fleet so vastly more powerful than their own.

About the same time the Dutch commander, Jan van Galen, obtained a signal victory over some English vessels under Appleton, near the port of Leghorn. The English had three ships captured, and as many destroyed; but their loss was counterbalanced on the side of their enemies by the death of Van Galen.

After the event of the last battle the states were active in repairing their fleet and putting it in a condition again to take the sea. The command was given to Tromp, which he accepted, but with extreme reluctance.

The English fleet, now commanded by George Monk (the restorer of

[¹ After the victory Tromp is said to have placed a broom at his masthead to intimate that he would sweep the channel free of English ships. Although this incident has been pronounced mythical by some recent historians, it is accepted by such authorities as Green,^d Bright,^e Gardiner,^f etc.]

royalty to his country) and Richard Deane, consisted of ninety-five sail. In cruising about the shores of Zealand and Flanders, they at length fell in with the Dutch vessels under Tromp, at the harbour of Nieuport. The latter were ninety-eight in number, with six fire ships, but incomparably inferior in size to the enemy. In spite of this overwhelming disadvantage the contest was terrific; and, though several ships were disabled on both sides, and the admiral, Deane, was slain, it continued until nine at night, and was renewed the next day before Dunkirk. The English had now the advantage of the wind, and the Dutch were thus precluded from adopting the only mode of attack, that of closing and boarding, which could place them on anything like an equal footing with their antagonists. Some disorder also occurred in the Dutch fleet, by the ships running foul of each other, and seven fell into the enemy's hands. At the close of the day, Tromp found so great a number of his ships damaged, and all so deficient in ammunition, that he was forced to retire behind the sandbank of the Wielingen, on the coast of Zealand.

This, the first decided defeat which the Dutch navy had sustained, called forth grievous complaints from Tromp and the principal commanders to the states-general. They urged that it would be impossible for them to carry on the war without a powerful reinforcement of good and well equipped vessels; since there were in the English fleet more than fifty, of which the smallest was larger than the Dutch admiral, and thirty of their own were totally unfit for battle. The vice-admiral De Witt, in his address to the states, bluntly exclaimed: "I am here before my masters: but why dissemble? The English are in fact our masters, and we are debarred from the navigation of the seas till we have better ships"; and De Ruyter declared that he would go to sea no more unless some remedy were provided for the present state of things. Though time did not admit of the completion of new vessels, the states, convinced of the justice of the remonstrances made by their officers, laboured so earnestly to satisfy them, that within six weeks Tromp was despatched, with nearly ninety sail.^c

DEATH OF TROMP (1653)

The English had crossed to Texel with a large fleet, and it was difficult for the two Dutch squadrons to meet. Tromp set sail the 6th of August with ninety vessels intending to attack the English fleet, cross it, and join De Witt, return with him to the enemy, and force them to quit the coast of Holland. On the morning of the 8th he discovered the English; and withdrew in order to draw the English after him and away from Texel, where De Witt would be able to join him. Several of De Witt's vessels with less sail than his own were engaged by the English; Tromp went to their assistance, and the combat commenced at four in the evening. The fight continued until an hour after sunset without any advantage being gained by the English, although their fleet far out-numbered the Dutch, there being about 125 sail. Tromp's venture succeeded and De Witt escaped from Texel during the fight, joining him the next day, so increasing his fleet by twenty-seven sail. Tromp, now reinforced, advanced on the English.

The 10th of August at seven in the morning the opposing fleets met and the combat commenced. Tromp commanded the right wing, De Ruyter the left, Vice-Admiral Evertsen the centre, and De Witt the rear. The Dutch passed at first across the enemy. Tromp was already in the middle of the English fleet; wishing to give an order to the gunners he started to leave the deck, but was struck in the breast with a musket-ball. Crying out "It is over with me; but for you, take courage," he expired. The captain



THE EMBARCATION OF RUYTER AND WILLIAM DE WITT

(From a painting by Eugène Isabey in the Luxembourg Gallery)

[1653 A.D.]

of the vessel signaled the other captains to come and hold council. They were overcome with grief on seeing their commander stretched on the deck. It is said that De Ruyter, pausing to contemplate his body, said: "Ah! would that God had taken me in his place; he was more useful to the country than I."

Orders were immediately given to leave the admiral's pennant on his vessel in order that the enemy and the rest of the Dutch fleet might be kept in ignorance of the misfortune. Vice-admiral Evertsen took command and the men returned to their posts. The desire to avenge the death of their general incited the Dutch to prodigies of valour. De Ruyter, who commanded the *Agneau*, threw himself into the most perilous places, and by the terrific fire which he kept up forced his way: this course, however, brought upon him all the enemy's attacks; and, losing the greater part of his men and failing of ammunition, he was forced to go toward the Maas. At four o'clock the two fleets were so weary and in such bad condition that they separated.^g

Each side claimed the honour of a victory; both shared the disasters of a defeat. The English lost eight vessels and eleven hundred men in killed and wounded; the Dutch nine or ten vessels, about an equal number of slain, with seven hundred prisoners. Neither fleet kept the sea — the Dutch retiring into the Texel, and the English towards the Thames. The former considered it as a decisive advantage to have freed their coasts from the presence of the enemy's ships, but this was more than counterbalanced by the inestimable loss they sustained in the death of their commander Tromp. The states evinced their gratitude to his memory by the care they took of his widow and posterity, and the erection of a magnificent monument to him in the church at Delft.

Determined to show that they had regained possession of the sea, the states despatched the fleet under De Witt to convoy the merchant vessels from the north, which arrived, to the number of four hundred, safely in port. No further engagement occurred during this season.

Both the belligerents had now become heartily weary of a war engaged in for no valid reason, between parties who had no cause of quarrel except such as their mutual pride and obstinacy afforded. Among the Dutch the causes of anxiety for the termination of hostilities were increased in tenfold proportion. The whole of the eighty years' maritime war with Spain had neither exhausted their treasury nor inflicted so much injury on their commerce as the events of the last two years. The province of Holland alone paid from six to seven millions annually as interest for her debt, and while the taxes began to press severely on all ranks of the people, their usual sources of gain were nearly closed: the Greenland fishery was stopped; the herring fishery, the "gold mine of Holland," unsafe, and almost worthless, the English having captured an immense number of the boats; and the decay of trade was so great that in Amsterdam alone three thousand houses were lying vacant.

To these causes were added others peculiar to the province of Holland. The states of this province, whom the proceedings of the late stadholder had rendered strongly averse to the Orange family, had applied all their efforts to prevent the young prince William from being appointed to that office, and that of captain and admiral-general. These had hitherto been successful; but the increased influence which his party gained by the continuance of the war might soon enable them to carry that measure in spite of all opposition. The name of the prince of Orange had heretofore been used in raising recruits

for the army and navy; and the people readily flew to the conclusion that the unwonted disasters of the late maritime encounters were to be attributed to the want of the customary head of affairs. The states of Zealand had already found themselves obliged, in compliance with the clamours of the populace, to propose a resolution that the young prince should be invested with the offices enjoyed by his father, and Count William of Nassau appointed his lieutenant; and it might be feared that the discontents arising from the present state of things would incline Gelderland, Utrecht, and Overijssel, and even some towns of Holland itself, to the same measure for which Friesland and Groningen were strenuous advocates.

JAN DE WITT

At the head of the party favourable to peace, and opposed to the prince of Orange, or the "Louvestein faction," as it was termed, was Jan De Witt, chosen in the early part of this year pensionary of Holland, on the death of Adrian Pauw. He was the son of Jacob De Witt, pensionary of Dordrecht, one of the six deputies who had been thrown into prison by the late stadholder; an injury which had implanted in the mind of the young man feelings of resentment deep, bitter, and implacable.¹ De Witt obtained the usual act of indemnity, whereby reparation was promised him for all the injuries he might sustain in the execution of his office, and that he should be bound to give an account of his actions to none but the states of Holland. He was at this time not quite eight and twenty; yet had merited and obtained so high an esteem for his talents and prudence, that he was often called the Wisdom of Holland. The enmity existing between him and the family of Orange rendered him, however, always unpopular with the multitude.

The states of Holland, informed by a spy whom they kept in England of the favourable dispositions of that government, had, in the early part of the year, secretly dispatched a letter expressive of their desire that the parliament would unite with them in terminating a war ruinous to both nations and to the Reformed religion which they mutually professed. The parliament returned an answer both to the states of Holland and the states-general, signifying their willingness to put an end to the present state of affairs. But notwithstanding that secrecy was in the highest degree requisite, at the beginning at least of the negotiations, they caused the letter of the states of Holland to be printed and published, with the title of *The Humble Petition of the States of Holland to the Parliament of England for Peace*.

This display of insolence had well-nigh frustrated all attempts at accommodation. The states-general testified extreme chagrin at the opening of a separate negotiation on the part of Holland; Groningen and Gelderland strongly urged that it should be pursued no further; and, together with Zealand, proposed to take advantage of the opportunity to enter into a strict alliance with France against England. At the persuasion of the states of Holland, however, the states-general ultimately consented to send ambassadors to London; the lords Beverning and Nieuport from Holland, Van de Perre from Zealand, and Peter Jongestael from Friesland; the two former adherents of the Louvestein party, the latter partisans of the house of Orange.^c

¹ These sentiments were sedulously inculcated and nourished by his father, whose morning salutation to him is said to have often been "Remember the prison of Louvestein."

[1654-1658 A.D.]

PEACE WITH ENGLAND (1654)

The want of peace was felt throughout the whole country. Cromwell was not averse to grant it; but he insisted on conditions every way disadvantageous and humiliating. He had revived his chimerical scheme of a total conjunction of government, privileges, and interests between the two republics. This was firmly rejected by Jan De Witt and by the states under his influence. But the Dutch consented to a defensive league; to punish the survivors of those concerned in the massacre of Amboyna; to pay £9,000 of indemnity for vessels seized in the Sound, £5,000 for the affair of Amboyna, and £85,000 to the English East India Company; to cede to them the island of Polerone in the East; to yield the honour of the national flag to the English; and, finally, that neither the young prince of Orange nor any of his family should ever be invested with the dignity of stadholder. These two latter conditions were certainly degrading to Holland; and the conditions of the treaty proved that an absurd point of honour was the only real cause for the short but bloody and ruinous war which plunged the provinces into overwhelming difficulties.

WAR WITH SWEDEN

The supporters of the house of Orange, and every impartial friend of the national honour, were indignant at the Act of Exclusion. Murmurs and revolts broke out in several towns; and all was once more tumult, agitation, and doubt. No event of considerable importance marks particularly this epoch of domestic trouble. A new war was at last pronounced inevitable, and was the means of appeasing the distractions of the people, and reconciling by degrees contending parties. Denmark, the ancient ally of the republic, was threatened with destruction by Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, who held Copenhagen in blockade. The interests of Holland were in imminent peril should the Swedes gain the passage of the Sound. This double motive influenced De Witt; and he persuaded the states-general to send Admiral Opdam with a considerable fleet to the Baltic (1658). This intrepid successor of the immortal Tromp soon came to blows with a rival worthy to meet him. Wrangel the Swedish admiral, with a superior force, defended the passage of the Sound; and the two castles of Cronenberg and Elsenberg supported his fleet with their tremendous fire. But Opdam resolutely advanced: though suffering extreme anguish from an attack of gout, he had himself carried on deck, where he gave his orders with the most admirable coolness and precision, in the midst of danger and carnage. The rival monarchs witnessed the battle; the king of Sweden from the castle of Cronenberg, and the king of Denmark from the summit of the highest tower in his besieged capital. A brilliant victory crowned the efforts of the Dutch admiral, dearly bought by the death of his second in command the brave Cornelis De Witt, and Peter Florizon another admiral of note. Relief was poured into Copenhagen. Opdam was replaced in the command, too arduous for his infirm-

[¹ The absorbing events of the English war, and the previous commotions in the provinces, had prevented the states from affording to the West India Company that aid of which they had long stood in the most pressing need. After the revolt of the Portuguese, in 1645, it had so rapidly lost its possessions in Brazil, that at the time of the peace of Münster they were reduced to three forts. In 1654, the fort of the Recife was taken, that of Rio Grande burned, and, by the surrender of the third to the Portuguese, they became sole and undisputed masters of Brazil.]

ities, by the still celebrated De Ruyter, who was greatly distinguished by his valour in several successive affairs: and after some months more of useless obstinacy, the king of Sweden, seeing his army perish in the island of Funen, by a combined attack of those of Holland and Denmark, consented to a peace highly favourable to the latter power.

These transactions placed the United Provinces on a still higher pinnacle of glory than they had ever reached. Intestine disputes were suddenly calmed. The Algerines and other pirates were swept from the seas by a succession of small but vigorous expeditions. The mediation of the states re-established peace in several of the petty states of Germany. England and France were both held in check, if not preserved in friendship, by the dread of their recovered power. Trade and finance were reorganised. Everything seemed to promise a long-continued peace and growing greatness, much of which was owing to the talents and persevering energy of De Witt; and, to complete the good work of European tranquillity, the French and Spanish monarchs concluded in 1659 the treaty known by the name of the Peace of the Pyrenees.

Cromwell had now closed his career, and Charles II was restored to the throne from which he had so long been excluded. The complimentary entertainments rendered to the restored king in Holland were on the proudest scale of expense. He left the country which had given him refuge in misfortune, and done him honour in his prosperity, with profuse expressions of regard and gratitude. Scarcely was he established in his recovered kingdom, when a still greater testimony of deference to his wishes was paid, by the states-general formally annulling the Act of Exclusion against the house of Orange. A variety of motives, however, acting on the easy and plastic mind of the monarch, soon effaced whatever of gratitude he had at first conceived. He readily entered into the views of the English nation, which was irritated by the great commercial superiority of Holland, and a jealousy excited by its close connection with France at this period.

ENGLAND DECLARES WAR

It was not till the 22nd of February, 1665, that war was formally declared against the Dutch; but many previous acts of hostility had taken place in expeditions against their settlements on the coast of Africa and in America, which were retaliated by De Ruyter with vigour and success in 1664. The Dutch used every possible means of avoiding the last extremities. De Witt employed all the powers of his great capacity to avert the evil of war, but nothing could finally prevent it¹ and the sea was once more to witness the conflict between those who claimed its sovereignty.

A great battle was fought on the 31st of June. The duke of York, afterwards James II, commanded the British fleet, and had under him the earl of Sandwich and Prince Rupert. The Dutch were led on by Opdam; and the victory was decided in favour of the English by the accidental blowing up of that admiral's ship, with himself and his whole crew. The loss of the Dutch was altogether nineteen ships. De Witt, the pensionary, then took in person the command of the fleet, which was soon equipped; and he gave a high proof of the adaptation of genius to a pursuit previously unknown, by the rapid knowledge and the practical improvements he introduced into some of the most intricate branches of naval tactics.

[¹ Without declaration of war the English seized 130 Dutch merchantmen in their ports. The formal declaration did not follow for some months, March 4, 1665.]

[1665-1666 A.D.]

Immense efforts were now made by England, but with a very questionable policy, to induce Louis XIV to join in the war. Charles offered to allow of his acquiring the whole of the Spanish Netherlands, provided he would leave him without interruption to destroy the Dutch navy (and, consequently, their commerce), in the by no means certain expectation that its advantages would all fall to the share of England. But the king of France resolved to support the republic. The king of Denmark, too, formed an alliance with them, after a series of the most strange tergiversations. Spain, reduced to feebleness, and menaced with invasion by France, showed no alacrity to meet with Charles' overtures for an offensive treaty. Galen, bishop of Münster, a restless prelate, was the only ally he could acquire. This bishop, at the head of a tumultuous force of twenty thousand men, penetrated into Friesland; but six thousand French were despatched by Louis to the assistance of the republic, and this impotent invasion was easily repelled.



A SHIP OF DE RUYTER'S DAY

The republic, encouraged by all these favourable circumstances, resolved to put forward its utmost energies. Internal discords were once more appeased; the harbours were crowded with merchant ships; the young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of the states of Holland and of De Witt, who faithfully executed his trust; and De Ruyter was ready to lead on the fleet. The English, in spite of the dreadful calamity of the great fire of London, the plague which desolated the city, and a declaration of war on the part of France, prepared boldly for the shock.^b

RICHER'S ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FOUR DAYS' BATTLE
(JUNE 11TH-14TH, 1666)

While Holland was preparing for war with England, England on her side was arming against Holland; eighty-one vessels stood ready in the Thames under the command of Prince Rupert and General Monk, duke of Albemarle.

De Ruyter left Texel the 8th of June, 1666, directing his course toward the coast of England, hoping to find the English fleet there and give them battle. Arriving at the entrance of the straits of Dover, he gave a signal for all the captains to come aboard and addressed them in the following language: "The moment of combat is at hand. We have to deal with an enemy full of pride, and presumptuous, who seeks our destruction; the salvation of Holland, the safety and honour of our women, our children, our families, depend this day on our prudence and valour. Let us efface the

dishonour which we suffered in the defeat of the past year. We shall meet with a vigorous defence; the English are good sailors and good soldiers, but it is for us to conquer or to die. On our side we have justice and may hope for divine protection. Should there be any too cowardly to follow my example they will find a shameful death in avoiding a glorious one." With one voice the captains declared themselves ready to sacrifice themselves for the honour of their country, and then returned to their ships.

The Dutch fleet continued on its way, and cast anchor the 11th of June in the mouth of the Thames. Towards two in the morning the advance guard made known by a signal that the enemy had been sighted; towards eleven the English fleet was seen advancing in order of battle. De Ruyter had sought battle; now was the moment to which he had aspired. With that coolness which always marks the great man, he gave his orders. The officers and soldiers, filled with admiration for their commander, resolved to conquer or perish; but already their confidence in him gave them the premonition of victory. The English fleet continued to advance. Vice-Admiral Tromp, who was in the advance guard, began fighting an hour after mid-day. De Ruyter from his side attacked the enemy with that fierceness which was his custom; his example was followed by all the captains. The English, having the wind on one side, were unable to use some of their guns. The Dutch, on the contrary, made good use of their batteries and crushed the enemy. The fight was sustained with equal valour and obstinacy on all sides. Four hours after noon an English vessel of fifty cannon was sunk by a broadside from De Ruyter. The two enemies fought in this position until five o'clock, when, the English changing their position to avoid the reefs of Flanders, the squadrons of Lieutenant-Admirals Evertsen and De Vries taking advantage of the movement attacked them with such impetuosity that they succeeded in separating them and capturing three vessels.

Meanwhile Monk fought with a courage bordering on despair. At six o'clock the two armies were still fighting and it was only the coming on of night that finally separated the combatants. All parties busied themselves in repairing the damage sustained and preparing to resume the fight. At dawn the next day De Ruyter signalled his lieutenant-admirals and captains to come aboard in order to impress on them the necessity of keeping up with the same valour the fight that was about to recommence. Sunrise revealed the English fleet a league to windward. The two fleets attacked each other with equal intrepidity. De Ruyter on approaching the English drew toward the south in order to stand upon the same tack with them. The two fleets passed one before the other under heavy fire; numbers of vessels were disabled. A calm now rendered them inactive; but at ten o'clock, a fresh wind coming up, the fight continued.

At noon the Dutch were so close that De Ruyter gave the signal to board. This brought on them a terrible fusillade of the English. De Ruyter, fearing that some of his vessels were in the midst of the enemy, decided at once to succour them and penetrate the enemy's fleet with his squadron; his courage brought him through, and there he found Tromp who, with five vessels, had imprudently penetrated to the middle of the English fleet and who would have been inevitably overwhelmed had not De Ruyter come to his assistance. The five vessels were completely disabled, most of the sailors and soldiers, together with several officers, killed, and nearly all the others wounded. De Ruyter drove off the English, brought back the five vessels except one, which had been burned; the other four being useless, he had them towed back to Texel.

The Dutch fleet now gathered round their general and, stimulated by his

[1666 A.D.]

courage, attacked the enemy with so much impetuosity that six of their vessels were sunk and one burned. In this terrible encounter all the attacks of the enemy were directed against De Ruyter; his maintopmast was broken, and fell on the vessel with its flag and pennant. The latter he sent to Van Nes with orders to raise it with his flag and take command until De Ruyter's vessel was repaired. De Ruyter dropped back and Van Nes executed his manœuvres with such prudence and valour that the English gave up the fight. The Dutch pursued the English fleet with all possible speed; the latter used all their experience in their endeavour to reach the Thames, even burning their



THE ARCHERS' PRIZE, SHOWING SEVENTEENTH CENTURY COSTUMES

(After a painting by Bartholomeus Van der Helst, 1611-1670)

poor sailing vessels in order that they might not be seized by the Dutch. The *Prince Royal*, carrying ninety-two cannon, commanded by the English vice-admiral George Ayscue, ran aground on a reef called Galloper near the Thames; the admiral used all the accustomed signals calling for aid, but in vain: the English were too terrified to stop. In an instant he was surrounded by the Dutch; recognising the impossibility of defence, he took down his colours. De Ruyter, who in the meantime had repaired his vessel as far as possible, now rejoined his fleet. Fearing that the *Prince Royal* would but prove a burden, he set fire to it and sent Ayscue to the Hague.

Hardly was this expedition achieved when the Dutch saw twenty-five English vessels advancing from the southwest. They were commanded by Prince Rupert, who had detached his squadron in order to collect several vessels at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and then go to the west to await and fight the French who, it had been rumored, were coming to join the Dutch. Not having met them he came to the rescue of the English fleet. As soon as the Dutch saw him they made an attack; he evaded them and joined the

remnant of the English forces on the evening of the 13th of June. Monk gave him an account of what had passed during the two preceding days. They decided that it would be necessary to fight the next day, and the prince, having the freshest vessels, should lead. The English fleet found itself in possession of sixty-one vessels of war; the Dutch had sixty-four, but they had passed through a conflict of two days and all the crews were fatigued. Their other vessels had returned to Holland with the captured ships to be repaired. De Ruyter, seeing that the English were ready to recommence hostilities, prepared to meet the attack. His courage would not allow him to avoid danger. He relied on his example exciting the officers and soldiers to their best efforts.

The fight commenced on the 14th at eight in the morning. The Dutch ships penetrated the English fleet in three different directions and dispersed some of their vessels. De Ruyter, drawing back, ran to the south; the English stood in for the Dutch. This manœuvre lasted till three; the confusion was terrible and the victory remained balanced during the whole day. A Dutch vice-admiral named Liefde, in command of a vessel of sixty pieces, found himself at the mercy of the vice-admiral of the squadron of Prince Rupert, who commanded a vessel of eighty pieces. De Ruyter, whom nothing escaped, seeing his danger, dispersed the enemy's vessels and drew the attack upon himself. Still the combat raged on all sides. De Ruyter, looking like a lion who had been made furious by the carnage, now made the signal to board. Simultaneously the heroes, Tromp, Meppel, Bankert, De Vries, Van Nes, Liefde, Evertsen, etc., attacked the English, pressing them so closely that disorder was created and they were forced to retreat. This was at seven in the evening, after a fight of eleven hours. The Dutch pursued them, but a heavy fog forced De Ruyter to give the signal to rally and retreat. His prudence would not allow him to risk exposing his vessels to collision or the danger of the reefs. He conducted his fleet to Wielingen.

These three encounters have been related in all languages, and all countries accord praise to De Ruyter. All eulogize his prudence, his ability, and his valour. He so disposed his force and so chose his position that the English tried in vain to penetrate his fleet or put it in disorder. His eye was everywhere; no movement of either side escaped him, and his signals to change position or board were always given at the right moment. He never missed an opportunity to pierce his enemy's fleet, double on it, or separate their vessels and sink them. If, through an excess of courage, some of his captains went too far and became the victims of the enemy's fire, he would rescue them with heroic intrepidity; he was the soul of his army and worked the way to victory. The English directed several fire-brands against him in the hope that if they destroyed their admiral, the Dutch might easily be conquered.

This victory was dearly bought by the Dutch.¹ Many of their bravest officers and captains were lost and about eight hundred soldiers and sailors. The number of wounded amounted to 1,150. The English suffered even greater loss; according to the accounts they had 6,000 men killed, among which number were Vice-Admiral Berkeley and a large number of captains. The Dutch had 3,000 prisoners in their ports. The English lost 23 vessels of war, of which 17 were burned or sunk. The other six were taken as prizes by the Dutch.²

[¹ This engagement, whether we consider the skill displayed on both sides, the valour and obstinacy of the combatants, or the astonishing physical powers which enabled them to endure such prolonged and excessive fatigue, has never yet found a parallel in history. The English historians, following the old style, date the events of this war ten days earlier than the Dutch, who adopted the new.]

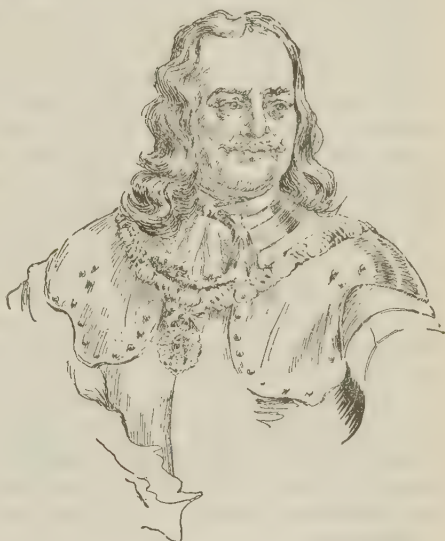
[1666 A.D.]

THE ENGLISH WIN A VICTORY

In less than three weeks De Ruyter, with the view of taking the enemy, who were not yet ready for sea, by surprise, again set sail towards the English coast. De Witt had been inspired by one Samuel Raven, an English refugee, with the idea that if a landing were made in England, the number of malcontents was so great that the entire overthrow of the present government would be easily accomplished; and, in consequence, the purport of his orders to De Ruyter was in conformity with these views. But the admiral very soon found that the project appeared far more easy of execution at the Hague than at the mouth of the Thames. A fleet of fifty vessels stationed at Queenborough rendered it impossible for the Dutch to advance, except at imminent risk of destruction, as well from the enemy's fire-ships as the dangers of a navigation with which, as the English had removed the buoys and beacons, their pilots were unacquainted.

After cruising for more than a month about the coast, De Ruyter was met August 4th, between the North Foreland and Ostend, by the English fleet of ninety sail under the command of Albemarle, his own being eighty-eight in number. The van of the Dutch, under Evertsen, first engaged with the white squadron of the English, commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, when, in a short but brisk cannonade, Evertsen, whose father, son, and four brothers had perished in the service of their country, was killed, with Hiddes de Vries and Admiral Bankert. The death of these officers spread such confusion and dismay through the whole squadron that it fell into disorder, and began to retreat under press of sail. De Ruyter meanwhile had followed the van; but a calm (as it was alleged) preventing some of his ships from coming up, himself, with a part only of his squadron, had to sustain the vigorous attack of Albemarle. Tromp, remaining about two miles in the rear, was engaged with Sir Jeremy Smith, when, after a sharp fire, the latter retreated; but, as it was supposed, only with the view of separating Tromp still farther from the middle squadron. Though strict orders had been issued to the whole of the fleet to keep as close as possible to the Admiral's flag, Tromp continued the pursuit, leaving De Ruyter with a few vessels to contend against the whole power of the enemy, whom, however, he kept at bay with incredible prowess until night.

At the dawn of day, August 5th, he found himself with no more than seven ships remaining, which the English, in the firm expectation of capturing, surrounded, twenty-two in number, in the form of a crescent, and opened upon them a terrific fire. Albemarle, determined, if possible, to grace his triumph with the capture or death of his gallant foe, pursued him with unre-



MICHAEL ADRIAANSZOON DE RUYTER
(1607-1676)

mitting ardour. He first sent a fire-ship against his vessel, which De Ruyter avoided with admirable skill; when several English ships fired upon him together a tremendous broadside which threatened to shiver his vessel to atoms. Then, for a moment, this great man lost the equanimity which was never, before or after, seen to desert him; and in the bitterness of his anguish exclaimed, "Oh, my God! how wretched am I, that among so many thousand balls not one will bring me death."

But a proposal from his son-in-law, De Witt, that they should rush in among the enemy and sell their lives as dearly as possible, recalled him to himself. He felt how much his country yet required of him; and resuming his habitual composure, he sustained the fight with unmoved steadiness during the whole of his retreat to Walcheren, a retreat more glorious to him, as it was considered by his contemporaries, than the most brilliant victory. The loss was but trifling either on the side of the conquerors or the vanquished; many of the Dutch captains having retreated in the early part of the action. Of all those who thus misconducted themselves, one only was punished; the rest, protected by the magistrates of the towns, their friends and relatives, were not even deprived of their command. The most pernicious results felt from this defeat were in the open hostility into which it exasperated the animosity between the two great admirals, Tromp and De Ruyter, each of whom bitterly reproached the other as the cause of the calamity; in the divisions it occasioned in the fleet, nearly every individual siding with the one or the other; and the consequent loss of the services of the former to his country. The circumstance of Tromp's having, on the morning of the battle, held a long interview with the lord of Sommeldyk, a zealous adherent of the Orange and English party, excited a suspicion in the states of Holland that the motives of his conduct lay deeper than a personal enmity towards the admiral, and they therefore prevailed with the states-general to deprive him of his commission; a proceeding, however, unjust in the highest degree towards Tromp, if, as his partisans asserted, he was carried away in the pursuit of the English by the ardour of combat; a supposition far more conformable to his character than that he should have acted from any impulse of treachery.

The states, probably, were the more liable to be impressed with suspicions of this nature, in consequence of the discovery, about this time, of a plot formed by one Du Buat, together with two magistrates of Rotterdam, Kievit and Van der Horst, the former a member of the council of state, for obtaining a peace with England, as the readiest means of procuring the elevation of the prince of Orange to the office of captain-general.^c

THE PEACE OF BRED A

The king of France hastened forward in this crisis to the assistance of the republic; and De Witt, by a deep stroke of policy, amused the English with negotiation while a powerful fleet was fitted out. It suddenly appeared in the Thames¹ under the command of De Ruyter, and all England was thrown into consternation. The Dutch took Sheerness, and burned many ships of war; almost insulting the capital itself in their predatory incursion. Had the French power joined that of the provinces at this time, and invaded England, the most fatal results to that kingdom might have taken place. But the alarm soon subsided with the disappearance of the hostile fleet;

[¹ De Ruyter sailed as far up the Thames as Gravesend, and threw London into great terror.]

[1667-1672 A.D.]

and the signing of the Peace of Breda, on the 10th of July, 1667, extricated Charles from his present difficulties. The island of Polerone was restored to the Dutch, and the point of maritime superiority was, on this occasion, undoubtedly theirs.

While Holland was preparing to indulge in the luxury of national repose, the death of Philip IV of Spain and the startling ambition of Louis XIV brought war once more to their very doors, and soon even forced it across the threshold of the republic. The king of France, setting at nought his solemn renunciation at the Peace of the Pyrenees of all claims to any part of the Spanish territories in right of his wife, who was daughter of the late king, found excellent reasons (for his own satisfaction) to invade a material portion of that declining monarchy. Well prepared by the financial and military foresight of Colbert for his great design, he suddenly poured a powerful army, under Turenne, into Brabant and Flanders; quickly over-ran and took possession of these provinces; and, in the space of three weeks, added Franche-Comté to his conquests. Europe was in universal alarm at these unexpected measures; and no state felt more terror than the republic of the United Provinces. The interest of all countries seemed now to require a coalition against the power which had abandoned the house of Austria only to settle on France. The first measure to this effect was the signing of the triple league between Holland, Sweden, and England, at the Hague, on the 13th of January, 1668. But this proved to be one of the most futile confederations on record. Charles fell in with the designs of his pernicious, and on this occasion purchased, cabinet, called the Cabal; and he entered into a secret treaty with France, in the very teeth of his other engagements. Sweden was dissuaded from the league by the arguments of the French ministers; and Holland in a short time found itself involved in a double war with its late allies.

A base and piratical attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, by a large force under Sir Robert Holmes, on the 13th of March, 1672, was the first overt act of treachery on the part of the English government. The attempt completely failed, through the prudence and valour of the Dutch admirals; and Charles reaped only the double shame of perfidy and defeat. He instantly issued a declaration of war against the republic, on reasoning too palpably false to require refutation, and too frivolous to merit record to the exclusion of more important matter from our narrow limits.^b

Notwithstanding the secrecy attending Louis XIV's negotiations, De Witt had been uneasy; always favourable toward the alliance with France, he had sought to calm the latter's irritation against Holland growing out of her belief that Holland was the instigator of the Triple Alliance. Jan De Witt had defended his country with haughty modesty: "I am not sure," he said, "whether the encounters that latterly have brought the important affairs of Europe to be transacted in Holland are to be regarded as a benefit or a misfortune. But in regard to the partiality toward Spain of which we are suspected, it should be said that never can we forget our aversion for that nation; an aversion sucked in with our mother's milk — souvenir of a hatred nourished by so much bloodshed, so many protracted struggles. For my part, no power could turn my inclinations toward Spain."

Hatred against Spain was not, however, so general in Holland as De Witt pretended; and the internal dissensions, carefully fostered by France, were gradually undermining the aristocratic and republican authority, to build up the influence of the partisans of the house of Nassau. Patriotically far-seeing and sagacious, Jan De Witt had long cherished a presentiment of

the defeat of his cause; and it was with great care that he had brought up the heir of the stadholders, William of Nassau, the natural leader of his adversaries. It was this young prince whom the policy of Louis XIV opposed to De Witt in the councils of the United Provinces, thus strengthening in advance the indomitable enemy who was to triumph over his glory and conquer him by defeats.

It was decided to send an envoy to Spain for the purpose of negotiating a defensive alliance. Spain at first regarded the overtures of Holland with a cold and doubtful eye. The dread of French invasion, however, decided

them. The defensive alliance between Spain and Holland was accomplished, and all effort on the part of France had been powerless to break it.

Jan De Witt kept up his negotiations; the treaty of Charles II, with France remained a close secret, and the Dutch believed they could count on the good will of England. Charles II, profiting by the necessity of the states to serve the cause of his nephew, the prince of Orange, had demanded his appointment to the captain-generalship, held hitherto by his ancestors. The prince had already been recognised as first noble of Zealand, and he had obtained entrée to the council. Jan De Witt turned against him, the votes of the state of Holland, still preponderant in the republic.

"The grand pensionary," writes De Pomponne,^h "has nearly smothered the murmurs and the complaints raised against him. He prefers any peril to the re-establishment of the prince of



JAN DE WITT

1625-1672)

Orange — his re-establishment on the recommendation of the king of England. He believed the republic would suffer a double yoke under the control of a leader who, as captain-general, would aspire to the acquisition of all the powers of his fathers, and this by aid of an ally under suspicion."

The grand pensionary was not deceived; in the spring of 1672 all Louis XIV's negotiations were concluded; his army was ready: at last he was about to crush the little state that so long had stood between him and the fulfilment of his projects.²

WAR WITH LOUIS XIV (1672)

Louis soon advanced with his army, and the contingents of Münster and Cologne, his allies amounting altogether to nearly 170,000 men, commanded by Condé, Turenne, Luxemburg, and others of the greatest generals of France. Never was any country less prepared than were the United Provinces to

[1672 A.D.]

resist this formidable aggression. Their army was as naught; their long cessation of military operations by land having totally demoralised that once invincible branch of their forces. No general existed who knew any thing of the practice of war. Their very stores of ammunition had been delivered over, in the way of traffic, to the enemy who now prepared to overwhelm them. De Witt was severely, and not quite unjustly blamed for having suffered the country to be thus taken by surprise, utterly defenceless, and apparently without resource. Envy of his uncommon merit aggravated the just complaints against his error. But, above all things, the popular affection to the young prince threatened, in some great convulsion, the overthrow of the pensionary, who was considered eminently hostile to the illustrious house of Orange.^b

The prince of Orange possessed neither forces nor authority equal to those of his opponent. De Ruyter was hard put to it for ammunition in the struggle already entered upon against the French and English fleets. But it was not by sea or through his lieutenants that Louis proposed to conquer; he arrived in person on the banks of the Rhine, to march straight at the heart of Holland. Jan De Witt proposed to evacuate the Hague and carry the seat of government to Amsterdam; the prince of Orange abandoned Utrecht, which was immediately occupied by the French.

A deputation was sent, June 22nd, to the king's headquarters to sue for peace. The same day, Jan De Witt was stabbed in the Hague by an assassin, while the city of Amsterdam, almost resolved to surrender and ready to send her delegates to the French king, turned suddenly about and took up the rôle of resistance. All the sluice-gates were opened and the dikes broken: Amsterdam floated on the bosom of the tide.

Louis' ambition would not allow of his accepting the propositions of the deputies sent him by the states-general; he desired altogether to exterminate the Dutch: he exacted in addition the cession of south Gelderland, the island of Bommel, twenty-four million francs, the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, and an annual envoy charged with thanks to the king for having for the second time brought peace to the Low Countries. This was going too far; while the deputies pondered, death at their hearts, the Dutch nation arose.

Since the beginning of the war the party of the house of Orange had not ceased to gain ground. Jan De Witt had been accused of being the author of all the country's misfortunes. The people noisily demanded the re-establishment of the stadholdership, lately abolished by the presumptuously named Perpetual Edict. Dordrecht, the home of the De Witts, had given the signal for insurrection. Cornelis De Witt, confined to his house by illness, had been prevailed upon by his family to sign the municipal act which would destroy his brother's work. The contagion spread from city to city, from province to province; on July 4th, the states-general named William of Orange stadholder, captain-general, and admiral of the union: the national instinct had fixed upon the saviour of the country and eagerly tendered him the reins of state.

William of Orange was barely twenty-two years old when revolutionary fortune set him all at once at the head of an enemy-ridden, devastated, nearly overwhelmed country; but his mind and soul were equal to the difficult task set before him. He haughtily rejected all propositions brought in the name of the king by Pieter De Groot. All Holland followed the example of Amsterdam: the dikes were broken; the troops of the electors of Brandenburg and of Saxony advanced to the aid of the United Provinces, and the emperor

signed with these two princes a defensive alliance for the maintenance of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis, recalled to France by his interests and his pleasures, left the command of his army to Turenne and departed.

GUIZOT'S ACCOUNT OF THE FATE OF THE BROTHERS DE WITT

Like his country melancholy and defeated, Jan De Witt resigned his office as pensionary counsellor to Holland. He was immediately replaced by Gaspard Fagel, passionately devoted to the prince of Orange. Cornelis

De Witt, so lately united with his brother in the public confidence, was now dragged to the Hague like a criminal, upon the accusation by a wretched barber of having conspired for the assassination of the prince of Orange. In vain did the magistrates of Dordrecht claim their right of jurisdiction over their citizen: Cornelis De Witt was put to the torture to extract a confession. "They cannot make me confess what I have never even dreamed of," he answered, while the pulleys were dislocating his joints. His judges, confounded, heard him repeat the ode of Horace:

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum.

At the end of three hours they carried him, broken but unconquered, back to his dungeon. The court condemned him to banishment.

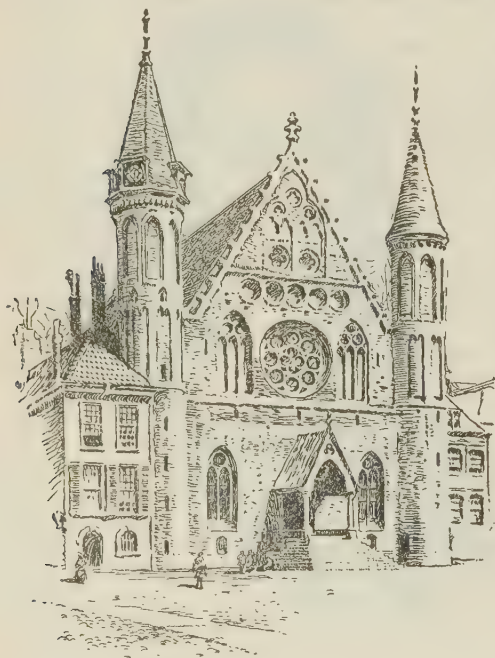
His accuser Tichelaer was not yet satisfied. Soon, at his insti-

gation, crowds gathered around the prison, cursing the judges for their clemency. "They are the real traitors," cried Tichelaer: "but let us first be avenged upon those already within our grasp." Jan had been lured to the prison by a message purporting to come from his brother. In vain his daughter implored him to ignore it.

"What do you here?" cried Cornelis, upon seeing his brother. "Did you not send for me?" "Certainly not!" "Then we are lost," said Jan De Witt calmly.

The tumult outside increased. So far a body of cavalry had succeeded in maintaining order. All at once a rumour was afloat that the peasants of the surrounding country were on their way to the Hague to pillage it: the estates ordered the count de Tilly to march against them. The brave soldier demanded a written order: "I obey," he said; "but the brothers are doomed."

Scarcely had the troops departed when the doors of the prison were forced. The ruward, torture-spent, was stretched upon his cot, his brother seated



HALL OF THE KNIGHTS, NEAR THE DEATH-PLACE OF
DE WITTS

[1672 A.D.]

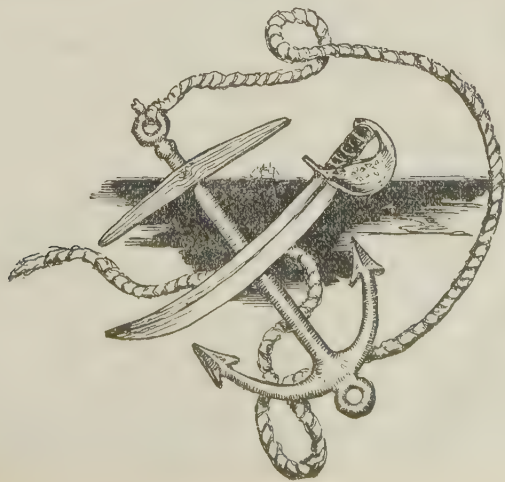
beside him reading aloud from the Bible. The crowd precipitated itself into the room crying, "Traitors, prepare to die!" Both were dragged out. They embraced. Cornelis, struck from behind, fell to the bottom of the stairs. His brother, running into the street to defend him, received a blow in the face from a pick. The ruward was already dead. The assassins flung themselves upon Jan, who, losing nothing of his calm and courage, raised his hands to heaven and opened his mouth to pray, when a last blow felled him. "The Perpetual Edict is down!" shrieked the assassins, heaping insults and maledictions upon the two corpses. It was not till nightfall, and after infinite trouble in recognising the disfigured countenances of his sons, that the unhappy Jacob De Witt was able to carry away the bodies.

William of Orange arrived the next day at the Hague, too late for his own glory and for the punishment of the obscure assassins, whom he allowed to escape. The constructors of the plot obtained appointments and rewards.

During twenty years Jan De Witt had stood for the noblest expression of the traditional policy of his country. Long faithful to the French alliance, he attempted to arrest Louis XIV in his dangerous successess. Conscious of the perils to come, he overlooked those at hand. He believed too much and for too long in the influence of negotiations and the possibility of regaining the friendship of France. That which he had hoped for his country escaped him within and without: Holland was crushed by France, and the aristocratic republic was defeated by the democratic monarchy. Between the two he was unable to divine that constitutional monarchy, freely chosen, which should gain for his country the independence, the prosperity, and the order for which he had laboured.

As fearless and far-seeing a politician as Coligny, like him twice struck by the assassin, Jan De Witt retains his place in history as the unique model of a great republican leader, honest and capable, proud and modest, up to the time when other "united provinces," struggling like Holland for their liberty, furnished him a rival to the purity of his glory in the person of their governor, General George Washington.

In its brutal ingratitude the instinct of the Dutch people clearly divined the situation: Jan De Witt would have been annihilated in the struggle against France; William of Orange, prince, politician, and soldier, was able to save the necks of Europe and of his own country from the yoke of Louis XIV.ⁱ





CHAPTER XV

WILLIAM III AND THE WAR WITH FRANCE

[1672-1722 A.D.]

THE massacre of the De Witts completely destroyed the party of which they were the head. All men now united under the only leader left to the country. William showed himself well worthy of the trust, and of his heroic blood. He turned his whole force against the enemy. He sought nothing for himself but the glory of saving his country; and taking his ancestors for models, in the best points of their respective characters, he combined prudence with energy, and firmness with moderation. His spirit inspired all ranks of men. The conditions of peace demanded by the partner kings were rejected with scorn. The whole nation was moved by one concentrated principle of heroism; and it was even resolved to put the ancient notion of the first William into practice, and abandon the country to the waves, sooner than submit to the political annihilation with which it was threatened. The capability of the vessels in their harbours was calculated; and they were found sufficient to transport two hundred thousand families to the Indian settlements. We must hasten from this sublime picture of national desperation. The glorious hero who stands in its foreground was inaccessible to every overture of corruption. Buckingham, the English ambassador, offered him, on the part of England and France, the independent sovereignty of Holland, if he would abandon the other provinces to their grasp; and, urging his consent, asked him if he did not see that the republic was ruined? "There is one means," replied the prince of Orange, "which will save me from the sight of my country's ruin. I will die in the last ditch."

Action soon proved the reality of the prince's profession. He took the field, having first punished with death some of the cowardly commanders of the frontier towns. He besieged and took Naarden, an important place; and, by a masterly movement, formed a junction with Montecuculi, whom

[1672-1675 A.D.]

the emperor Leopold had at length sent to his assistance with 20,000 men. Groningen repulsed the bishop of Münster, the ally of France, with a loss of 12,000 men. The king of Spain (such are the strange fluctuations of political friendship and enmity) sent the count of Monterey, governor of the Belgian provinces, with 10,000 men to support the Dutch army. The elector of Brandenburg also lent them aid.

The whole face of affairs was changed; and Louis was obliged to abandon all his conquests with more rapidity than he had made them.

ENGLAND WITHDRAWS FROM THE WAR

Two desperate battles at sea, on the 28th of May and the 4th of June,¹ in which De Ruyter and Prince Rupert again distinguished themselves, only proved the valour of the combatants, leaving victory still doubtful.

England was with one common feeling ashamed of the odious war in which the king and his unworthy ministers had engaged the nation. Charles was forced to make peace on the conditions proposed by the Dutch. The honour of the flag was yielded to the English; a regulation of trade was agreed to; all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war; and the states-general agreed to pay the king 800,000 patacoons, or nearly £300,000.

With these encouraging results from the prince of Orange's influence and example, Holland persevered in the contest with France. He, in the first place, made head, during a winter campaign in Holland, against Marshal Luxemburg, who had succeeded Turenne in the Low Countries, the latter being obliged to march against the imperialists in Westphalia. He next advanced to oppose the great Condé, who occupied Brabant with an army of forty-five thousand men. After much manœuvring, in which the prince of Orange displayed consummate talent, he on one only occasion exposed a part of his army to a disadvantageous contest. Condé seized on the error; and of his own accord gave the battle to which his young opponent could not succeed in forcing him. The battle of Seneffe is remarkable not merely for the fury with which it was fought, or for its leaving victory undecided, but as being the last combat of one commander and the first of the other. "The prince of Orange," said the veteran Condé (who had that day exposed his person more than on any previous occasion), "has acted in everything like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a young soldier."

The campaign of 1675 offered no remarkable event, the prince of Orange with great prudence avoiding the risk of a battle.^b

THE LAST BATTLE OF DE RUYTER

On sea, the power of the Dutch nation had, from the time of the appointment of the prince of Orange as admiral-general, gradually declined. Whether that the conduct of the French, during the late war, had inspired him with a contempt for the naval prowess of that nation, or from some less excusable

[¹ As usual, there is a difference of ten days in the dates set for these battles, the Dutch dating them June 7th and June 14th. De Ruyter had tried in vain to block the mouth of the Thames by sinking vessels. The English finally came out with a superior force, and the first encounter was off Schoeneveldt. In the second the English retired, but the Dutch, fearing a ruse, did not pursue. In a third encounter, in the Texel, August 11th [or 21st], the English were repulsed in an effort to capture the East India fleet. The English captured the island of Tobago and took four merchantmen, but the Dutch fleet, under Evertsen, captured New York and took or sank sixty-five of the Newfoundland ships.]

[1676 A.D.]

motive, William sent De Ruyter to the Mediterranean with an insufficient and miserably-equipped fleet of eighteen ships, to make head against an enemy whose force consisted of above thirty sail; while the aid of the Spaniards, who had already sustained a severe defeat, was utterly inefficient. In vain did De Ruyter remonstrate against the rashness of thus wantonly exposing the flag of the states to insult; the only answer he received was an imputation that he began to grow timid in his old age; in vain, too, did his friends endeavour to persuade this noble-minded patriot to refuse

peremptorily to put to sea with so inadequate a force. It was his duty, he said, to obey the commands of the states; and having taken a last farewell of his family and friends, to whom he expressed his conviction that he should never return, he embarked at Hellevoetsluis, and with the first fair wind set sail for his destination.

He encountered the French fleet under the admiral Duquesne, between the islands of Stromboli and Salina, but without any decisive result. Having effected a junction with ten Spanish vessels, he came to a second engagement on the coast of Sicily, with Duquesne, who had likewise received a reinforcement of twelve men-of-war and four frigates. Almost at the commencement of the battle, De Ruyter was struck by a cannon ball,



A PATIENT AND DOCTOR — SEVENTEENTH CENTURY INTERIOR

(After the painting by Jan Steen, 1626-1679)

which carried off the fore part of his left foot and broke two bones of the right leg. He continued, however, to give his orders with undiminished activity, and concealed the disaster so effectually that neither friend nor enemy had the slightest suspicion of the truth. Both parties ascribed to themselves the victory; the relations on each side differing so widely that it is scarcely possible to conceive they allude to the same event. The most signal defeat, however, would have been a far less grievous calamity to the Dutch than that which they had to sustain in the loss of their great admiral, whose wounds proved fatal a few days after (April 29th, 1676).

De Ruyter is one of those characters whose faultless excellence would, were we obliged to rely solely on the evidence of the biographer and panegyrist, almost create a doubt of its reality, as if beyond the scope of human nature to attain. But in his case, the highest eulogiums are con-

[1676 A.D.]

firmed to the full by the concurring testimony of political opponents, and by the dry and impartial records of history. As a commander, valour was his least qualification: his genius, judgment, and foresight were equal to every emergency. In situations where temerity was wisdom, none could be more reckless and daring; when prudence dictated caution, none could incur more bravely the imputation of timidity.

During the troubled times of the republic, when he often received orders so equivocal or contradictory that whatever course he pursued could scarcely escape censure, he never failed to adopt such as both partisans and opponents agreed in pronouncing wisest and best. The strict discipline he maintained in the navy was softened by his perfect equanimity of temper, his strict regard to justice, his humanity and affability. The purest of republics, in the purest age of its existence, could never boast of a citizen of more incorruptible integrity, disinterestedness, or genuine simplicity of manners. The honours and titles of nobility heaped upon him by nearly every prince of Europe, the consciousness that he was the object of the respect and admiration of the whole civilised world, never in the slightest degree overcame his innate modesty. He gratefully refused the numerous invitations he received to visit foreign courts, and retained unchanged through life the frugal establishment and quiet deportment of a burgher of the middling class. He felt not the slightest shame at the obscurity of his origin,¹ but was, on the contrary, accustomed frequently to mention it in the presence of the most exalted personages, and to hold up his own example to the sailors as an incentive to honourable exertion.

The deficiency of his early education was compensated by the quickness of his apprehension, the clearness of his ideas, and the capacity and retentiveness of his memory. The latter faculty he possessed in such an extraordinary degree that he was able to recall exactly every circumstance, even the most minute, that had occurred from the time of his first going to sea, and the christian and surname of every man who had sailed with him. From conversation, he rapidly acquired the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French languages, so as to speak them with elegance and fluency. In private life, the virtues of a husband, father, friend, and citizen shone out with a lustre softer, but not less brilliant, than that which adorned his public career.

Death, which he had so often looked upon with calmness, came to him stripped of its terrors, and terminated, without a pang or a struggle, his exalted and blameless career of nearly seventy years. His body was embalmed, and, on the return of the fleet, carried to Amsterdam to be interred, amidst the tears of his countrymen.

The suspicion which had insinuated itself among the people, that this excellent and esteemed servant of the republic, a staunch and faithful adherent of the De Witt party, had been sacrificed to the jealousy of the stadholder, contributed to diminish still further the unbounded popularity he had at first enjoyed, and which the discovery of his ambitious views upon the sovereignty of the provinces, and the constant failure of his military enterprises, had already considerably undermined.^c

This year (1676) was doubly occupied in a negotiation for peace and an active prosecution of the war. Louis, at the head of his army, took several towns in Belgium; William was unsuccessful in an attempt on Maestricht. About the beginning of winter, the plenipotentiaries of the several belligerents assembled at Nimeguen, where a congress for peace was held. The

¹ In early youth he worked in a rope-yard, at the wages of a penny a day, and was first sent to sea as a cabin-boy,

Hollanders, loaded with debts and taxes, and seeing the weakness and slowness of their allies the Spaniards and Germans, prognosticated nothing but misfortunes. Their commerce languished; while that of England, now neutral amidst all these quarrels, flourished extremely. The prince of Orange, however, ambitious of glory, urged another campaign; and it commenced accordingly.

In the middle of February, 1677, Louis carried Valenciennes by storm, and laid siege to St. Omer and Cambray. William, though full of activity, courage, and skill, was nevertheless almost always unsuccessful in the field, and never more so than in this campaign. Several towns fell almost in his sight.^b

WILLIAM MARRIES THE PRINCESS MARY OF ENGLAND (1677)

William now resolved upon making one strenuous effort, either to engage the king of England as principal in the confederacy, or induce him to take a more active part as mediator. He had before discovered to the English ambassador, Sir William Temple, an inclination to form a matrimonial alliance with Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York; and, taking the opportunity of that minister's temporary return to the court of London, he now obtained, through his mediation, permission from the king to pay him a visit for the purpose of forwarding his suit to the princess. He was kindly received both by the king and the duke of York; but Charles, who was to the full as anxious to gratify France by a peace as the prince to prolong the war, desired that this matter should first be taken into consideration. But the proposal met with a direct negative from William; as he feared lest the allies, who had already taken some alarm on the subject of his visit, should accuse him of having sacrificed their interests to his own ambition for this alliance; and though captivated with the charms of the Lady Mary, he expressed, with strong symptoms of disappointment and vexation, his determination of immediately taking his departure, unless the business of the marriage were first concluded; observing that it was for the king to choose whether they were henceforth to live as the greatest friends or the greatest enemies. The solicitations of Temple and the lord-treasurer Danby at length induced Charles to yield this point, and within a few days the marriage was celebrated, to the great and universal joy of the nation.^c

THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN AND THE AUGSBURG LEAGUE

Charles was at this moment the arbiter of the peace of Europe; and though several fluctuations took place in his policy in the course of a few months as the urgent wishes of the parliament and the large presents of Louis differently actuated him, still the wiser and more just course prevailed, and he finally decided the balance by vigorously declaring his resolution for peace; and the treaty was consequently signed at Nimeguen, on the 10th of August, 1678. The prince of Orange, from private motives of spleen or a more unjustifiable desire for fighting, took the extraordinary measure of attacking the French troops under Luxemburg, near Mons, on the very day after the signing of this treaty. He must have known it, even though it were not officially notified to him, and he certainly had to answer for all the blood so wantonly spilt in the sharp though undecided action which ensued. Spain, abandoned to her fate, was obliged to make the best terms she could; and on the 17th of September she also concluded a treaty with France, on conditions entirely favourable to the latter power.

[1678-1685 A.D.]

A few years passed over after this period, without the occurrence of any transaction sufficiently important to require a mention here. Charles of England was sufficiently occupied by disputes with parliament, and the discovery, fabrication, and punishment of plots, real or pretended. Louis XIV, by a stretch of audacious pride hitherto unknown, arrogated to himself the supreme power of regulating the rest of Europe, as if all the other princes were his vassals. He established courts, or chambers of reunion as they were called, in Metz and Brisac, which cited princes, issued decrees, and authorised spoliation, in the most unjust and arbitrary manner. Louis chose to award to himself Luxemburg, Chiny, and a considerable portion of Brabant and Flanders. He marched a considerable army into Belgium, which the Spanish governors were unable to oppose.

The prince of Orange, who laboured incessantly to excite a confederacy among the other powers of Europe against the unwarrantable aggressions of France, was unable to arouse his countrymen to actual war; and was forced, instead of



A DUTCH SCHOOL (1682)

(After the painting by Adrian van Ostade, 1610-1685)

gaining the glory he longed for, to consent to a truce for twenty years, which the states-general, now wholly pacific and not a little cowardly, were too happy to obtain from France. The emperor and the king of Spain gladly entered into a like treaty. The fact was that the peace of Nimueguen had disjoined the great confederacy which William had so successfully brought about; and the various powers were laid utterly prostrate at the feet of the imperious Louis, who for a while held the destinies of Europe in his hands.

Charles II died most unexpectedly in the year 1685. His successor, James II, seemed, during a reign of not four years' continuance, to rush wilfully headlong to ruin. During this period, the prince of Orange had maintained a most circumspect and unexceptionable line of conduct: steering clear of all inter-

ference with English affairs; giving offence to none of the political factions; and observing in every instance the duty and regard which he owed to his father-in-law. During Monmouth's invasion he had despatched to James' assistance six regiments of British troops which were in the Dutch service, and he offered to take the command of the king's forces against the rebels.

It was from the application of James himself that William took any part in English affairs; for he was more widely and much more congenially employed in the establishment of a fresh league against France. Louis had aroused a new feeling throughout Protestant Europe, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The refugees, whom he had driven from their native country, inspired in those in which they settled hatred of his persecution as well as alarm at his power. Holland now entered into all the views of the prince of Orange. By his immense influence he succeeded in forming the great confederacy called the League of Augsburg, to which the emperor, Spain, and almost every European power but England, became parties.

James gave the prince reason to believe that he too would join in this great project, if William would in return concur in his views of domestic tyranny; but William wisely refused. James, much disappointed, expressed his displeasure against the prince, and against the Dutch generally, by various vexatious acts.

WILLIAM BECOMES KING OF ENGLAND (1689)

William resolved to maintain a high attitude; and many applications were made to him by the most considerable persons in England for relief against James' violent measures, which there was but one method of making effectual. That method was force. But so long as the princess of Orange was certain of succeeding to the crown on her father's death, William hesitated to join in an attempt that might possibly have failed and lost her her inheritance. But the birth of a son, which, in giving James a male heir, destroyed all hope of redress for the kingdom, decided the wavering, and rendered the determined desperate. The prince chose the time for his enterprise with the sagacity, arranged its plan with the prudence, and put it into execution with the vigour, which were habitual qualities of his mind.

Louis XIV, menaced by the League of Augsburg, had resolved to strike the first blow against the allies. He invaded Germany; so that the Dutch preparations seemed in the first instance intended as measures of defence against the progress of the French. But Louis' envoy at the Hague could not be long deceived. He gave notice to his master, who in his turn warned James. But that infatuated monarch not only doubted the intelligence, but refused the French king's offers of assistance and co-operation. On the 21st of October the prince of Orange, with an army of fourteen thousand men, and a fleet of five hundred vessels of all kinds, set sail from Hellevootsluis; and after some delays from bad weather he safely landed his army in Torbay, on the 5th of November, 1688. The desertion of James' best friends; his own consternation, flight, seizure, and second escape; and the solemn act by which he was deposed — were the rapid occurrences of a few weeks; and thus the grandest revolution that England had ever seen was happily consummated. Without entering here on legislative reasonings or party sophisms, it is enough to record the act itself; and to say, in reference to our more immediate subject, that without the assistance of Holland and her glorious chief England might have still remained enslaved, or have had to purchase liberty by oceans of blood. By the bill of settlement the crown was conveyed jointly to the prince and



JAMES II RECEIVING THE NEWS OF THE LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE

(From a painting by Edward M. Ward in the National Gallery, London)

[1689-1695 A.D.]

princess of Orange, the sole administration of government to remain in the prince; and the new sovereigns were proclaimed on the 23rd of February, 1689. The convention, which had arranged this important point, annexed to the settlement a declaration of rights, by which the powers of royal prerogative and the extent of popular privilege were defined and guaranteed.^b

The satisfaction which the Dutch experienced at having given a sovereign to so great and renowned a nation, an event calculated to add strength to the cause of the reformed religion, and permanently secure to themselves the English alliance, gave place in a great degree to the not groundless apprehension that the king would be tempted to sacrifice the interests of the weaker state, where his authority was undisputed, to those of the larger and more powerful. Many, who considered the office of hereditary stadholder incompatible with that of King of England, expected that he would resign the former; but this anticipation was disappointed in the receipt of his first message to the States, informing them of his elevation to the throne, and professing that this circumstance would in no wise lessen his care and affection for them, but enable him on the contrary to exercise the office he held in the United Provinces for their greater service and advantage. But, notwithstanding these fair promises, it soon became evident how little they had to hope for either from him or the English nation, in return for the liberal and generous assistance afforded them in the late emergency.^c

WAR WITH FRANCE

William now presented the singular instance of a monarchy and a republic being at the same time governed by the same individual. But whether as a king or a citizen, William was actuated by one powerful principle, to which every act of private administration was made subservient. Inveterate opposition to the power of Louis XIV was this all-absorbing motive.

A sentiment so mighty left William but little time for inferior points of government, and everything but that seems to have irritated and disgusted him. He was soon again on the Continent, the chief theatre of his efforts. He put himself in front of the confederacy which resulted from the congress of Utrecht in 1690. He took the command of the allied army; and till the hour of his death he never ceased his indefatigable course of hostility, whether in the camp or the cabinet, at the head of the allied armies, or as the guiding spirit of the councils which gave them force and motion.

Several campaigns were expended and bloody combats fought, almost all to the disadvantage of William, whose genius for war was never seconded by that good fortune which so often decides the fate of battles in defiance of all the calculations of talent. But no reverse had power to shake the constancy and courage of William. He always appeared as formidable after defeat as he was before action. His conquerors gained little but the honour of the day. Fleurus, Steenkerke, Neerwinden were successively the scenes of his evil fortune, and the sources of his fame. His retreats were master strokes of vigilant activity and profound combinations. Many eminent sieges took place during this war. Among other towns, Mons and Namur were taken by the French, and Huy by the allies; and the army of Marshal Villeroi bombarded Brussels during three days, in August, 1695, with such fury that the town-house, fourteen churches, and four thousand houses were reduced to ashes. The year following this event saw another undecisive campaign.^b

William engaged Tromp to return to the navy and resume his position

as vice-admiral and appointed him in 1691 to the command of the English and Dutch navy. Both countries hoped much on seeing once more installed at the head of the naval force a man so courageous and able as Tromp.

Europe awaited, expectant of great achievements on the sea, the campaign of 1691. The French forces were commanded by the count de Tourville, who had given in numerous engagements striking proof of his ability. The arming and equipment of the fleet was carried on assiduously, when the death of Tromp occurred. A mortal malady had ended his life on the 29th of May, 1691.

The news of his death spread rapidly through Holland and carried consternation everywhere. The great need that the nation had of him made his loss felt to the full extent. Cornelis Tromp is placed justly among the naval heroes of Holland. He gave new glory to the name already made illustrious by his father. His courage was an incentive to his countrymen, who endeavoured to imitate it. It was always he who attacked the enemy. Many times did he throw himself in the middle of an English fleet, dispersing all who crossed his course; attacking always the vessel which seemed most able to resist him.^d

During the continuance of this war, the naval transactions present no grand results. Jean Bart, a celebrated adventurer of Dunkirk, occupies the leading place in those affairs, in which he carried on a desultory but active warfare against the Dutch and English fleets, and generally with great success.

PEACE OF RYSWICK

All the nations which had taken part in so many wars were now becoming exhausted by the contest, but none so much so as France. England, though with much resolution voting new supplies, and in every way upholding William in his plans for the continuance of war, was rejoiced when Louis accepted the mediation of Charles XI, king of Sweden, and agreed to concessions which made peace feasible. Everything was finally arranged to meet the general views of the parties, and negotiations were opened at Ryswick. On the 20th of September, 1697, the articles of the treaty were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors. The treaty consisted of seventeen articles. The French king declared he would not disturb or disquiet the king of Great Britain, whose title he now for the first time acknowledged. Between France and Holland were declared a general armistice, perpetual amity, a mutual restitution of towns, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, and a treaty of commerce which was immediately put into execution. Thus, after this long, expensive, and sanguinary war, things were established just on the footing they had been by the peace of Nimeguen. The peace became general, but unfortunately for Europe it was of very short duration.

France, as if looking forward to the speedy renewal of hostilities, still kept her armies undisbanded. Let the foresight of her politicians have been what it might, this negative proof of it was justified by events. The king of Spain, a weak prince, without any direct heir for his possessions, considered himself authorised to dispose of their succession by will. The leading powers of Europe thought otherwise, and took this right upon themselves. Charles died on the 1st of November, 1700, and thus put the important question to the test. By a solemn testament he declared Philip duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, and grandson of Louis XIV, his successor to the whole of the Spanish monarchy. Louis immediately renounced his adherence to

[1701 A.D.]

the treaties of partition, executed at the Hague and in London in 1698 and 1700, and to which he had been a contracting party; and prepared to maintain the act by which the last of the descendants of Charles V bequeathed the possessions of Spain and the Indies to the family which had so long been the inveterate enemy and rival of his own.

The emperor Leopold, on his part, prepared to defend his claims; and thus commenced the new war between him and France, which took its name from the succession which formed the object of dispute. Hostilities were commenced in Italy, where Prince Eugene, the conqueror of the Turks, commanded for Leopold, and every day made for himself a still more brilliant reputation. Louis sent his grandson to Spain to take possession of the inheritance for which so hard a fight was yet to be maintained.

Louis prepared to act vigorously. Among other measures, he caused part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxemburg and Brabant to be suddenly made prisoners of war, because they would not own Philip V as king of Spain. The states-general were dreadfully alarmed, immediately made the required acknowledgment, and in consequence had their soldiers released. They quickly reinforced their garrisons, purchased supplies, solicited foreign aid, and prepared for the worst that might happen. They wrote to King William, professing the most inviolable attachment to England; and he met their application by warm assurances of support, and an immediate reinforcement of three regiments.

DEATH OF WILLIAM III

William followed up these measures by the formation of the celebrated treaty called the Grand Alliance, by which England, the states, and the emperor covenanted for the support of the pretensions of the latter to the Spanish monarchy. William was preparing, in spite of his declining health, to take his usual lead in the military operations now decided on, and almost all Europe was again looking forward to his guidance, when he died on the 8th of March, 1701, leaving his great plans to receive their execution from still more able adepts in the art of war.^b

DAVIES' ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM III

William had to sustain a life of anxiety and fatigue, under the disadvantage of a feeble constitution of body; betrayed by his slight and attenuated frame, though in no degree in his countenance, which was clear, animated, and sparkling.

In a military point of view, he presents the singular phenomenon of a commander indebted for a high reputation solely to reverses and defeats, his peculiar constitution of mind being indeed such as to insure for him both the reverses and the reputation. Deficient in inventive faculty, slow of comprehension, hesitating and unready, without a sufficient degree of confidence in his own opinions, and too proud to endure contradiction or adopt the suggestions of others, he was unable immediately to perceive the skilful combinations of the great generals opposed to him or to cope with their rapid and masterly movements; and often allowed the opportunity for action to escape, or formed his plans in ignorance of some point which, if seized, would have occasioned them to be wholly different.

In the field of battle, on the other hand, the discovery of errors previously committed caused in him neither vacillation nor apprehension. Roused

to animation, full of unwonted fire and energy, he was present everywhere, and exposed himself with indifference to the most imminent dangers. In the hour of defeat, which too surely arrived, his real greatness displayed itself; it was then that his dauntless spirit and unshaken firmness of soul enabled him to take advantage of all the resources that were yet available; to give his orders with the same composure and precision as if advancing to certain victory; and to convert the most disastrous rout into a safe and orderly retreat.

Considered as a politician, his capacity for government appeared in a very different light in his native country, where he was surrounded by able and zealous ministers, and in England, where he was left to depend more upon his own resources. In Holland he had merely to express his opinions,

however crude, and a Fagel, a Beverning, a Dykeveldt, and a Heinsius — unquestionably the first statesmen and politicians in Europe — were ready to modify, to improve, and to render them suitable to the taste of the nation; in England, where he had few or none on whom he could depend for information and assistance, and where the slightest influence gained over him by one party excited the jealousy and animosity of the other, he betrays an extreme deficiency in penetration, dexterity, and temper; and we can scarcely recognise, in the peevish monarch, threatening constantly to abandon his kingdom, and with it the noble cause he had espoused, the steady patriot who delivered his country from the miseries of foreign conquest and domestic sedition. Placed by circumstances



WILLIAM III (1650-1701)

in the position of a restorer and defender of liberty, never was absolute monarch more fond of arbitrary power, or more impatient of even the most legitimate control.

In Holland, where, at the time of his accession to the stadholderate, the precarious condition of affairs rendered it necessary that unusual authority should be placed in his hands, we have seen him take advantage of it to introduce his dependents into every office of government without regard to their ability to fill them, and to trample under foot the ancient customs and privileges, interwoven in the welfare, almost in the very existence of his country. It may, indeed, be truly affirmed that, had he left a son, or succeeded in settling the inheritance on his relative John William Friso, the liberties of Holland were gone forever. In England, his anxiety to obtain a larger share of authority than the nation was willing to grant led him to appear ungrateful to those who had set him on the throne, and to inflict incalculable injury on his affairs by entrusting them to ministers of the tory party, whose maxims of government, as more favourable to royal prerogative, were more acceptable to him than those of the whigs; but whom he

never could succeed in reconciling to his person, or engage to serve him with fidelity.

But though his self-will and arbitrary temper might have inclined him to be a despot, not even these dispositions could ever have induced him to become a tyrant. Too magnanimous at once, and too indolent, to commit acts of injustice or oppression, he would have obtained absolute power only with a view to its upright and beneficial use. His lofty and noble ambition, exempt from the slightest alloy of vanity, rapacity, or cupidity, was directed to none but the most praiseworthy ends; to the glory and happiness of the countries he governed, to the preservation of the liberties and balance of Europe, and to the abasement of the overgrown power of France.

In steadiness of purpose he was unshaken; in scrupulous honour and integrity he was unsurpassed by any prince of the world; and forms, in this respect, a striking contrast, as well to the habitual insincerity of his predecessor Charles II as to the duplicity and faithlessness of his contemporary of France; of him it might be truly affirmed, as it was erroneously observed of his father-in-law, that his word was never broken. So high was the esteem in which he was universally held on this account, that the Spanish minister, De Lyra, was accustomed to say his master trusted more to the honour and constancy of the prince of Orange than to any treaties. A deep and fervent spirit of piety was in him united, in a remarkable manner, with sentiments of unbounded religious toleration.

Yet with many and great virtues, while he secured the esteem he failed to gain the affections of mankind. Raised to the sovereign power over two great nations, by the mere force of popular opinion, and hailed by both as their preserver and defender, he died disliked and unlamented by the one and rather respected than beloved by the other; a circumstance attributable chiefly to his cold and reserved manners and melancholy temperament, being but rarely excited to cheerfulness, and then only among a few of his most intimate friends.

But if he took no pains to acquire the love of men, he was equally little affected by their malice and enmity. The numerous attempts to assassinate him, persisted in during the whole course of his reign, never excited in him the slightest emotion of anger, revenge, or fear; firm in the belief of predestination instilled in his youth by his Calvinistic teachers, and which he carried into every, even the smallest, circumstance of his life, and fully persuaded that not all the power and arts of enemies could hasten his destiny one single moment, he was literally "not afraid of what man could do unto him." But though neither vindictive nor cruel, it may be doubted whether he hesitated to sacrifice the principles of humanity and justice when they stood in the way of the advancement of his interests or the gratification of his ambition. The murder of the De Witts and the massacre of Glencoe have cast upon his memory a stain which his panegyrists have in vain laboured to efface.

In both the instances in question, the impunity that William secured to the perpetrators of the crime, and the friendship and countenance with which he afterwards treated them, offered almost incontrovertible evidence of his guilty participation; and in the minds of posterity, unhappily, the remembrance of the defender of the civil and religious liberty of Europe is inseparably interwoven with that of the abettor of the murder of the illustrious De Witts and of the slaughter of the confiding Highlanders of Glencoe.

But, however exceptionable in some points the public character of William, in his domestic relations it shines out with a clear and undimmed lustre. His

purity of morals and general propriety of conduct contributed much to infuse a new tone and spirit into the society of England.

The consternation which prevailed in the United Provinces on the death of William was excessive, since, from the known prejudices of Queen Anne, his successor, against the whigs, nothing less was expected than that an immediate and entire change of measures in the English court and the dissolution of the Grand Alliance would leave them exposed to the whole vengeance of France. These fears were speedily relieved by the declaration of the views of the queen, who, within a week after her accession, dispatched the earl of Marlborough to assure the states of her determination to preserve all the alliances formed by the late king for the maintenance of the liberties of Europe, and the reduction of the power of France within just limits; and to regard the interests of her own kingdom and the states as inseparable. The states of Holland, on their side, passed a resolution that, notwithstanding the lamented death of the king of England, they were determined to remain firm to their allies, and prosecute the war with their whole strength and vigour; and, appearing in full number in the states-general, induced them to adopt a similar resolution. The treaty between Great Britain and the states was accordingly renewed, and the plan of the campaign projected by William III was concluded with the earl of Marlborough, who had been appointed general-in-chief of the English forces before the death of that monarch.

It was in the early part of the war that those dissensions sprang up between the duke of Marlborough and the states' deputies in the camp, which have called forth the bitterest invectives against the Dutch from the English writers, more especially his biographer, archdeacon Coxe.^e Marlborough was, for many reasons, anxious to make the Netherlands the principal scene of hostilities; while the states hoped, by acting chiefly on the defensive, and confining themselves to hindering the advance of the French troops, and to effecting the reduction of the towns which served best to protect the United Provinces against invasion, to impel the king of France to turn the strength of his arms to Germany, Italy, and Spain, and thus relieve provinces so near their own boundaries, in some measure, from the miseries of war.^e

THE STADHOLDERATE ABOLISHED (1704)

William was the last of that illustrious line which for a century and a half had filled Europe with admiration. He never had a child; and being himself an only one, his title as prince of Orange passed into another branch of the family. He left his cousin, Prince John William Friso of Nassau, the stadholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the states-general his executors.^b

While the preparations for the ensuing campaign were in progress, animated debates arose in the states-general on the subject of the appointment of a commander of the troops. The states of Friesland and Groningen insisted that their young stadholder, John William Friso, should be created general of the infantry; a demand strenuously opposed by the remaining provinces. The states of Zealand, accordingly, objected that, in the present condition of affairs, it was necessary to have a general, not nominal only, such as the tender age of the prince would render him, but of mature years and experience; and that his advancement would be only the first step to the renewal of that form of government which neither themselves nor the other states would willingly see restored. A compromise was at length

[1701-1704 A.D.]

effected, according to which John William Friso was appointed general of the infantry, but was not to exercise the duties nor enjoy the emoluments of the office till he had completed his twentieth year.

The states were probably rendered the more reluctant to adopt any measure which might tend to advance Prince John William Friso to the stadholdership, from the circumstance of the will, by which William III had appointed him his sole heir, being disputed by the king of Prussia, grandson by the mother's side of the stadholder Frederick Henry, who had bequeathed the inheritance to the heirs of his daughter, in default of the issue of his son. In order, therefore, to prevent the indulgence of any hopes which the Orange party might conceive from this favour shown to the prince, the states of Holland were the first to propose in the states-general that those of the individual provinces should take an oath, each deputy separately, to preserve the union of the provinces without a stadholder, and to maintain steadily all the alliances in which they were at present engaged.

On this occasion the states of Holland, instead of sending their deputies as usual, appeared in person, and in full number, in the states-general, a mode to which they constantly afterwards adhered, and which procured for them a weight and influence in the federal government superior even to that formerly enjoyed by the stadholders. The senates and councils of the towns resumed the right of nominating their own members, a change which in Holland was effected without disturbance; but in Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel, where "the regulations"—the terms, that is, on which these provinces had been received back into the union after their conquest by the king of France—were of such a nature as to give the late stadholder opportunities for the exercise of exorbitant power, the struggles between the party whom he had sedulously excluded from public offices, and those whom long possession had rendered doubly anxious to retain them, were frequent and severe.

Ultimately, however, the changes in the municipal bodies were almost universally favourable to the existing government, and the constitution of the five provinces settled itself on pretty nearly the same basis as after the death of William II in 1650. The principal and most difficult duty of the stadholder, that of persuading the provinces to agree to the subsidies demanded by the council of state, was now fulfilled by the states of Holland through the medium of their pensionary, whose office thus acquired new dignity and importance, while his influence became more extensive in the states-general.¹ The deliberations which, since the death of the stadholder, had been tardy and vacillating, now gradually assumed a character of greater firmness and vigour; and never, perhaps, were the measures of the government more distinguished by wisdom, energy, and justice, than during the latter years of the war.^c

THE TRIUMVIRATE AGAINST FRANCE

The joy in France at William's death was proportionate to the grief it created in Holland; and the arrogant confidence of Louis seemed to know no bounds. "I will punish these audacious merchants," said he, with an air of disdain, when he read the manifesto of Holland; not foreseeing that those he affected to despise so much would, ere long, command in a great

¹ The influence of the states of Holland in the states-general was obtained chiefly by a custom they had of advancing money to the poorer provinces, when unable to pay their quotas to the generality; and, in the same way, Amsterdam was accustomed to exercise a preponderance over the smaller towns in the states of Holland.

measure the destinies of his crown. Many of the northern princes were withheld, by various motives, from entering into the contest with France, and its whole brunt devolved on the original members of the grand alliance. The generals who carried it on were Marlborough and Prince Eugene. The former, at its commencement an earl, and subsequently raised to the dignity of duke, was declared generalissimo of the Dutch and English forces. He was a man of most powerful genius, both as warrior and politician. A pupil of the great Turenne, his exploits left those of his master in the shade. No commander ever possessed in a greater degree the faculty of forming vast designs, and of carrying them into effect with consummate skill; no one displayed more coolness and courage in action, saw with a keener eye the errors of the enemy, or knew better how to profit by success. He never laid siege to a town that he did not take, and never fought a battle that he did not gain.

Prince Eugene joined to the highest order of personal bravery a profound judgment for the grand movements of war, and a capacity for the most minute of the minor details on which their successful issue so often depends. United in the same cause, these two great generals pursued their course without the least misunderstanding. At the close of each of those successive campaigns, in which they reaped such a full harvest of renown, they retired together to the Hague, to arrange, in the profoundest secrecy, the plans for the next year's operations, with one other person, who formed the great point of union between them, and completed a triumvirate without a parallel in the history of political affairs. This third was Heinsius, one of those great men produced by the republic whose names are tantamount to the most detailed eulogium for talent and patriotism. Every enterprise projected by the confederates was deliberately examined, rejected, or approved by these three associates, whose strict union of purpose, disowning all petty rivalry, formed the centre of counsels and the source of circumstances finally so fatal to France.

The war began in 1702 in Italy, and Marlborough opened his first campaign in Brabant also in that year. For several succeeding years the confederates pursued a career of brilliant success, the details of which do not properly belong to this portion of our history. Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, are names that speak for themselves, and tell their own tale of glory. The utter humiliation of France was the result of events in which England was joined in the strictest union with Holland, and the impetuous valour of the successor to the title of prince of Orange was, on many occasions, particularly at Malplaquet, supported by the devotion and gallantry of the Dutch contingent in the allied armies. The naval affairs of Holland offered nothing very remarkable. The states had always a fleet ready to support the English in their enterprises; but no eminent admiral arose to rival the renown of Rooke, Byng, Benbow, and others of their allies. The first of those admirals took Gibraltar, which has ever since remained in the possession of England.¹ The great earl of Peterborough carried on the war with splendid success in Portugal and Spain, supported occasionally by the English fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and that of Holland under admirals Allemonde and Wapenaer.

During the progress of the war, the haughty and long-time imperial Louis was reduced to a state of humiliation that excited a compassion so profound

¹ The queen of England at first appeared inclined to acknowledge a joint-possession with the states of this conquest, achieved by their united arms; but she afterwards changed her purpose, and the English finally assumed the sole occupation of Gibraltar, without any indemnification to the states, who, reluctant to alienate so valuable an ally by insisting on the share so justly due to them, quietly acquiesced in the usurpation.^o

[1709-1712 A.D.]

as to prevent its own open expression. In the year 1709 he solicited peace on terms of most abject submission. The states-general, under the influence of the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, rejected all his supplications, retorting unsparingly the insolent harshness with which he had formerly received similar proposals from them. In the following year Louis renewed his attempts to obtain some tolerable conditions; offering to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all the former demands of the confederates. Even these overtures were rejected; Holland and England appearing satisfied with nothing short of, what was after all impracticable, the total destruction of the great power which Louis had so long proved to be incompatible with their welfare.^b

TROUBLE WITH ENGLAND

Yet events had long been preparing in England which were to change entirely the face of affairs on the Continent, and deprive the states, and even Great Britain herself, in some measure, of the fruits of their numerous and dearly-bought victories. The dismissal of the whig ministers in 1710, followed in 1711 by the dismissal of Marlborough, was a measure regarded with as much dismay by the allies (of whom the emperor and states ventured to petition the queen in earnest terms against it), as with secret triumph and exultation by France. Louis, indeed, had everything to hope from the new administration, composed entirely of tories, whom all the glory of their country's arms failed to reconcile to the war, and who constantly viewed both the Dutch nation itself and the alliance of the states with jealousy and aversion.

The queen of England having sent circulars to the allied sovereigns, inviting them to the congress at Utrecht, ambassadors from nearly all the courts of Europe appeared in that city early in the year 1712. The instructions given to those of England, as regarded the United Provinces, seemed rather as though directed against enemies than in favour of allies whose interests she was bound to maintain equally with her own.

The Dutch felt still more painfully the effects of the altered sentiments of England in the course of the campaign. Secret orders were sent to Marlborough's successor, the duke of Ormonde, to take no part in any siege or battle. Thus enfeebled by the desertion of the English, a detachment of the allied army sustained a severe defeat at Denain. The truce between France and England was renewed and Bolingbroke was sent to France with instructions to conclude a separate peace.

These events — more especially the seizure of Ghent by the English, which enabled them to stop the supplies to the allied camp — were attended with the effect which the ministers anticipated, of reducing the allies to submission to such terms as England and France might impose. The negotiations at Utrecht were resumed on the basis proposed by the queen in her speech to her parliament at the opening of the session. Herein she had declared that the barrier provided for the states should be the same as that of the treaty of 1709, with the exception of two or three places at most — a point which gave rise to many and animated contests.

At length the queen having obtained from France the addition of Tournay to the barrier towns, the states were fain to receive peace upon such other conditions as were offered them. They signed a new treaty with England, annulling that of 1709, and providing that the emperor Charles should be sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands, which, neither in the whole nor in part, should ever be possessed by France.

THE TREATY OF UTRECHT (1713) AND THE BARRIER TREATY (1715)

Difficulties being thus smoothed, the declaration made by the English plenipotentiaries of their determination to sign on a certain day, whether with or without the allies, hastened the decision of the latter, with the exception of the emperor. Portugal, Russia, and, last of all, the states, followed the example of England. By the treaty concluded between France and the states, it was agreed that the king of France should surrender to them the Spanish Netherlands, on behalf of the house of Austria, the elector of Bavaria being reinstated in all the territories he possessed before the war. The towns of Menin, Tournay, Namur, Ypres, with Warneton, Poperinghe, Comines and Wervicq, Furnes, Dixmude, and the fort of Knokke, were to be ceded to the states, as a barrier, to be held in such a manner as they should afterwards agree upon with the emperor. France and the states mutually bound themselves to do no act which should tend to unite the crowns of Spain and France on one head.

The publication of the peace was received by the people in the United Provinces with coldness, and even aversion; they declared that the illuminations and bonfires, with which the states ordered the event to be celebrated, ought to be called, not *feux de joie*, but *feux d'artifice*; and inveighed bitterly against the English ministry, whom the corrupt influence of France alone, according to the vulgar opinion, had prompted to conclude a war the most glorious and successful ever waged in Europe by a degrading and injurious peace.

The effects of the favourable dispositions of the court of England, and the altered sentiments of France towards the states, were soon perceptible in the negotiations with the emperor concerning the regulation of the barrier, which, since the Peace of Utrecht, had given rise to long and angry contestations. The emperor had hitherto refused their demand of the demolition of Fort Philip and the cession of Dendermonde; but, now that he found they had the support of England and France, he yielded so far as to consent that the states should keep a joint garrison with himself in that town; he abandoned his claim to Venlo and Stevenswaard, on which he had before insisted, and by the Treaty of the Barrier, November 15th, 1715, permitted the boundary on the side of Flanders to be fixed in a manner highly satisfactory to the states, who sought security rather than extent of dominion. By the possession of Namur they commanded the passage of the Sambre and Maas; Tournay ensured the navigation of the Schelde; Menin and Warneton protected the Lys; while Ypres and the fort of Knokke kept open the communication with Furnes, Nieuport, and Dunkirk. Events proved the barrier, so earnestly insisted on, to have been wholly insufficient as a means of defence to the United Provinces, and scarcely worth the labour and cost of its maintenance.

Henceforward, with the exception of a triple alliance concluded with France and England in the next year, the states during a considerable period interested themselves slightly, or not at all in the numerous treaties which the different powers of Europe, as if seized with the mania of diplomacy, were continually negotiating — often, it would seem, without any special cause or definite purpose. Neither did they take any share in the wars between Spain and France, or between Spain and Great Britain — effects of the restless ambition of the Spanish minister, Cardinal Alberoni — further than to furnish such subsidies to the new English king, George I, as were expressly stipulated by treaty.



A DUTCH INN AND BOWLING GREEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(Painted for the *Historians' History of the World*, by Philipps Ward)

estates of the nobility and towns, they were, in default of a stadholder, obliged to have recourse to the interference of the states-general. Hence that body, or rather the states of Holland, whose supremacy was tacitly admitted by the rest, took occasion to assume and exercise greater influence in their affairs than they were inclined either to admit or endure. Should they appoint a stadholder all such differences must be submitted to his decision, and thus the states-general be excluded from intermeddling.

This consideration it was that induced many of the deputies to the Gelderland states to accede to a measure they might otherwise have been disposed to thwart; and they accordingly elected unanimously the young prince stadholder, captain, and admiral-general of Gelderland (1722). Yet they plainly evinced their dread lest the stadholderal power should become as dangerous as it had before been to the liberties of their country, by the narrow limits within which they confined it. Shorn as it was of its lustre, the restoration of the stadholderate in Gelderland was hailed with joy by the Orange party as the first step towards a return to a similar form of government in the remaining four provinces; yet some years elapsed, and a vast change of circumstances occurred, before they found themselves in sufficient strength to carry that measure.^c





**THE HISTORIANS'
HISTORY
OF THE WORLD**



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Painted especially for "The Historians' History of the World" by T. de Thulstrup

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative
of the Rise and Development
of Nations from the Earliest
Times as recorded by over
Two Thousand of the Great
Writers of All Ages. Edited
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BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

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THE GERMANIC EMPIRE

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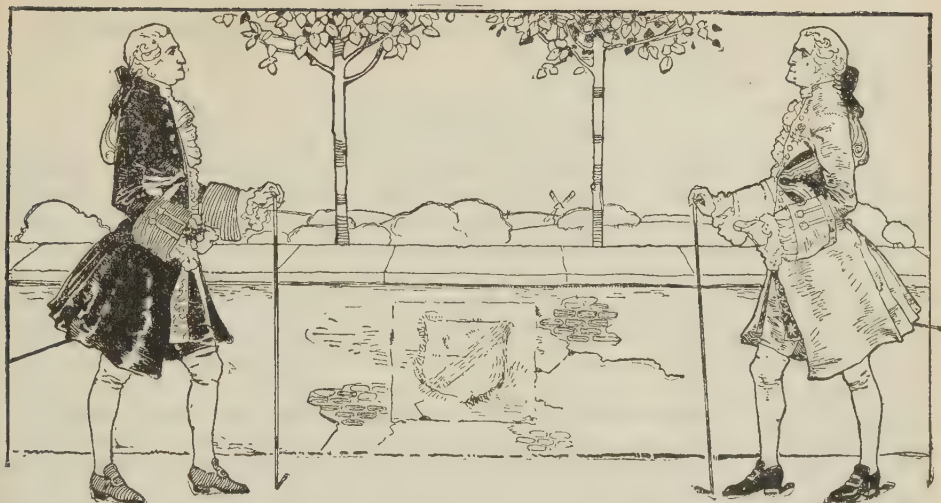
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CHAPTER XVI

HOLLAND FROM 1722 TO 1815

DURING a period of thirty years following the Treaty of Utrecht, the republic enjoyed the unaccustomed blessing of profound peace. While the discontents of the Austrian Netherlands on the subject of the Barrier-Treaty were in debate, the quadruple alliance was formed between Holland, England, France, and the emperor for reciprocal aid against all enemies, foreign and domestic. It was in virtue of this treaty that the pretender to the English throne received orders to remove from France; and the states-general about the same time arrested the Swedish ambassador, Baron von Görtz, whose intrigues excited some suspicion.

The death of Louis XIV had once more changed the political system of Europe; and the commencement of the eighteenth century was fertile in negotiations and alliances in which we have at present but little direct interest. The rights of the republic were in all instances respected; and Holland did not cease to be considered as a power of the first distinction and consequence. The establishment of an East India company at Ostend, by the emperor Charles VI, in 1722, was the principal cause of disquiet to the United Provinces, and the most likely to lead to a rupture. But, by the Treaty of Hanover in 1726, the rights of Holland resulting from the Treaty of Münster were guaranteed; and in consequence the emperor abolished the company of his creation, by the Treaty of Seville in 1729, and that of Vienna in 1731.

The peace which now reigned in Europe allowed the United Provinces to direct their whole efforts towards the reform of those internal abuses resulting from feudality and fanaticism. Confiscations were reversed, and property was secured throughout the republic. It received into its protection the persecuted sectarians of France, Germany, and Hungary; and the tolerant wisdom which it exercised in these measures gives the best assurance of its justice and prudence in one of a contrary nature, forming a solitary exception to them. This was the expulsion of the Jesuits, whose dangerous and

destructive doctrines had been long a warrant for this salutary example to the Protestant states of Europe.^b

DANGER TO THE DIKES

About this time the destruction of a large portion, at least, of the wealthy and populous provinces of Holland and Zealand, which Louis XIV, in the zenith of his power, had been unable to effect, was well nigh brought about by a very tiny agent. The dikes, which for three centuries had been formed of beams and pile-work, were discovered in 1732 in Walcheren and North Holland to be in a state of complete decay, in consequence of the attacks of the small marine worm called the *Pholas*, supposed to have been brought in the ships from the East and West Indies. This insect, by means of the horny shell of its head, furnished with a sharp edge like a saw, is able to hollow out the hardest wood, and even stone, and had been for some time committing its destructive ravages unperceived. The dread that the storms of winter would arrive while the dikes were thus incapable of resistance, and the country be overwhelmed by the sea, was so great in the minds of all men that public prayers were offered up in the churches to the Almighty to avert the evil. Their alarms, however, proved groundless; and the danger to which they had been exposed was, by the ingenuity and industry of the people, productive of a permanent benefit; since it gave rise to the discovery of a mode of covering the pile-work with a facing of earth, and flint and granite stones, which not only protected it from the worm, but rendered the dike firmer against the assaults of the waves.

About this time the long-pending suit between the King of Prussia and the Prince of Orange-Nassau, concerning the inheritance of William III, was compromised; the cession of the principality of Orange made to the King of France at the Peace of Utrecht was confirmed, the prince being at liberty to give the name of Orange to any one of his estates, and continue to bear the title and arms of that principality.^c

The peace of Europe was once more disturbed in 1733. Poland, Germany, France, and Spain were all embarked in the new war. Holland and England stood aloof; and another family alliance of great consequence drew still closer than ever the bonds of union between them. The young prince of Orange, who in 1728 had been elected stadholder of Groningen and Gelderland, in addition to that of Friesland which had been enjoyed by his father, had in the year 1734 married the princess Anne, daughter of George II of England; and by thus adding to the consideration of the house of Nassau had opened a field for the recovery of all its old distinctions.^b

WAR WITH FRANCE

In 1743 the states joined England in supporting the claims of Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, and fell consequently into complications with France, which invaded the barrier country. In 1744 they granted a subsidy in money and put twenty thousand men in the field, and became a member of the quadruple alliance with Austria, England, and Saxony. In 1745 the provinces took their part in the rout of Fontenoy, after which Marshal Saxe overran the Austrian Netherlands, while England and Holland were alike paralysed by the Jacobite rising in Scotland. The states lost every barrier-town, and lay defenceless before the French, who in 1747 entered Dutch Flanders and made an easy conquest.

[1747 A.D.]

WILLIAM IV DECLARED STADHOLDER (1747)

And now the Orange party, supported by English aid, began to lift its head. The provinces had fallen so low that all men began to wish for a dictator. Accordingly Prince William Charles Henry Friso was proclaimed stadholder, captain and admiral-general of Zealand, at Terveer, under the title of William IV. The movement thus begun spread like wildfire; all Zealand accepted him with enthusiasm, and Holland was not far behind; even at Amsterdam and the Hague the popular feeling was too strong to be resisted, and the government had to give way. William IV became captain and admiral-general of the whole union, and stadholder of the seven provinces; a little later these offices were declared hereditary in both male and female lines.^d

This change, completed within a week, was unattended by bloodshed; and the prince of Orange, having been proclaimed by the towns separately, was unanimously declared by the states of Holland, "in consideration of the troubled state of affairs, and in order, by the blessing of God, to deliver the country from the difficult and dangerous situation in which it is placed, stadholder, captain and admiral-general of the province." The Orange flag was hoisted on all the public buildings in the voting towns, and the event was celebrated with bell-ringing, illuminations, the discharge of artillery, and every demonstration of the most extravagant joy.

The manner in which the prince received the notification of his appointment contributed much to confirm the good opinion entertained of him, by a large number of the inhabitants of the United Provinces. He declared that he congratulated himself on his advancement, which appeared to tend to the honour of God, and the welfare of his beloved country, and that it gave him the greatest satisfaction to reflect that it had pleased the Almighty to permit a work whereon he appeared to have set his seal, to be concluded as it began, without being defiled by a single drop of blood. He immediately, on the invitation of the states, repaired to the Hague, where, on his arrival, he found himself already appointed captain and admiral-general of the union. Utrecht and Overijssel quickly followed the example of Holland and Zealand; and thus William IV became stadholder of all the seven provinces — a dignity never yet enjoyed by any of his predecessors.

This resolution was followed by the more important one which wholly deprived the states of their ancient dignity and lustre, and left the constitution of the United Provinces a republic in little else but the name. The states of Holland now took the lead in passing the decree that the offices of stadholder, captain, and admiral-general should be continued in the direct heirs of the prince of Orange forever, in the male and female line, professing the reformed religion, as taught in the churches of the United Provinces; except in case, as regarded male heirs, they should become possessed of royal or electoral dignity. If the succession devolved on a female, she was to exercise the office of stadholder under the name of governess, and to enjoy likewise those of captain and admiral-general, with a sitting in the council of state and the colleges of the admiralty, and to be empowered to name an efficient commander of the troops in time of war; she was bound not to marry but with the consent of the states — otherwise her issue was ineligible to inherit. During the minority of the stadholder, the provinces were to be governed by the mother of the infant. The hereditary stadholderate was soon after conferred by the states of the other provinces on William, with the same authority as it had been held by William

III, except in Friesland and Groningen, where this measure was not carried till a subsequent period.

In this revolution we may remark the effects of the strong natural bias by which the populace of Holland, in common with that of every nation in every age, has constantly been inclined towards the government of a single head. Here, as ever, the advocates of a more liberal constitution were found among the wealthy, the educated, and the reflecting portion of the community; and it was upon this comparatively small class of persons that the states and municipal governments had to rely chiefly for support; the majority having been induced to acquiesce in the existing order of things, only in proportion as they enjoyed personal ease and happiness under it. No sooner, therefore, did the hour of adversity and privation arrive, than the municipal governments found numbers and physical strength arrayed against them; while their sole arm of defence lay in the schuttery, or burgher-guard, which, though nominally under their command, was composed, in so large a proportion, of a class of persons favourable to the opposite party as to render it, if not hostile, at best little to be depended on. Accordingly, on the first appearance of actual force or violence, the municipal governments, destitute of all means of resisting such, at once and necessarily fell; and this serves to account, as well for the rapidity with which changes were affected in Holland as for the absence of bloodshed which usually marked their progress.

We have already had occasion to observe on the anomalies existing in the office of stadholder, as combined with those of captain and admiral-general. Still more striking did these anomalies become when functions so important and multifarious as to be duly fulfilled by none but a man of mature age and experience, and possessed of more than common skill in military and political affairs, were liable to fall into the hands of a female or an infant: and when no provision was made to prevent an authority which, if administered unfaithfully, might be used to the destruction of the liberties of the nation; and if inefficiently, involved danger to its very existence, from coming into the possession of a tyrant, a madman, or an idiot.

Another capital error into which the states had allowed themselves to be hurried by the violence of popular commotion was that, with the virtually royal authority they conferred on their minister, they permitted him, also, many of the insignia of royalty. As captain-general, he issued the "patents" or orders of march to the troops, and the soldiers took an oath of obedience to him, as well as to the states; in his name were pronounced the sentences of the court-martial, which he annulled or modified at his pleasure; his arms were on the military standards; he alone received the salute; he was constantly surrounded by a military guard. The stadholder and his family were prayed for in the churches; his birthday was celebrated with public rejoicing; he received every morning from the president of the states-general an account of the matters to be deliberated in that assembly, and from the pensionary of Holland the like, with regard to the states of the provinces; and a particular gate at the Hague, leading to the court-house, was reserved for him and his family, through which the members of the states themselves never ventured to pass. Thus the name and right of sovereignty alone remained with the states; the power and dignities were lodged in their subjects. Hence arose a perpetual and dangerous confusion in the public mind as to which was, in fact, the sovereign.

The soldiery, especially the foreign troops, were accustomed to look up to him alone as their real master, who had the distribution of offices, and rewards and punishments at his disposal, and to whom they saw military honours paid; and were inclined to obey him, rather than the states to whom they really

[1747-1748 A.D.]

belonged. The captain-general had thus the power of turning the forces of the state against the state itself, and subjugating it with its own army. The populace also readily adopted the error of imagining that he who was adorned with the outward trappings enjoyed the reality of sovereignty, and were led to consider every instance of its exercise on the part of the states as an assumption of powers which did not belong to them, and to resent such as an injury committed against their lawful ruler; while foreign nations, falling into the same mistake, were apt to look on the attempts made at different times to restrain the exorbitant authority of the stadholder not as a withdrawal by the sovereign of powers from a subject that had become dangerous to the state, but as acts of rebellion and encroachments on a legitimate prerogative, royal in everything but the name. On such occasions, therefore, the cause of the stadholder became the common cause of kings; and the neighbouring monarchs were always found ready to assist him in crushing his opponents, and regaining all the privileges he claimed, no matter how unconstitutional, or however glaringly usurped.

It was the expressed opinion of one of the wisest of their statesmen, the pensionary Slingelandt, that the abuses then existing in the constitution would, if suffered to continue, tend to give the stadholder absolute power; and that they ought to be reformed either by substituting a majority or two-thirds in the states, in place of the unanimity required in public measures; or by entering into an amicable treaty with the prince of Orange to confer on him the stadholderate, with strict limitations for the security of public liberty.

Had the passions and prejudices of the opponents of the prince been less strong, or could they have resolved to sacrifice their party spirit to the welfare of their country so far as to follow this advice, they might have found in the office of stadholder a source of benefit and a principle of stability to the constitution.

That some such modification of the government had long been absolutely requisite to the prosperity and happiness of the United Provinces was a fact beyond all question. Selfish, luxurious, and intent upon gain, as the Dutch had become, it was impossible to deny that they were no longer fitted for the difficult task of sustaining a free constitution; that the labour, watchfulness, and self-denial it requires had now grown irksome to them; that they no longer considered what kind of government was most conducive to virtue, to the strength and glory of their country, or most likely to transmit liberty and happiness to their posterity, but what would procure for them the largest share of security and ease in the acquisition or enjoyment of their wealth.^c



WILLIAM IV (1711-1751)

TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

The year 1748 saw the termination of the brilliant campaigns of Louis XV during his bloody war of eight years' continuance. The Treaty of Aix-la-

Chapelle (Aachen), definitively signed on the 18th of October, put an end to hostilities: Maria Theresa was established in her rights and power; and Europe saw a fair balance of the nations, which gave promise of security and peace. But the United Provinces, when scarcely recovering from struggles which had so checked their prosperity, were employed in new and universal grief and anxiety by the death of their young stadholder, which happened at the Hague, October 13th, 1751.¹ His son, William V, aged but three years and a half, succeeded him, under the guardianship of his mother, Anne of England, daughter of George II, a princess represented to be of a proud and ambitious temper, who immediately assumed a high tone of authority in the state.^b

THE REGENCIES OF ANNE AND ERNST OF BRUNSWICK

The princess Anne, daughter of George II of England, retained the dignity of hereditary stadholder from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle till her death in 1759; from this period Ludwig Ernst of Brunswick, who had been associated with her in the government since 1748 as guardian of her son William V, remained by virtue of this guardianship at the head of the war department by sea and land. The duties of the stadholder devolved upon the states of the separate provinces. By this means the aristocratic republican party in Holland, called the patriotic party, obtained a very considerable increase of influence, particularly in the province of Holland, where Amsterdam exceeded all the other towns in influence, both in the provincial parliaments and in the states-general. In Amsterdam public opinion was decidedly against the government, for two reasons: the old anti-Orange party, called the *Louvestein* party, still existed there; and besides, it was observed with grief, in Amsterdam as well as elsewhere, that commerce and trade, navigation and naval power, were passing from Holland to England, and the government was blamed for what was merely the effect of circumstances. All ranks, however, were discontented with the prince of Brunswick and his partiality towards England.

Even before the death of the widow of William IV, many discussions had arisen between the states and Duke Ludwig Ernst: since 1759 these discussions had never ceased. The English, during Anne's lifetime, had taken advantage of that princess's relation to the king of England, and of the neglect of the Dutch navy, which was partly caused by Anne's confidence in the friendship of England and partly by the eternal dissensions with particular provinces, to restrict the commerce of Holland, and to extend their own power at sea. They even violated the express treaties by which the right of the Dutch to neutral trade was recognised, immediately after the commencement of the Seven Years' War between them and the French in America. They declared all commerce with the French West Indies illegal, ship-timber and other materials for ship-building contraband, and in the year 1756 alone captured fifty-six Dutch ships which had violated the laws so arbitrarily laid

[¹ His benevolence, liberality, affability, and placable though choleric temper, rendered him greatly beloved; and it was thought, and perhaps justly, that if he had taken all the advantage he might have done of the popular feeling in his favour, at the time of his elevation to the stadholderate, he would have been able to obtain an absolute authority. But he constantly showed himself averse to the adoption of any violent or illegal measures to this effect; and, according to *Cerisier*, on one of his courtiers remarking upon his moderation, and that any other prince would seize the opportunity of manifesting his resentment against his opponents, "Resentment!" he answered quickly, "I have none, except against those who offer me such counsel." His zeal for the welfare of his country, though not always tempered with judgment, and still more rarely guided by penetration in the choice of his ministers, was deep and sincere. Accordingly, the memory of none of their stadholders, except Frederick Henry and William I was ever cherished by the Dutch with so great or so well-deserved affection.]

[1750-1773 A.D.]

down. In the year 1758 the Dutch merchants represented to the states-general, that during the short period since the commencement of the war between the French and English they had lost upwards of twelve millions of florins.

Duke Ludwig Ernst might certainly have made better preparations and have acted with greater energy. This was so much the more the duty of a captain and admiral-general, as actual naval combats took place whenever the Dutch men-of-war which were conveying the merchant-vessels fell in with English cruisers or men-of-war. It was computed that, up to the date of the Peace of Paris, at least a dozen Dutch ships in each year were adjudged to be fair prizes by the English admiralty court, according to the one-sided English law.

After the end of the Seven Years' War, or rather, since the death of the princess Anne (1759), the internal dissensions in the Netherlands had been very much increased by the personal character of the duke and his anti-republican tendencies. Ludwig Ernst, who was conceited and fond of power, increased the natural incapacity of the young prince by the kind of education which he caused to be given to him and made him dependent on himself by means of a secret and consequently illegal and unconstitutional agreement. He was unable indeed to conceal from the knowledge of his numerous enemies this act, to which he caused his ward to subscribe on his coming of age, although its actual contents were not discovered till a considerable time afterwards.

When the prince attained his majority in 1766 he had a powerful party against him, as well in the states-general as in the parliaments of the several provinces: the magistrates of the powerful towns had almost all become anti-Orange during the administration of Ludwig Ernst; the young prince therefore believed himself to be utterly helpless without the assistance of the duke, and was confirmed in this opinion by Prussia and England. This was the motive for the step which the prince took at the duke's instigation — the entirely unwarrantable step of subjecting himself and his free state to a foreign prince in order to retain the latter near his person. He drew up and subscribed to an agreement (*Acte van Consulentschap*), according to which he bound himself to follow the advice of his ex-guardian in all state affairs. The only persons who knew of this agreement were the pensionary of the council (minister of foreign affairs), the English ambassador, and two chiefs of the Orange party: the others only guessed that such a contract might exist.

Under these circumstances the result was such as might have been expected; even the wisest and most reasonable propositions of the duke met with opposition in the separate states, where the aristocratic party had the majority, whilst the lower classes were entirely devoted to the prince. As early as 1767 the duke wished to take measures to prevent the increasing loss of trade, but was unable to succeed in his attempt; he endeavoured in 1769, 1770, and 1771 to increase the naval and military force, at least as much as might be necessary in order to retain everything in its then position, and to strengthen the garrisons in the strongholds on the Belgian frontier; but each time he was prevented by the pedlar spirit and little-mindedness of the states.

In 1773, when it was perceived that Spain, as well as France, was not only making great preparations at sea, but was even creating an entirely new naval force, equal to that of England in the number of ships of the line, the province of Holland was desirous that its naval force also should be strengthened, but at the same time resisted such a proposal of the government.

HOLLAND DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Because the English were aware that the Dutch were entirely unable to fit out either a land or a sea force, or even to be of the same opinion concerning any energetic measure, inasmuch as the Orange party and the patriots mutually distrusted each other, they allowed themselves not only to disturb the Dutch timber trade, which ought to have been free according to the law of nations, but also to violate express treaties with Holland. Notwithstanding the advantages allowed to the Dutch over other nations by the treaty of 1674, which the Peace of Utrecht had confirmed, the English enforced their right of search with violence and by force of arms in the midst of peace.

The government and its partisans, consisting principally of the inhabitants of some provinces, such as Zealand and Gelderland, where the prince had large possessions, and of the Dutch nobility, were favourable to the English; the Dutch towns, on the other hand, and particularly Amsterdam, were inclined to a treaty with France and to the support of the American colonies then in revolt. The prince in 1767 had married the niece of King Frederick II of Prussia and the sister of his successor, Frederick William II; this princess soon began to interfere in public affairs, because the prince was phlegmatic, lazy, and helpless, and apparently always looked to England for support. The influence of the princess was most felt in the states-general, and the governments of several of the cities and provinces acted oftener on this account in opposition to the government of the county.

The English were thus furnished with an opportunity of complaining, that the province of Holland had given Paul Jones an asylum in the Texel, that the Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies had become a regular market for the North American trade, that an English frigate had been taken almost under the guns of the island, and that English prizes were sold there.¹

When the English coasts were threatened by the French and Spanish fleets, the Dutch would not agree to their demand for a loan of the Scotch Guards, which the prince would willingly have granted. This refusal particularly displeased the English, because the pensionary of the province of Holland and the two burgomasters of Amsterdam were known to be declared republicans and friends of the French. The Amsterdam merchants were also at this time intimately connected with the Americans, and however ill the democratic Franklin might consider it his duty to speak of the plebeian aristocracy of Holland, they had favoured the loans which the Americans had raised on French security. The English therefore annoyed the Dutch in many ways; they totally destroyed their timber trade, on the pretence that timber might be used as building materials for ships of war, and hindered their communication with the French West Indies by force. The Dutch, on the other hand, to please the French, gave orders to all their ships to avoid touching at Gibraltar, in order that the English there might not be provided with supplies by means of Dutch vessels.

Whilst everything had the appearance of England being at silent feud with Amsterdam and the province of Holland, but on the best understanding

¹ It will be seen from Franklin's letters that whilst he was in Paris his official correspondence went by way of St. Eustatius and Holland, as soon as war had been declared between France and England. The whole conduct of the Dutch and their relation to the other powers is very justly delineated by Franklin in a few words, in a letter of the 13th of June, 1780: "Holland, offended by fresh insults from England, is arming vigorously. That nation has madly brought itself into the greatest distress, and has not a friend in the world."

[1780 A.D.]

with the hereditary stadholder and the states-general, a circumstance happened, the necessary consequence of which was the interruption of the friendly relation between the stadholder and the English, although the Dutch, on account of the bad condition of their fleet and army, could not venture to declare war. The Dutch rear-admiral Bylandt (*Schout by Nacht*), with three ships of the line and some frigates, was conveying a Dutch merchant fleet destined for the Mediterranean; this fleet was joined, without Bylandt's consent however, or any promise of protection on his part, by some ships laden with building timber, or timber which the English considered as such and liable to search, because they were conveying materials to the enemy. The English captain, Fielding, with a small squadron, was ordered to follow the vessels under Bylandt's convoy, to search them, and to capture all such as should be laden with marine stores or with timber for ship-building.

He came up with the fleet in January, 1780. Bylandt, however, properly refused to suffer the vessels to be searched, and only yielded when the English, who far exceeded him in numbers, actually fired upon them; he then struck his flag, as if he had been captured during a war, and followed the English squadron with his whole fleet, as if war had been actually declared and commenced by them. He remained in the harbour whither they were conducted as a prisoner of war, until he received further commands from his government.

TREATY OF UTRECHT BROKEN

This circumstance gave rise to a violent diplomatic contest — an interchange of notes full of bitter reproaches and complaints on both sides; until the English, who would gladly have been long since relieved of the treaty of 1674, and of the clause in the Peace of Utrecht which was so entirely opposed to their naval law, declared that, if the Dutch did not comply with what was required of them within a period of three weeks, they (the English) would no longer consider themselves bound by particular treaties. When the demands of the English were afterwards discussed in the states-general, all the provinces except Zealand voted against compliance, and a declaration of war was then expected; this, however, the English ministry did not yet consider advisable. They wished merely to gain time; they did not wish immediately to have a third war upon their hands, but to prevent the states, miserly and vacillating as they knew them to be, from adopting the proposal of the stadholder, that preparations should be immediately made, and at the same time to prevent the party of the stadholder from entering forthwith into the neutral alliance proposed by Russia; they therefore gave hopes of the continuance of peace, but in reality pursued a hostile course of action. The English first formally declared null and void the Treaty of Utrecht with the Netherlands — by means of which the latter had a right to particular advantages — in a statement made by them to the states-general; and then issued a proclamation to the English people corresponding to the statement.

The Dutch rightly looked upon this one-sided abolition of maritime rights which had existed for more than a hundred years as an act of injustice, proceeding rather from commercial jealousy than from political enmity, the intention of which was entirely to suppress the Dutch trade and to deprive the United Provinces of all the advantages of their neutrality; they determined, therefore, at least to arm.

The government required the states to furnish them with means for raising the land army to about fifty thousand or sixty thousand men, and for building fifty or sixty new ships of war to strengthen their fleet; and long

discussions and much contention were the consequences of this demand. At length, after much squabbling and a great deal of bargaining, the demand was entirely refused as regarded the land army, and only thirty-two ships were allowed to be built. The patriotic party was therefore fully as negligent and slothful, out of reliance on the French, as that of the house of Orange was from confidence in England.

It was not until the 20th of November, 1780, that the Dutch resolved to join the armed neutrality; the English therefore had time enough to furnish the empress with a tolerable pretext for refusing the Dutch signature to her treaty, which thus became of very little consequence to them.

ENGLAND DECLARES WAR (1780)

According to the extraordinary constitution of the republic, which consisted of provinces united but in most things entirely independent of the common government, a province or a city could conclude separate treaties with any foreign state without communicating with the general government on the subject; and this had been done by the city of Amsterdam in 1778. The burgomasters of Amsterdam, and particularly the pensionary of the province of Holland, were in favour of a very close connection with France. In 1778, when the French concluded a treaty with the new republic, the pensionary of Amsterdam was also agreed with the congress as to the articles of a commercial treaty. We see from Franklin's letters that other cities hastily applied to him in the hope of being enabled to conclude similar separate treaties with America. When everything was arranged, the American congress committed the duty of formally concluding the treaty with the city of Amsterdam to one of its ex-presidents (Laurens); his departure was however delayed in the year 1779, and took place in 1780. The English, however, captured the ship on board of which he was, and succeeded in recovering his papers, which he had torn and thrown overboard; he and his despatches were brought to England on the 8th of October.

Laurens was treated very severely in England, and his imprisonment in the Tower was very strict.

The English ministry communicated to the government of the hereditary stadholder the papers which had been found on Laurens. They demanded an explanation from the province of Holland and from the city of Amsterdam; and, on their attempting to justify their proceeding by appealing to the nature of the constitution, plainly signified their dissatisfaction. As the English wished for a pretext for declaring war, their ambassador was instructed to demand that the pensionary of Holland and the burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam should be actually punished; and this he did in a threatening note. According to the constitution of Holland, the satisfaction which the English demanded could not be given them. The English then declared war against the United Provinces on the 20th of December, 1780.

The Dutch, in the year 1781, experienced the consequences of their divisions, their narrow policy, their cautiousness, and their avarice, which had hindered them from affording to their government the means of acting with energy immediately after the commencement of the war. The French, on the other hand, helped the Dutch again to their property, without being bound to them by any treaty, and restored to them what had been taken from them by the English. As to the English, in this war also they remained true to a custom which had afforded matter for reproach against them in every war during the eighteenth century. They gave permission and issued

[1781-1782 A.D.]

commands to capture the enemy's ships long before the declaration of war. Before the English declaration of war arrived at the Hague, therefore, the merchant-vessels of the unsuspecting Dutch had been captured wherever they were met with; so that, from the 20th of December, 1780, on which day war was declared, till the end of January, 1781, two hundred Dutch ships were captured, the value of which was estimated at 15,000,000 florins.

LOSS OF THE DUTCH COLONIES AND COMMERCE

The English ministry had long determined to destroy that *dépôt* of the Dutch in the West Indies which was at the same time the regular port for the North American trade, by the capture of St. Eustatius; on the same day, therefore, on which war was declared, a swift-sailing frigate was despatched to Rodney with orders to put this plan immediately into execution. When Rodney received this order he was lying off Barbados, and he immediately sailed towards Martinique as if to seek out the French: he appeared suddenly before St. Eustatius on the 3rd of February, 1781, where the inhabitants had no intimation of the breaking out of the war, and where consequently not the slightest preparations for defence had been made by the miserable Dutch government, at the head of which was Ludwig Ernst. No opposition was even attempted; the island, which resembled one immense magazine, was immediately given up. Two hundred and fifty ships and a frigate, which were lying in the harbour, were captured; sixty others under the convoy of a frigate attempted to save themselves by flight; but Rodney sailed after them and captured them all, together with the ship of war which was conveying them.

The Dutch settlements on the coast of the continent of South America, the principal of which was Surinam, which surrendered immediately without being summoned so to do, had to thank the unanimous disapprobation which had been the consequence of Rodney's behaviour in St. Eustatius, for being treated with more leniency. From this moment, the seven united provinces entirely disappeared from the number of those states which had any authority or influence in Europe; they became dependent on the favour of foreign states, because they were driven out of their East Indian possessions after having given up all their West Indian settlements without attempting any opposition. In the East Indies, one settlement, one fortress, one island after another was taken from them; their merchant-vessels dared not show themselves anywhere; their fleet was useless, and even their trade with the Baltic was obliged to be given up, because their ports were watched by English vessels.

The Dutch at this time laid the blame of the losses which they had suffered in the East Indies, and of the bad condition of their shipping, entirely upon their government, and the partiality evinced by it for the English. The displeasure against the duke of Brunswick, who, as a stranger, was more blamed than he would otherwise have been, was afterwards very much increased by the complaints made by the brave commanders of the fleet which was opposed to the English at the entrance of the Baltic, in respect to the very bad condition of their ships, and to the promotion of officers, not according to merit but favour. The trade with the East and West Indies was almost entirely annihilated, and even in the Baltic the Dutch were obliged to trade under false colours; so that, while in the year 1780, 2,058 Dutch ships passed through the Sound – in the year 1782 only six. About the same time the East India Company, to which Holland was indebted

for much of its splendour, was very much broken up; the Dutch possessions on the west coast of Africa were lost, and Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were only rescued by the French admiral Suffren, who was gaining glory in the eastern seas whilst Grasse was being defeated in the West Indies by the English admirals.

PARTY QUARRELS

The divisions in the Netherlands, which began to show themselves in the last years of the war, served as the forerunners of the revolution which broke out immediately after the peace, and foreign nations treated the Dutch in an indifferent or contemptuous manner, because the latter were too weak to be able to resent such treatment; the French alone did everything in their power to connect the republican party closely with France.

The quarrel between the patriots and the party of the prince, which had begun before the declaration of war, continued with equal violence after the commencement of the war itself. The states had wished before the beginning of the war to unite with France; the government did not wish to break entirely with England. The stadholder demanded money for the land army: the states, on the other hand, required ships to be built; their progress was retarded, however, by the machinations of the stadholder. After the commencement of the war a complete division was effected. The city of Amsterdam in May, 1781, even went so far as publicly to express their want of confidence in the prince, and more particularly in Duke Ludwig Ernst, of whom the prince said that, notwithstanding the clamours of the opposite party, he honoured him as if he were his father.

From this time forward the two parties, the Orange party and that of the patriots, were to be considered as at open war.^g

Almost the whole of those colonies, the remnants of prodigious power acquired by such incalculable instances of enterprise and courage, had been one by one assailed and taken. But this did not suffice for the satisfaction of English objects in the prosecution of the war. It was also resolved to deprive Holland of the Baltic trade. A squadron of seven vessels, commanded by Sir Hyde Parker, was encountered on the Doggerbank by a squadron of Dutch ships of the same force under Admiral Zoutman. An action of four hours was maintained with all the ancient courage which made so many of the memorable sea-fights between Tromp, De Ruyter, Blake, and Monk drawn battles. A storm separated the combatants, and saved the honour of each; for both had suffered alike, and victory had belonged to neither. The peace of 1784 terminated this short, but, to Holland, fatal war; the two latter years of which had been, in the petty warfare of privateering, most disastrous to the commerce of the republic. Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, and the free navigation of the Indian seas, were ceded to England, who occupied the other various colonies taken during the war.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1785-1787

Opinion was now rapidly opening out to that spirit of intense inquiry which arose in France, and threatened to sweep before it not only all that was corrupt, but everything that tended to corruption. It is in the very essence of all kinds of power to have that tendency, and, if not checked by salutary means, to reach that end. But the reformers of the last century, new in the desperate practice of revolutions, seeing its necessity, but ignorant of its nature, neither did nor could place bounds to the careering whirlwind

[1785-1787 A.D.]

that they raised. The well-meant but intemperate changes essayed by Joseph II in Belgium had a considerable share in the development of free principles, although they at first seemed only to excite the resistance of bigotry and strengthen the growth of superstition. Holland was always alive to those feelings of resistance to established authority which characterise republican opinions; and the general discontent at the result of the war with England gave a good excuse.¹ The stadholder saw clearly the storm which was gathering, and which menaced his power. Anxious for the present, and uncertain for the future, he listened to the suggestions of England, and resolved to secure and extend by foreign force the rights of which he risked the loss from domestic faction.

In the divisions which were now loudly proclaimed among the states, in favour of or opposed to the house of Orange, the people, despising all new theories which they did not comprehend, took open part with the family so closely connected with every practical feeling of good which their country had yet known. The states of Holland soon proceeded to measures of violence. Resolved, in 1786, to limit the power of the stadholder, they deprived him of the command of the garrison of the Hague, and of all the other troops of the province; and, shortly afterwards, declared him removed from all his employments. The violent disputes and vehement discussions consequent upon this measure, throughout the republic, announced an inevitable commotion. The advance of a Prussian army towards the frontiers inflamed the passions of one party, and strengthened the confidence of the other.

An incident which now happened brought about the crisis even sooner than was expected. The princess of Orange in 1787 left her palace at Loo to repair to the Hague; and, travelling with great simplicity and slightly attended, she was arrested and detained by a military post on the frontiers of the province of Holland. The neighbouring magistrates of the town of Woerden refused her permission to continue her journey, and forced her to return to Loo under such surveillance as was usual with a prisoner of state. The stadholder and the English ambassador loudly complained of this outrage. The complaint was answered by the immediate advance of the duke of Brunswick, with twenty thousand Prussian soldiers. Some demonstrations of resistance were made by the astonished party whose outrageous conduct had provoked the measure; but in three weeks' time the whole of the republic was in perfect obedience to the authority of the stadholder, who resumed all his functions as chief magistrate, with the additional influence which was sure to result from a vain attempt to reduce his former power.^b

There is much political truth in the humorous description given by Burke of these events. "A chivalrous king, hearing that a princess had been affronted, takes his lance, assembles his knights, and determines to do her justice. He sets out instantly with his knights in quest of adventures, and carries all before him, achieving wonders in the cause of the injured princess. This reminded him of the ancient story of a princess Latona who, having been insulted by a nation like the Dutch, appealed to Jupiter for satisfaction, when the god in revenge for her wrongs turned the nation that affronted her into a nation of frogs, and left them to live among dikes and waters. Although the king of Prussia had, professedly, set out merely to obtain adequate satisfaction for the injury done his sister, his army by accident took Utrecht, possessed themselves of Amsterdam, restored the stadholder and the former

[¹ A commission of the states-general reported that the defences of the country had been purposely ruined and the appeals of officers ignored by the stadholder, whose first remark after the battle of Doggerbank was: "I hope the English have sustained no loss."]

government, and all this at a stroke and by the bye." (Speech in the debate on the Hessian subsidy.) Nothing, indeed, but the weakness of Holland — her utter inability to attract the attention of other nations to her cause by the strenuous defence or reclamation of her rights, could have blinded their eyes to the nature of the interference of England and Prussia in the domestic affairs of that country. In direct violation of the law of nations and the principles of justice, they had forced a sovereign [*i.e.* the states-general] to reinstate a minister [*i.e.* the stadholder] whom, whether on good grounds or not, that sovereign conceived to have betrayed his trust, and had worked out the entire destruction of a constitution with which they could have had no possible right to meddle. Yet scarce a voice was heard in remonstrance or appeal against the aggression. Even the whigs of England, dazzled by the influence their court had by such means gained over so important an ally, forgot their usual zeal for the liberty and independence of nations; and, though they found some faults in the detail of the measures pursued, united in applauding their tendency.

The revolution had, to all appearance, annihilated the patriots as a party. The most considerate members had fled the country;¹ and the remainder, mistrustful of each other, and fallen into the contempt of the nation at large, ventured not to offer the slightest opposition to the proceedings of their adversaries.

An oath to support the constitution as at present established was imposed not only on all public officers but even on members of the lowest order of guilds. Still further security for the existing order of things was sought in an alliance with Prussia and England, whereby both these powers became guarantors for the preservation of the stadholderate according to the act of 1747; these two powers, moreover, by a separate treaty, somewhat novel in the history of nations, binding themselves mutually to a similar guarantee. So great a change had the public mind undergone, that England, whom three years before scarcely any dared mention except in terms of animosity, now governed the councils of the United Provinces with undisputed sway; the ambassador, Sir James Harris, mingled himself in all the affairs of state, and on his appearance in public was received with marks of distinction little inferior to those paid to the stadholder himself.

The influence of France, on the other hand, was now wholly annihilated. In a late declaration made to the court of England, Louis had disclaimed having ever had any intention of interfering in the affairs of the United Provinces. This act, which savoured, it was thought, as much of pusillanimity as of infidelity, inspired the patriots in the United Provinces with a hatred and contempt of France scarcely less than had formerly actuated the Orangists.

Thus deprived of the aid, or even the intercession, of any foreign potentate, and exposed defenceless to the vengeance of their adversaries, backed by the power of England and Prussia, the unhappy patriots were constrained to drink to the very dregs of the bitter cup of humiliation. Not a drop of blood, however, was shed on the scaffold, a very few only being condemned to death, and in their case the sentence was commuted to that of perpetual exile.

Among the minor vexations to which the patriots had to submit, not the least, perhaps, was the necessity of wearing the Orange badge, which no person, of whatever sex or country, dared appear without. An Italian officer

¹ The number of emigrants and exiles who quitted the United Provinces in this and the following year was reckoned at 42,394.

[1787-1792 A.D.]

was actually expelled from Amsterdam for refusing obedience to this singular mandate; and a woman was imprisoned for two years, and banished, for having indulged in some expression of ridicule on the subject.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

As regarded its foreign politics, the Dutch nation at this period, under the entire sway of England and Prussia, made no greater figure than if it had been a province of one of those kingdoms. Out of complaisance to the latter power, the states secretly assisted the people of the Austrian Netherlands, though under constant professions of neutrality, in the formidable revolt which the attempts of the emperor Joseph to introduce a more liberal system of civil and religious government had raised against him; and became nominally a party to the treaty which, in consequence of a change of policy in the Prussian court, was concluded with Leopold II, successor of Joseph, and the Netherland provinces, whereby the latter were annexed to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, under the guarantee of Holland, England, and Prussia.

Further than this the United Provinces appeared to interest themselves little in the affairs of neighbouring nations; or even in the course of those mighty events which at this time drew towards France the contemplation and wonder of Europe. Well pleased to behold the humiliation of a power they detested, the Dutch government viewed with indifference the first attacks made by the French people on the throne and monarchical institutions of the country. They received the notification of the king's acceptance of the constitution forced upon him in 1789, which that unhappy monarch had neither the firmness to refuse nor the integrity to abide by. They kept studiously aloof from the confederacy entered into at Pillnitz by the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia for the purpose of obtaining the restoration of the king of France to his rights, and which drew from the national assembly of France the declaration of war against the former power; they received in silence the invitation of even the king of Prussia himself to become a party to the league formed against the present administration of France by the sovereigns of Prussia, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, Savoy, and the papal see; and beheld with apparent indifference the march of the allied army of 180,000 men under the duke of Brunswick towards the frontiers of that kingdom.

But though exempt from participation in these acts, the Dutch were none the less sufferers by their pernicious consequences. The king of England having withdrawn his ambassador from Paris on the arrest of the king and royal family, the states found themselves obliged, however reluctantly, to assume a hostile attitude towards France by following his example; while the subjugation, soon after, of nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, the consequence of the brilliant victory obtained over the Austrian army in 1792 at Jemmapes by Dumouriez, appeared likely to produce a more immediate cause of quarrel.

On the reduction of the town of Antwerp by the French general Labourdonnaie, the citadel still holding out, two armed schooners were sent against it, with orders from Dumouriez to sail down the Schelde. The emperor, anxious to obtain co-operation in opposing the progress of the French arms in the Netherlands, exhorted the states to take the speediest and most energetic measures to resist so palpable an infraction of treaties and violation of their neutrality. Great Britain, unable hitherto to find a pretext for the war she was eager to commence, laboured diligently to invite the states to hostilities,

wherein she might bear a part as their ally, and declared her resolution of supporting them in the assertion of their rights when required.¹ But the death of Louis XVI on the scaffold in 1793, the expulsion of the French ambassador from the court of London, and the consequent declaration of war by the national convention against the king of England and the stadholder; the acquiescence of the stadholder in all the measures, and his constant deference to the counsels of the court of England, justified the national convention in treating him as a dependent of that power. Accordingly it was to him, as such, and not to the states — a politic distinction of which the convention afterwards found the value — that the manifesto was addressed, declaring the inhabitants of the United Provinces released from the oath they had been forced to take to the stadholderal government in 1788, and that all such as pretended to be bound by it were enemies of the French people and to be treated with all the rigour of the laws of war.

The states-general issued at once a counter-declaration, in the form of a letter to the states of the provinces, couched in terms of mingled contempt, derision, and aversion, both of the persons and principles of the party by which France was at that time governed; while the stadholder, nearly at the same moment, published a manifesto calculated to arouse the people to a strenuous defence of their country. Preparations were immediately commenced with great activity.

THE FRENCH CONQUEST

Whether the Dutch emigrants had possessed the national convention with an erroneous idea of the strength and disposition of the malcontents in the United Provinces, or whether the result of the Prussian invasion six years before had inspired the French with a profound and not wholly undeserved contempt of the military prowess of the Dutch nation, the army sent under the general Dumouriez to achieve the conquest of the provinces appeared absolutely inadequate to the occasion. In the proclamation by which his approach was preceded, the French commander had declared that he was about to enter Holland with sixty thousand men, to assist the Batavians in breaking the chains laid upon them by the tyranny of the house of Orange. But he advanced toward the confines with an army no more than 13,700 strong, among whom were 2,000 Dutch and Belgian emigrants, and with a ridiculously small train of artillery, consisting of only four twelve-pounders, and about thirty-six smaller pieces.

With so small a force at his command, Dumouriez was conscious that his only hope of success was in celerity, and in taking advantage of the feeling of dismay he had so dexterously inspired. The event justified his sagacity; since Breda, though defended on all sides by water and morasses, well fortified and provided, surrendered February 24th, 1793, the day after his summons. The magazines of Breda supplied Dumouriez with the material of which he stood so much in need.

The loss of Gertruydenberg, followed by that of Klundert, excited the

¹ If we call to mind the events of a few years before, it affords a striking instance how greatly the ideas of justice among nations are modified by considerations of their own interest, to behold the emperor now insisting upon the religious observation of a treaty which his predecessor, Joseph II, had so unscrupulously set at naught; France asserting that the privilege of closing the Schelde, which had been preserved to the Dutch at that time chiefly by her interference, was contrary to the natural and universal rights of mankind; and England, who then viewed the whole question with the most profound indifference, now ready to make it a cause of proclaiming war on behalf of her ally.

[1793-1794 A.D.]

most vivid anxiety for the safety of Dordrecht, which was in some degree relieved by the appearance of a reinforcement of vessels from England, together with a body of two thousand four hundred troops under the duke of York.

The revolutionary tribunal now governed France in all its terrible strength. With the absolute disposal of the lives, the property, and the actions of twenty-four millions of men, who submitted in the utter helplessness of fear to its sway, it was enabled to bring a mass of force into the field such as had never, under the most powerful monarchs, yet been seen, and to oppose an army to its enemies on every side. And, while the power of coercion in filling the ranks of the defenders of France was unlimited, its exercise was scarcely necessary. The French, who at Paris appeared a nation of bloodthirsty tyrants or trembling cowards, on the frontier were a people of heroes and patriots. While horror and execration rested upon the names of Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, honour and victory followed the standards of Jourdan, Pichegru, Moreau, and Kléber. Instead of gaining a foot of ground on the enemy's frontier, the allies lost a considerable portion of what they had before possessed.

The Dutch in this campaign lost above eight thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and the expenses had been far above what the present condition of the United Provinces was able to bear. The states of Holland, in answer to the extraordinary petition of "the state of war," had contributed nearly 3,000,000 guilders, besides 200,000 for the expenses of the camp, and 900,000 for the maritime defence of the state. An additional sum of 3,500,000 was also voted for the equipment of ten ships of the line and ten frigates; 600,000 for the supply of the magazines, and 1,200,000 for the fortifications. A tax of a fiftieth had been imposed; but this was found so far from sufficient that the states were obliged to have recourse to the mischievous and uncertain expedient of a lottery for 1,000,000 guilders. Yet it is remarkable that, in the midst of its embarrassments, the province of Holland did not cease to supply funds to foreign nations. A loan of 5,000,000 guilders was this year raised for the king of Prussia, and the American congress sold to the Dutch two millions of acres situate in the state of New York for 3,750,000 guilders.

The campaign of 1794 was little less than a series of conquests on the side of the French. Moreau took Sluys by siege. Pichegru routed the duke of York, and took Crèvecoeur and Bois-le-Duc. Maestricht was reduced by Kléber. Venlo submitted to Laurens, and the English yielded Nimeguen.

But notwithstanding these successes, the invaders found the most formidable obstacles opposed to their further progress. The passage of the rivers, defended by powerful batteries and large bodies of troops, appeared next to an impossibility. Nearly the whole country before them was under water. The hereditary prince in person superintended the cutting of the dikes.

But, though England did not want for zeal and activity in her behalf, the troops she furnished, ill-organised and wretchedly commanded, appeared to serve no other purpose than to abandon one by one every position they had taken up; and, totally destitute of discipline, were an object of terror to the inhabitants and contempt to their enemies. "Their conduct on their retreat from Nimeguen," says a writer in the *Nederlandsche Jaarboek*, strongly favourable to that nation and the Orange party, "was marked by the most lawless pillage, the most odious licentiousness, and detestable cruelties; so that the inhabitants of the places they passed through would far rather trust to the mercy of the invading enemy than to such allies and defenders." The prohibitions issued by the duke of York were found wholly inefficient to restrain

these excesses; and even the pensionary Van de Spiegel¹ himself began to doubt whether it were not preferable to make a separate peace with France upon such conditions as they could obtain, than await an issue dependent upon the assistance of such coadjutors.

The severities exercised by the Orange party after the revolution of 1787 had effectually awed the patriots into silence; but the progress of the French was hailed by them as the approaching era of the realisation of their cherished dreams of liberty; and they were inclined rather to welcome them as deliverers than repel them as invaders. The policy of the court of England, moreover, in forcing upon the stadholder measures calculated to provoke the hostility of the convention, had unconsciously forwarded their views; since, the declaration of war being issued against him personally, the patriots readily persuaded themselves that they might, without incurring the imputation of treason against their country, unite with the invaders, not as her enemies but as auxiliaries in the overthrow of her tyrant.

Accordingly they had for some time begun to assemble in small meetings, held under the name of "reading societies." As these in a short time became numerous, there being no less than sixty in Haarlem alone, it was thought advisable to organise two central committees, the one to keep up a correspondence with their representatives in the French camp, with the revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and with the different societies in the provinces; while the other undertook to thwart all such plans and measures as might contribute to the efficiency of the present government, and to adopt every suitable and prudent means of arousing the enthusiasm of the people in favour of liberty. The efforts of the first attracted, for a considerable interval, but little notice. The results of the agency of the other were soon perceived, though the cause as yet lay hidden, in the opposition offered to all levies of money voted by the states, in the mistrust inspired of the government, and the denunciation of its measures as injurious to the commonwealth.

While their deputies were at the French camp, the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam continued in full activity. Magazines of arms were collected in different places; a small naval force was raised to protect the harbours, especially that of Amsterdam; the Jews to the number of forty thousand were bought off with heavy sums from the party of the stadholder, with the view of embarrassing the money transactions of the government; and the troops in the garrisons were tampered with, not altogether without success.

The government already entertained suspicions of some lurking mischief, and had ceased to quarter any garrisons in the more doubtful places; all assemblies, under whatever pretext, were forbidden unless by permission previously obtained, and were then to be held with open doors. The arrest of some of the members of the revolutionary committee spread consternation and dismay through the whole party. They sent pressing invitations to the French army to hasten their march, though the communication was now become extremely difficult, the states of Holland having issued an edict prohibiting any person under penalty of death from passing the boundaries without a passport from themselves, the council of state, or the stadholder. Ere long, nature herself declared as a champion of the invaders.

¹ Writing to the registrar Fagel, in London, Van de Spiegel, in a letter quoted by Wagenaar,^b observes that "the prince is enraged at what he had witnessed, which surpassed the bounds of imagination; that the English were accustomed to answer to the complaints of the inhabitants, that they would be sure to be plundered by the Carmagnoles, and it was better they should forestall them." In a subsequent letter to the ambassadors sent to Paris with proposals of peace, he says, "Be assured that no English influence governs here; and that the nation has obtained in this country so bad a reputation that a century will not efface the impression."

[1794-1795 A.D.]

THE FLIGHT OF THE STADHOLDER (1794)

In the month of December, harbingers began to appear of the severity of the winter emphatically called by the people of the United Provinces "the French winter." With anguish and despair, the inhabitants (such at least as were not in league with the enemy) beheld the daily increase of ice in the rivers and land waters, which soon, instead of a formidable and almost insurmountable barrier, offered to the French, as to the barbarian Franks above twelve centuries before, an easy passage into the heart of the country, and firm fields of battle for the evolutions of their troops. On this eventful change of circumstances Pichegru immediately formed the plan of a general attack. Daendels was commanded to resume under new and favouring auspices his twice foiled attempt to penetrate into Holland by way of the Bommel. The result was now proportionably different. The attacks of the other division of the invading army were equally successful.

The province of Utrecht was abandoned as untenable; since the inundated line of the Greb, before an impenetrable barrier, opposed since the frost not the slightest obstacle to the advance of the enemy. The ice, also, afforded a smooth and easy passage to Dordrecht, the ancient capital of Holland, which was filled with fugitives from different parts of the country; in vain were incessant efforts used to keep it broken, the intense cold of the night as constantly destroying the labours of the day. Terror, confusion, and despair took possession of the city and the whole province.

The announcement by the stadholder to the states-general and the states of Holland of his intention to quit the Hague followed; and, having taken a melancholy leave of the states, he set out, accompanied by his sons, for Scheveningen, whence the princess and her daughter had already sailed some hours before. The fishing smack in which he was to embark being at some distance from the shore, he was about to wade into the water, when, Bentinck exclaiming to the people, "Will you allow your prince to leave you thus?" they immediately hoisted him on their shoulders and bore him to the vessel. The next day he landed at Harwich. His departure from the Hague was immediately followed by that of the ambassadors from the courts of London, Berlin, Madrid, Turin, and Hanover.

Meanwhile, the general Daendels, impatient at the delay of the long-promised and expected revolution at Amsterdam, had, on the day of his arrival at Utrecht, sent to admonish the revolutionary committee to all possible speed in the accomplishment of that work, in order that they might, on his approach, be in a condition to treat with the French as friends and brothers, instead of conquerors. Early on the following morning the tree of liberty was planted on the Dam; and while the people were performing their dance around it, the council were summoned to the guildhall for the last time. They were then informed that, "the sun of freedom having now dawned upon the Batavian horizon," the former government of the city was superseded by the revolutionary committee, which would conduct the administration of affairs till a regular constitution was established, and commanded to return to their homes in the quality of simple burghers.

On the 22nd of January, 1795, generals Pichegru and Moreau made their entry into the Hague, already revolutionised.¹ The patriot party every-

¹ On Pichegru's quitting the Hague, in the month of March ensuing, to take the command of the army of the Rhine, an annuity of 10,000 guilders was, according to Wagenaar,^h settled on him by the states-general as the reward of his services.

where received the invaders with open arms as friends and deliverers, "fraternising," as it was called in the jargon of the day, with the French soldiers; public feasts and rejoicings were held to celebrate the event; the tree of liberty was planted in nearly every town.

THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC

Immediately on the completion of the revolution in the towns of Holland, they, in obedience to the summons of the central revolutionary committee, sent deputies to the Hague for the purpose of framing a new constitution. At this assembly,¹ the sovereignty of the people and the "rights of man" were formally acknowledged; and the ancient representative constitution of Holland, which had now subsisted with but slight alteration for six hundred years, and had withstood the successive shocks of the revolt from Spain, of long wars, and of civil dissensions, was annihilated at one stroke.

It was decreed that every individual of the male sex, and of mature age, should have a vote in the election of representatives, the states, as formerly constituted, being forever abolished; as were likewise the dignities of stadholder and captain and admiral-general. The villages of the open country, which had formerly been considered as represented in the states by the nobles, now obtained the right of sending representatives of their own. Thus composed, the assembly took the name of the "provisional representatives of the people of Holland." The council and chamber of finance were also abolished, and three committees, of "military affairs," of "general welfare," and of "finance," were formed in their stead. The pensionary Van de Spiegel was deprived of his offices, and a few days after he and William van Bentinck were arrested, their papers were seized, and they were condemned to imprisonment in the castle of Woerden.

The first business of the new assembly of representatives of Holland was to bring forward a proposal in the states-general that they should acknowledge the rights and sovereignty of the people; release the inhabitants of the United Provinces from their oath to the stadholder and the old constitution; and send ministers to Paris to offer to the convention an alliance on reasonable conditions, as between two equal and independent nations. The states-general complied with all these demands; they did not, however, change their title of "high and mighty lords"; the reformers being content to indulge "that whim and prejudice" on account of their relations with foreign states; neither did the constitution of the body itself undergo any other alteration than that their votes were sometimes taken individually instead of by provinces, and that the date of their edicts bore, in addition to the year of Christ, that of "Batavian liberty," and were headed with the watch-cry of the revolutionists, "equality, liberty, and fraternity."

With respect to all the other parts of the constitution of the United Provinces, however, the patriots, under the guidance, or rather coercion, of the representatives of the French Republic at the Hague, proceeded rapidly and unsparingly in the work of demolition. The beneficial provisions, the essential principles, and the most valued privileges fell equally with the most antiquated abuses and mischievous corruptions beneath the scythe.

The hereditary nobility was abolished, and their domains were applied to the public service; the use of escutcheons and other ornaments of heraldry was prohibited, together with the wearing of liveries; all remnants of feudal

¹ The president was Peter Paulus, who, on the revolution of 1787, had been deprived of his office of fiscal advocate to the admiralty of the Maas.

[1794 A.D.]

customs, where any such remained, were abolished; and county tolls, staple rights, and special commercial privileges were abrogated. The penal laws existing against the marriage of political and military officers with Catholics were revoked; and the religious ceremony of marriage was declared unnecessary. The synods were no longer to be held at the public expense; the hatchments were removed from the churches; and even the pews were not permitted to remain, as being inconsistent with the present notions of equality.

All the gallows and whipping-posts in the country were destroyed, on the ground that they were derogatory to the dignity of mankind, and monuments of ancient barbarism. Happily, the punishment of torture, which still subsisted in some parts of Gelderland, shared in the general annihilation.

This sudden sweeping away of every relic of their constitution, of every trace of their nationality, excited grief and dismay among all but the more zealous and hot-headed of the patriot party; of whom the great majority had never contemplated more than the reformation of the constitution in such a manner as might render it suitable, as they thought, to the improved condition of society and the more extended and varied necessities of the body politic. The entire and fearful awakening from the dream in which their own reckless frenzy had steeped their senses rapidly followed. They found that those whom they had hailed as deliverers were become their oppressors, with a tyranny of which the barbarous times they so severely reprobated had given them no idea.

They dared not make the slightest political movement except at the impulse of their new masters, the French representatives; at their bidding they were forced to lay an embargo on all the vessels of England in their ports, an act of which the consequence was a declaration of war by that country, and the loss of all their most valuable colonies, which fell an easy prey to her arms; their commerce, and more especially their fisheries, were laid under such restrictions as it pleased the invaders to impose; who took possession, moreover, of all their harbours, their strong towns and magazines, and exacted an oath from the military and naval forces to undertake nothing against the republic of France.

To other vexations was added the burden of the French troops quartered in the towns, often of the smallest and poorest provinces, and whose inhabitants were, by the severity of the winter, the floods which followed it, and the consequent scarcity, left with hardly the means of subsistence. The demands of the army for provisions, clothing, horses, forage, and fuel were absolutely insatiable¹; nor did the consideration that the unhappy provinces of Gelderland and Overijssel were already reduced to the extremity of misery by the above causes and the pillage of the English army on its retreat, produce any mitigation of their treatment.

But a grievance far more deeply felt than these was the constraint the Dutch were under to receive as current the worthless paper money which the convention had issued under the name of "assignats," in the beginning of the war. This measure, enforced amidst professions of the most profound veneration for the rights of property, was accompanied by the seizure and appropriation by the French representatives of the effects of the stadholder (which, as the states justly remonstrated, he possessed not in the quality of stadholder but that of citizen), and, among the rest, his valuable museum

¹ The states-general were required, according to Wagenaer,^b to deliver in one month 200,000 quintals of wheat; 75,000,000 lbs. of hay; 2,000,000 lbs. of straw; 50,000,000 lbs. of oats; 150,000 pairs of shoes; 20,000 pairs of stockings; 20,000 cloth coats and vests; 40,000 pairs of breeches; 150,000 shirts; and 50,000 caps, and, within two months, 12,000 oxen.

and gallery of paintings.¹ His demesnes were sequestered by the representative assemblies of the provinces where they were situated, in order to preserve them from the hands of the French.

Acts of such a nature inspired the Dutch with no unreasonable doubts as to the intention of the national convention really to respect that independence which, on the entrance of the French army into the United Provinces, they had solemnly promised to uphold. In order to satisfy themselves on this point, the ambassadors (Jacob Blauw and Caspar Meyer) they sent to Paris for the purpose of concluding the treaty of amity and commerce were provided with instructions to obtain, if possible, an express acknowledgment of the independence of the Dutch Republic. The ambassadors, on their arrival, were refused admittance in that quality, and informed by the abbé Sieyès, member of the "committee of public safety," that the question of indemnity to France, for the expenses she had incurred in liberating the United Provinces, must precede that of the acknowledgment of their independence. This indemnity, as it was termed, amounted to no less than a subsidy of 100,000,000 guilders, with the like sum by way of loan at 2½ or 3 per cent. The provinces were in no condition to yield any such subsidies. Holland had, since the revolution of 1787, furnished 80,000,000 guilders in extraordinary expenses only, and, precisely at this juncture, was obliged to have recourse to the expedient of requiring all the inhabitants to deliver their gold and silver plate to be melted into money. The navigation of the Rhine, Maas, and Schelde was to be declared free to both nations.

In the treaty which the abbé Sieyès now repaired to the Hague for the purpose of concluding (May 16th, 1795), France engaged to restore to the United Provinces all their territories except Dutch Flanders as far as the Hond, Maestricht, and Venlo, with the land south of the latter town. The republic was also reinstated in the possession of her naval force and arsenals.

The Dutch received, with festivals and acclamations of joy, a peace which, while it recognised in imposing terms the independence and sovereignty of the "Batavian Republic," rendered the sovereignty a jest and the independence an illusion. Deprived of the power of making foreign alliances, of the authority over their own troops—since the government was obliged to consult the French general on every movement, and the army itself, composed of more than half French soldiers, was remodelled in a manner analogous to that of the invaders—with a military force ready to punish or crush the slightest attempt at opposition to the behests (or "admonitions," as they were termed) of the representatives of the French people, who still continued at the Hague, the Dutch Republic was now become virtually a province of France.

The nominal government of the states-general was superseded in the following year by the equally shadowy authority of a national convention. This again gave place in 1798 to the so-called "constituent assembly of the Batavian people," and an executive directory. After a struggling existence of scarce four months, the constituent assembly was violently dissolved, and substituted by "chambers of representatives." This government proving as

¹ They restored to the states-general, according to Wagenaar,^h with much pomp of circumstance and self-gratulation on their own magnanimity and generosity, the sword of De Ruyter, Admiral Tromp's baton of command, the wooden cup in which the "gueux" pledged the first health to each other, with the wooden bowl into which each of the confederate nobility had, on that occasion, driven a nail as a token of their union and firmness in the cause; and a piece of ordnance given by a Javanese sovereign as an acknowledgment of fealty to the states. The states, as though they could rise from the degradation of the present on the memory of the past, received these glorious relics with a transport of joy and gratitude.

[1799-1806 A.D.]

utterly inefficient as its predecessors, it was at length found necessary to recur in some measure to the traces of the ancient constitution, by instituting new legislative bodies, termed the eight provincial and one central commissions, bearing a resemblance to the states of the provinces and states-general.

These different and quickly succeeding governments agreed but in one point, that of laying merciless imposts on the people. Commerce, navigation, trade, and manufactures fell into rapid decay. Flood, famine, disease, and the invasion of their territory by the hostile troops of England and Russia filled up the measure of their woes. The Peace of Amiens afforded them but a short respite. Not content with forcing the Dutch to take part in the renewed war against England, Napoleon, now the first consul of France, manifested at the same time his insolent contempt towards them, by investing their own ambassador at his court, Schimmelpennick (1805), with the sole government of their state, and a power scarcely less than monarchical, under the title of pensionary — a suitable preliminary to the species of mock royalty he, in the next year, conferred on his brother Louis.^c

LOUIS BONAPARTE'S ACCOUNT OF HIS ACCESSION

A deputation from Holland arrived in Paris towards the spring of 1806. Couriers were despatched and instructions commanded, and after four months of negotiation a treaty was concluded, by which royalty was established in Holland, and founded on constitutional laws. Louis¹ was not invited to these negotiations. From observations without any character of authenticity, which were made to him, he learned that the conferences had reference to himself.

The members of the deputation at length waited on him, informed him of all that had taken place, and endeavoured to induce him to accept the dignity. They assured him that the nation gave him the preference. He did what he could to avoid expatriation; his brother answered that he took the alarm too soon; but the Dutch deputies themselves informed him of the progress of the negotiations. Seeing the decisive hour approach, he determined on an obstinate refusal, when they came to announce to him the death of the old stadholder. His brother explained himself more openly, and gave him to understand that, if he were not consulted in this affair, it was because a subject could not refuse to obey. Louis reflected that he might be constrained by force; that, as the emperor was absolutely determined on the subject, what had happened to Joseph would in all probability happen to himself. Joseph, on account of his having refused the kingdom of Italy, was then at Naples. However, Louis made a last attempt. He wrote to his brother that he felt the necessity of the removal of the brothers of the emperor from France, but begged he would grant him the government of Genoa or Piedmont. His brother refused, and in a few days Prince Talleyrand, then minister for foreign affairs, repaired to St. Leu, and read aloud to Louis and Hortense the treaty and constitution which had just been adopted. This interview took place on Tuesday, the 3rd of June, 1806. Prince Talleyrand announced that on the Thursday following the king of Holland would be proclaimed.

The existence of Louis in France became every day more insupportable. Without domestic comfort; without tranquillity; mute in the council; having no military occupation; seeing his functions in this respect confined to the

[¹ This book, by Louis Bonaparte, is written in the third person.]

introduction of officers, for the purpose of administering the oath to them, and visiting the military school from time to time; leaving evident marks of disfavour, and few persons daring to visit him — he felt himself in a state of constraint and moral excitement which he could not have any longer supported if events had not torn him from his position. "In Holland," he said to himself, "interests of various kinds, matters of necessity, and public affairs will wholly occupy me. I shall bestow on my country all the affection which I cannot display in my own family. I shall thus perhaps gradually recover from my physical and moral depression."

The 5th of June, 1806, was the day fixed for the proclamation of Louis as king of Holland.ⁱ

REIGN OF LOUIS BONAPARTE

The character of Louis Bonaparte was gentle and amiable, his manners easy and affable. He entered on his new rank with the best intentions towards the country which he was sent to reign over; and though he felt acutely when the people refused him marks of respect and applause, which was frequently the case, his temper was not soured, and he conceived no resentment. He endeavoured to merit popularity; and though his power was scanty, his efforts were not wholly unsuccessful. He laboured to revive the ruined trade which he knew to be the staple of Dutch prosperity: but the measures springing from this praiseworthy motive were totally opposed to the policy of Napoleon; and in proportion as Louis made friends and partisans among his subjects, he excited bitter enmity in his imperial brother.

Louis was so averse to the continental system, or exclusion of British manufactures, that during his short reign every facility was given to his subjects to elude it, even in defiance of the orders conveyed to him from Paris through the medium of the French ambassador at the Hague. He imposed no restraints on public opinion, nor would he establish the odious system of espionage cherished by the French police: but he was fickle in his purposes, and prodigal in his expenses. The profuseness of his expenditure was very offensive to the Dutch notions of respectability in matters of private finance, and injurious to the existing state of the public means.

The tyranny of Napoleon became soon quite insupportable to him; so much so that it is believed that, had the ill-fated English expedition to Walcheren in 1809 succeeded, and the army advanced into the country, he would have declared war against France. After an ineffectual struggle of more than three years, he chose rather to abdicate his throne than retain it under the degrading conditions of proconsulate subserviency. This measure excited considerable regret, and much esteem for the man who preferred the retirement of private life to the meanness of regal slavery. But Louis left a galling memento of misplaced magnificence, in an increase of 90,000,000 florins (about £9,000,000) to the already oppressive amount of the national debt of the country.

ABSORPTION OF HOLLAND IN THE FRENCH EMPIRE

The annexation of Holland to the French Empire was immediately pronounced by Napoleon. Two thirds of the national debt were abolished, the conscription law was introduced, and the Berlin and Milan decrees against the introduction of British manufactures were rigidly enforced.

The nature of the evils inflicted on the Dutch people by this annexation

[1810-1813 A. D.]

and its consequences demands a somewhat minute examination. Previous to it all that part of the territory of the former United Provinces had been ceded to France. The kingdom of Holland consisted of the departments of the Zuyder Zee, the mouths of the Maas, the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, Friesland, and the Western and Eastern Ems; and the population of the whole did not exceed 1,800,000 souls. When Louis abdicated his throne, he left a military and naval force of 18,000 men, who were immediately taken into the service of France; and in three years and a half after that event this number was increased to 50,000, by the operation of the French naval and military code: thus about a thirty-sixth part of the whole population was employed in arms.

The conscription laws now began to be executed with the greatest of rigour; and though the strictest justice and impartiality were observed in the ballot and other details of this most oppressive measure, yet it has been calculated that, on an average, nearly one half of the male population of the age of twenty years was annually taken off. The conscripts were told that their service was not to extend beyond the term of five years; but as few instances occurred of a French soldier being discharged without his being declared unfit for service, it was always considered in Holland that the service of a conscript was tantamount to an obligation during life.

The various taxes were laid on and levied in the most oppressive manner: those on land usually amounting to 25, and those on houses to 30 per cent. of the clear annual rent. Other direct taxes were levied on persons and movable property, and all were regulated on a scale of almost intolerable severity. The whole sum annually obtained from Holland by these means amounted to about 30,000,000 florins (or 3,000,000 pounds sterling), being at the rate of about £1 13s 4d from every soul inhabiting the country.

The Continental System

The operation of what was called the continental system created an excess of misery in Holland only to be understood by those who witnessed its lamentable results. In other countries, Belgium for instance, where great manufactories existed, the loss of maritime communication was compensated by the exclusion of English goods.

The few licenses granted to the Dutch were clogged with duties so exorbitant as to make them useless; the duties on one ship which entered the Maas, loaded with sugar and coffee, amounting to about £50,000. At the same time every means was used to crush the remnant of Dutch commerce and sacrifice the country to France. The Dutch troops were clothed and armed from French manufactories; the frontiers were opened to the introduction of French commodities duty free; and the Dutch manufacturer undersold in his own market.

The population of Amsterdam was reduced from 220,000 souls to 190,000, of which a fourth part derived their whole subsistence from charitable institutions, whilst another fourth part received partial succour from the same sources. At Haarlem, where the population had been chiefly employed in bleaching and preparing linen made in Brabant, whole streets were levelled with the ground, and more than five hundred houses destroyed. At the Hague, at Delft, and in other towns, many inhabitants had been induced to pull down their houses, from inability to keep them in repair or pay the taxes. The preservation of the dikes, requiring an annual expense of £600,000, was everywhere neglected. The sea inundated the country, and threatened to resume

its ancient dominion. No object of ambition, no source of professional wealth or distinction, remained to which a Hollander could aspire. None could voluntarily enter the army or navy to fight for the worst enemy of Holland. The clergy were not provided with a decent competency. The ancient laws of the country, so dear to its pride and its prejudices, were replaced by the *Code Napoléon*; so that old practitioners had to recommence their studies, and young men were disgusted with the drudgery of learning a system which was universally pronounced unfit for a commercial country.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1813

Those who have considered the events noted in this history for the last two hundred years, and followed the fluctuations of public opinion depending on prosperity or misfortune, will have anticipated that, in the present calamitous state of the country, all eyes were turned towards the family whose memory was revived by every pang of slavery, and associated with every throb for freedom. The presence of the prince of Orange, William VI, who had, on the death of his father in 1806, succeeded to the title, though he had lost the revenues of his ancient house, and the re-establishment of the connection with England were now the general desire.

The empire was attacked at all points after 1812. The French troops in Holland were drawn off to reinforce the armies in distant directions; and the whole military force in that country scarcely exceeded 10,000 men. The advance of the combined armies towards the frontiers became generally known.

Count Styrum, Repelaer de Jonge, Van Hogendorp, Vander Duyn van Maasdram, and Changuion, were the chiefs of the intrepid junta which planned and executed the bold measures of enfranchisement, and drew up the outlines of the constitution which was afterwards enlarged and ratified. Their first movements at the Hague in 1813 were totally unsupported by foreign aid. At the head of a force, which courtesy and policy called an army, of three hundred national guards badly armed, fifty citizens carrying fowling-pieces, fifty soldiers of the old Dutch guard, four hundred auxiliary citizens armed with pikes, and a cavalry force of twenty young men, the confederates boldly proclaimed the prince of Orange, on the 17th of November, 1813, in their open village of the Hague and in the teeth of a French force of full ten thousand men, occupying every fortress in the country.

The only hope of the confederates was from the British government, and the combined armies then acting in the north of Europe. But many days were to be lingered through before troops could be embarked, and make their way from England in the teeth of the easterly winds then prevailing; while a few Cossacks, hovering on the confines of Holland, gave the only evidence of the proximity of the allied forces.

In this crisis it was most fortunate that the French prefect at the Hague, Stassart, had stolen away on the earliest alarm; and the French garrison, of four hundred chasseurs, aided by one hundred well-armed custom-house officers under the command of General Bouvier des Éclats, caught the contagious fears of the civil functionary. This force had retired to the old palace — a building in the centre of the town, the *dépôt* of all the arms and ammunition then at the Hague, and, from its position, capable of some defence. But the general and his garrison soon felt a complete panic from the bold attitude of Count Styrum, who made the most of his little means, and kept up, during the

[1813 A.D.]

night, a prodigious clatter by his twenty horsemen; sentinels challenging, amidst incessant singing and shouting; cries of "*Oranje boven! Vivat Oranje!*" and clamorous patrols of the excited citizens. At an early hour on the 18th, the French general demanded terms, and obtained permission to retire on Gorkum, his garrison being escorted as far as the village of Ryswick by the twenty cavaliers who composed the whole mounted force of the patriots.

Unceasing efforts were now made to remedy the want of arms and men. A quantity of pikes were rudely made and distributed to the volunteers who crowded in; and numerous fishing boats were despatched in different directions to inform the British cruisers of the passing events. An individual named Pronck, an inhabitant of Schevening, a village of the coast, rendered great services in this way, from his influence among the sailors and fishermen in the neighbourhood.

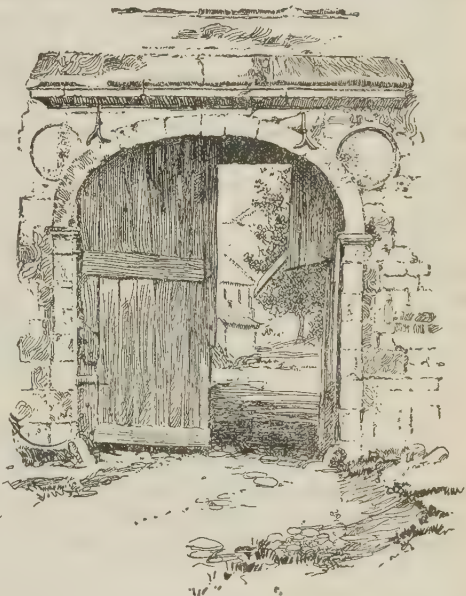
The confederates spared no exertion to increase the confidence of the people, under many contradictory and disheartening contingencies. An officer who had been despatched for advice and information to Baron Bentinck, at Zwolle, who was in communication with the allies, returned with the discouraging news that General Bülow had orders not to pass the Yssel, the allies having decided not to advance into Holland beyond the line of that river. A meeting of the ancient regents of the Hague was convoked by the proclamation of the confederates, and took place at the house of Van Hogendorp, the ancient residence of the De Witts. The wary magistrates absolutely refused all co-operation in the daring measures of the confederates, who had now the whole responsibility on their heads, with little to cheer them on in their perilous career but their own resolute hearts.

Some days of intense anxiety now elapsed, and various incidents occurred to keep up the general excitement.

The appearance of three hundred Cossacks, detached from the Russian armies beyond the Yssel, prevailed over the hesitation of Amsterdam and the other towns, and they at length declared for the prince of Orange.

The Dutch displayed great ability in the transmission of false intelligence to the enemy. November 27th, 1813, Fagel arrived from England with a letter from the prince of Orange, announcing his immediate coming; and, finally, the disembarkation of two hundred English marines, on the 29th, was followed the next day by the landing of the prince, whose impatience to throw himself into the open arms of his country made him spurn every notion of risk and every reproach for rashness. He was received with indescribable enthusiasm. As the people everywhere proclaimed William I sovereign prince, it was proposed that he should everywhere assume that title.

The 2nd of December, the prince made his entry into Amsterdam. He



GATE OF HOUGOMONT CHÂTEAU, CENTRE OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, DEFENDED BY DUTCH AND HANOVERIANS

went forward borne on the enthusiastic greetings of his fellow-countrymen, and meeting their confidence by a full measure of magnanimity.

Within four months, an army of twenty-five thousand men was raised; and in the midst of financial, judicial, and commercial arrangements, the grand object of the constitution was calmly and seriously debated. A committee, consisting of fourteen persons of the first importance in the several provinces, furnished the result of three months' labours in the plan of a political code, which was immediately printed and published for the consideration of the people at large. Twelve hundred names were next chosen from among the most respectable householders in the different towns and provinces, including persons of every religious persuasion, whether Jews or Christians. A special commission was then formed, who selected from this number six hundred names; and every housekeeper was called on to give his vote for or against their election. A large majority of the six hundred notables thus chosen met at Amsterdam, on the 28th of March, 1814. The following day they assembled with an immense concourse of people, in the great church, which was splendidly fitted up for the occasion; and then and there the prince, in an impressive speech, solemnly offered the constitution for acceptance or rejection.

Only one day more elapsed before the new sovereign was solemnly inaugurated, and took the oath prescribed by the constitution — "I swear that first and above all things I will maintain the constitution of the United Netherlands, and that I will promote, to the utmost of my power, the independence of the state, and the liberty and prosperity of its inhabitants." In the eloquent simplicity of this pledge, the Dutch nation found an ample guarantee for their freedom and happiness.

While Holland thus resumed its place among free nations, and France was restored to the Bourbons by the abdication of Napoleon, the allied armies had taken possession of and occupied the remainder of the Low Countries, or those provinces distinguished by the name of Belgium (but then still forming departments of the French empire).

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM UNITED (1814)

The Treaty of Paris (May 30th, 1814) stipulated by its sixth article that "Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, should receive an increase of territory." In this was explained the primitive notion of the creation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, based on the necessity of augmenting the power of a nation which was destined to turn the balance between France and Germany. The following month witnessed the execution of the Treaty of London, which prescribed the precise nature of the projected increase.

It was wholly decided, without subjecting the question to the approbation of Belgium, that that country and Holland should form one united state; and the rules of government in the chief branches of its administration were completely fixed.

The inhabitants of Belgium, accustomed to foreign domination, were little shocked by the fact of the allied powers having disposed of their fate without consulting their wishes. But they were not so indifferent to the double discovery of finding themselves the subjects of a Dutch and a Protestant king. The countries had hitherto had but little community of interests with each other; and they formed elements so utterly discordant as to afford but slight hope that they would speedily coalesce.

The prince of Orange arrived at Brussels in the month of August, 1814,

[1815 A.D.]

and his first effort was to gain the hearts and the confidence of the people, though he saw the nobles and the higher orders of the inferior classes (with the exception of the merchants) intriguing all around him for the re-establishment of the Austrian power. Petitions on this subject were printed and distributed.

As soon as the moment came for promulgating the decision of the sovereign powers as to the actual extent of the new kingdom — that is to say, in the month of February, 1815 — the whole plan was made public; and a commission, consisting of twenty-seven members, Dutch and Belgian, was formed, to consider the modifications necessary in the fundamental law of Holland, in pursuance of the stipulation of the Treaty of London. After due deliberation these modifications were formed, and the great political pact was completed for the final acceptance of the king and people.

The news of the elevation of William I to the throne was received in the Dutch provinces with great joy, in as far as it concerned him personally; but a joy considerably tempered by doubt and jealousy, as regarded their junction with a country sufficiently large to counterbalance Holland, oppose interests to interests, and people to people.

In Belgium the formation of the new monarchy excited the most lively sensation. The manufacturers, great and small, saw the ruin of monopoly staring them in the face. The whole people took fright at the weight of the Dutch debt, which was considerably greater than that of Belgium.

It was in this state of public feeling that intelligence was received, in March, 1815, of the reappearance in France of the emperor Napoleon.

HOLLAND'S PART IN THE GREAT ALLIANCE

The flight of Louis XVIII from Paris was the sure signal to the kingdom of the Netherlands, in which he took refuge, that it was about to become the scene of another contest for the life or death of despotism. The national force was soon in the field, under the command of the prince of Orange, the king's eldest son, and heir apparent to the throne for which he now prepared to fight. His brother, Prince Frederick, commanded a division under him. The English army, under the duke of Wellington, occupied Brussels and the various cantonnments in its neighbourhood; and the Prussians, commanded by Prince Blücher, were in readiness to co-operate with their allies on the first movements of the invaders.

Napoleon, hurrying from Paris to strike some rapid and decisive blow, passed the Sambre on the 15th of June, at the head of the French army 150,000 strong, driving the Prussians before him beyond Charleroi and back on the plain of Fleurus with some loss. On the 16th was fought the bloody battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians sustained a decided defeat. On the same day the British advanced position at Quatre-Bras, and the *corps d'armée* commanded by the prince of Orange, were fiercely attacked by Marshal Ney; a battalion of Belgian infantry and a brigade of horse artillery having been engaged in a skirmish the preceding evening at Frasnes with the French advanced troops.

The affair of Quatre-Bras was sustained with admirable firmness by the allied English and Netherland forces, against an enemy superior in numbers, and commanded by one of the best generals in France. The prince of Orange, with only nine thousand men, maintained his position till three o'clock in the afternoon, despite the continual attacks of Marshal Ney, who commanded the left of the French army, consisting of 43,000 men.

We abstain from entering on details of the battle of Waterloo [already described in the history of France, Vol. XII]. Various opinions have gone forth as to the conduct of the Belgian troops on this memorable occasion. Isolated instances were possibly found, among a mass of several thousands, of that nervous weakness which neither the noblest incitements nor the finest examples can conquer. Raw troops might here and there have shrunk from attacks the most desperate on record;¹ but the official reports of its loss, 2,058 men killed and 1,936 wounded, prove indelibly that the troops of the Netherlands had share in the honour of the day.

The victory was cemented by the blood of the prince of Orange, who stood the brunt of the fight with his soldiers. His conduct was conformable to the character of his whole race, and to his own reputation during a long series of service with the British army in the Spanish peninsula. He stood bravely at the head of his troops during the murderous conflict; or, like Wellington, in whose school he was formed and whose example was beside

him, rode from rank to rank and column to column, inspiring his men by the proofs of his untiring courage.

On the occasion of one peculiarly desperate charge, the prince, hurried on by his ardour, was actually in the midst of the French, and was in the greatest danger; when a Belgian battalion rushed forward, and, after a fierce struggle, repulsed the enemy



THE MOUND OF THE LION, RAISED ON THE BATTLE-FIELD
OF WATERLOO

and disengaged the prince. In the impulse of his admiration and gratitude, he tore from his breast one of those decorations gained by his own conduct on some preceding occasion, and flung it among the battalion, calling out, "Take it, take it, my lads! you have all earned it!" This decoration was immediately grappled for, and tied to the regimental standard, amidst loud shouts of "Long live the prince!"

A short time afterwards, and just half an hour before that terrible charge of the whole line which decided the victory, the prince was struck by a musket-ball in the left shoulder. He was carried from the field, and conveyed that evening to Brussels, in the same cart with one of his wounded aides-de-camp, supported by another, and displaying throughout as much indifference to pain as he had previously shown contempt of danger.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE NETHERLANDS

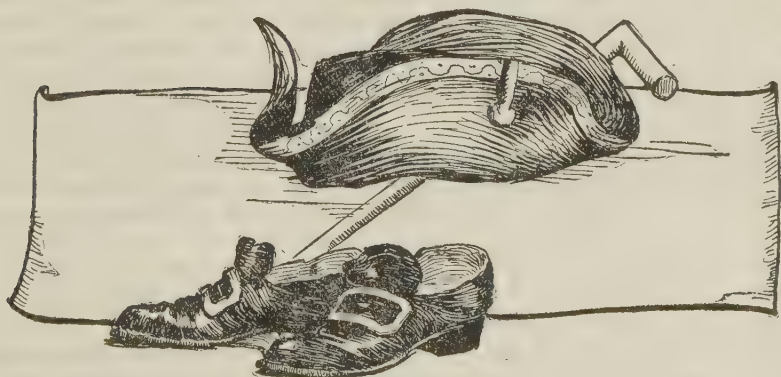
The battle of Waterloo consolidated the kingdom of the Netherlands. The wound of the prince of Orange was, perhaps, one of the most fortunate

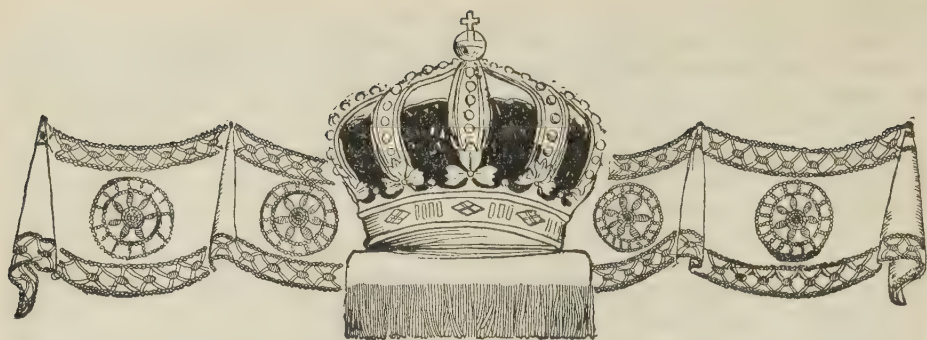
¹ Alison gives various instances of this unsteadiness, especially the following incident: "The brigade of Belgians of Perponcher's division formed the first line of infantry; they, however, speedily gave way before the enemy were within half musket-shot, at the mere sight of the formidable mass of the French columns. Such was the indignation felt in the British ranks at this conduct of the Belgians, that they could with difficulty be prevented from giving them a volley as they hurried through to the rear." The total Belgian loss, however, of the five days, June 15th-19th, he puts at 4,038 men (not including officers) killed and wounded.]

[1815 A.D.]

that was ever received by an individual, or sympathised in by a nation. To a warlike people, wavering in their allegiance, this evidence of the prince's valour acted like a talisman against disaffection. The organisation of the kingdom was immediately proceeded on. The commission, charged with the revision of the fundamental law, and the modification required by the increase of territory, presented its report on the 31st of July, 1815. The inauguration of the king took place at Brussels on the 21st of September, in presence of the states-general; and the ceremony received additional interest from the appearance of the sovereign, supported by his two sons, who had so valiantly fought for the rights he now swore to maintain — the heir to the crown yet bearing his wounded arm in a scarf, and showing in his countenance the marks of recent suffering.^b

At this point of the short-lived union of the Low Countries into one state under one monarch, it will be well to pause for a brief review of the history of the southern provinces, which we have thus far somewhat neglected for the sake of the more independent struggles of Holland and the other northern provinces.^a





CHAPTER XVII

BELGIUM FROM 1648 TO 1815

THE treaty concluded between Spain and Holland at the end of the Eighty Years' War, in 1648, left Belgium no other enemy than France; and the struggle seemed less unequal, thanks to the assistance brought by the archduke Leopold. Besides a regular army, raised in Germany, he had with him a numerous body of Croats who proved themselves as daring as they were fierce. Duke Charles of Lorraine, driven out of his estates by France, had led into Belgium and sold to the king the experienced troops formerly in his service. Fresh soldiers had just arrived over sea from Spain at the same time with cavalry from Brandenburg. It was with this imposing force that the archduke obtained several advantages over the French in the year 1647. He recaptured several towns from them and was already threatening the frontier when the famous prince of Condé gave him battle at Lens and completely defeated him (1648). Ypres had fallen into the hands of the French a few months before; Lens and Furnes met the same fate. In the following year Leopold retook Ypres, but his troops experienced a fresh reverse in the vicinity of Valenciennes. Condé and Leuze were lost.

Richelieu's government had raised France to a degree of strength and unity that must make her arms in the future almost irresistible, and there was only too much reason for the United Provinces to become alarmed at the rapid progress of that power. From that moment even the existence of the Spanish Netherlands was constantly endangered by the growth of the French monarchy, until the whole of Europe took up arms against the conquering nation.

Thus the successes of the archduke did not respond to the expectations he had aroused. All of his foreign force raised with great difficulty for the protection of Belgium was powerless to defend the country, while its pillaging nearly ruined it. The Lorrainers, who had long subsisted on rapine, and the Croats, whom Europe regarded as brigands, inspired less terror in the enemy than they did in the unhappy country folk. The Spaniards, although subject to severe discipline, displayed no less lawlessness when they could escape the surveillance of their officers. The Walloon regiments alone, braver than they were numerous, were anything but a scourge to the country.

The troubles, however, that overtook France in the war of the Fronde

[1655-1668 A.D.]

permitted Leopold for a time to regain the upper hand. He made himself master of nearly all the places the enemy had captured during the last few years. But in 1655 Cardinal Mazarin, who was directing French affairs, secured an alliance with England — then under Cromwell's rule. This put an end to the archduke's career and he returned to Germany a short time after (1656). His successor was Don John of Austria, the king of Spain's natural son.

Don John, young and without experience in war, might have had a guide in the prince of Condé, who had taken up arms against his country rather than bow the knee to Mazarin. But although this great captain might have saved Valenciennes and Cambray, the Spanish generals could not bring themselves to take his orders and dissuaded the governor from following his advice. They succeeded only too well. The Anglo-French army, having arrived under the celebrated Turenne to besiege Dunkirk (1658), the young prince marched against them when it was too late, gave battle at an inopportune moment, and was completely defeated in spite of Condé's heroic efforts. Dunkirk, Gravelines, Oudenarde, Menin, and Ypres fell in succession into the power of the conqueror, whose soldiers ravaged almost the whole of Flanders.

FRANCE IN CONTROL (1659)

Don John left for Madrid in discouragement the following year, while Philip IV made overtures of peace to Mazarin. A treaty was signed November 7th, 1659, between France and Spain. The young king Louis XIV married the Spanish infanta and received, as dowry and indemnity for the rights which this princess renounced, almost the entire county of Artois, Gravelines, Bourbourg, and St. Venant in Flanders, Landrecies, Avesnes, and Le Quesnoi in Hainault, Philippeville and Mariembourg in the province of Namur, and Montmédy in Luxemburg. Dunkirk remained in the hands of the English, to whom Turenne had turned it over. Such were the conditions of the Peace of the Pyrenees, whose consequences were destined to be almost as grave as those of the Peace of Münster.

BELGIUM THE BATTLE-GROUND OF EUROPE

From this moment Belgium, regarded by France as a prey and feebly supported by ruined Spain, became the arena of the campaigns of Louis XIV. A detailed account of these campaigns belongs more to the history of Europe than to that of Belgium, since the Belgians, governed by foreigners, and not even having a flag to call their own, seemed only to be spectators of their country's invasion and the struggles of neighbouring powers. Political life had ceased for the suffering nation. The towns shut themselves up in the interests of internal peace and domestic affairs; but, far from making efforts for their defence, they bent under the storm and it might be said that they sought now only inaction and immobility.

Philip IV having died in 1666, Louis XIV claimed that Brabant now belonged to him by right of "devolution" (by this name was called a custom established in some parts of the province by virtue of which the children of a first marriage could not be disinherited in favour of those of a second union). Armed with this slight pretext, but having collected sufficient forces to inspire terror, Louis caused Hainault and Flanders to be invaded, and occupied almost the whole of the latter province (1667). Nor did he stop until he saw England, Holland, and Sweden leagued against him (1668). The Treaty

of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he then arranged, gave him Charleroi, Binche, Ath, Douai, Tournay, Lille, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Furnes, and Bergues.

This haughty prince was nevertheless wounded by the boldness and success with which Holland had opposed his plans of conquest. He worked to win over England and Sweden, and when he felt sure of their alliance he marched against the United Provinces, this time attacked on all sides. The invaders encountered scarcely any obstacle but that of the elements. The Dutch, seeing themselves too weak, threw open the dikes and inundated a portion of their country (1672). But the empire and Spain became uneasy at the progress of France; Louis XIV, violating Belgian territory, had covered it with troops which had already fallen upon Maestricht (1673). The count of Monterey, the governor-general, declared war upon France in the name of Charles II of Spain on the 16th of October, and put himself in communication with the Dutch and imperial forces, which were collected opposite Venlo and Bonn. Thereupon Louis XIV quitted the offensive for a moment. He had just been abandoned by England and Sweden, but he had in his power almost all the strongholds which commanded the Maas, the Sambre, and the Schelde. It was in this direction that he established his army, and the unhappy Belgian provinces once more became for a long time a theatre of battles.

William III, prince of Orange, was in command of the allied troops; those of France had Condé for a leader. After a battle at Seneffe (in the north of Hainault), the result of which was uncertain, the French took up positions on both sides of the Sambre, covering their own frontier while they occupied that of Belgium (1674). False rumours soon spread among the allies and paralysed their strength. The enemy took advantage of this to seize Huy and Dinant, and Tirlemont and St. Trond shortly afterward (1675). Condé, Bouchain, and Aire met the same fate a year later. In 1677 Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer surrendered one after the other; the prince of Orange was defeated at the battle of Cassel by the duke of Orleans, and compelled later on to raise the siege of Charleroi. Finally, in the following year, the French monarch himself took part in the campaign, and besieged and took Ghent and Ypres. By this time England, Denmark, and all the German princes were preparing to unite their forces against the conqueror, whose progress had become too alarming; Louis, as well served by his diplomats as by his generals, evaded the storm by treating with Spain and Holland.

He laid easy terms before these two powers, and peace was finally concluded at Nimeguen on September 17th, 1678; but it was rather an armistice than a true peace, and the king's ambition was far from being satisfied, although he had torn a few more shreds from Hainault and Flanders.

In truth, as soon as the allies had separated, Louis established at Metz a *chambre des réunions* which declared, in defiance of the preceding treaty, the town of Virton, the county of Chiny in Luxemburg, and some seigniorial estates in the province of Namur escheated to the crown of France. These harmful decisions were tolerated, in order to avoid a fresh rupture. The *chambre des réunions* also advanced some pretended claim to the ancient county of Alost and imperial Flanders; and French troops, suddenly descending upon Belgium, occupied West Flanders, bombarded Oudenarde, invaded the whole of the southern frontier and besieged Luxemburg, which was compelled to surrender (1684). Such was the weakness of the Spanish cabinet that it gave in again and purchased a twenty years' truce at the price of Luxemburg, Beaumont, Bouvines, and Chimay (Treaty of Ratisbon). The emperor Leopold, attacked himself by the Turks who were besieging

[1688-1697 A. D.]

Vienna, could not think of lending the Belgians assistance, and Holland was still suffering from the disasters of the invasion.

However, the course of events was changed when William III ascended the throne of England, from which he had driven his father-in-law James II (1688-89). All the smothered hatred against Louis XIV was kindled almost at once, and the French monarch saw Germany, Holland, England, Savoy, and Spain united against him. It was in Brabant that the main army, composed of the Germans, Dutch, English, and some Spanish and Walloon regiments, assembled.

The prince of Waldeck, who commanded it, drove the enemy out of the Flemish provinces, but Hainault and the valley of the Sambre underwent all the horrors of war. France's prodigious efforts still assured her the superiority in arms. William, who had come himself to take the general command, was beaten at Fleurus and later at Steenkerke (near Halle) by Marshal Luxemburg, and could relieve neither Mons nor Namur, which Louis besieged and captured almost before his eyes (1691-92). But finally the resources of France commenced to be exhausted, while her adversaries made new sacrifices.

Maximilian, the elector of Bavaria, was appointed governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1692. More fortunate than his predecessors, he drew large sums of money from the royal treasury and the Belgian provinces. William obtained an army of fifty-six thousand men from the English parliament (Maximilian had only twenty-eight thousand in all), and the Dutch increased their forces in like manner. Luxemburg began to lose his advantage, and although the victory of Neerwinden (near Landen) and the capture of Charleroi still assured him the honours of the campaign, the allies were enabled a little later to capture Huy and Namur (1694-95), and Louis felt the necessity of making peace. It was at Ryswick near the Hague that the negotiators met, and the treaty which they finally signed in 1697 gave Luxemburg back to Belgium, together with the county of Chiny, and Charleroi, Ath, Mons, and Courtrai.



STATUE OF RUBENS, PLACE VERTE, ANTWERP: THE CATHEDRAL, NOTRE DAME, IN THE DISTANCE

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

It was almost a triumph, but it had cost very dear. More than two hundred thousand foreign soldiers had swarmed over Belgium for the past eight years, and with the exception of a portion of Brabant all the provinces

had been despoiled from year to year by the enemy. The besieged and captured cities were not the only ones that had suffered. All had been threatened and had had to put themselves in a state of defence. In West Flanders the country had been flooded; elsewhere the peasants took refuge in the fortified towns. The genius of the famous Vauban for multiplying methods of destruction had made the war more dreadful than ever for these cities hitherto impregnable. His artillery laid them low under a storm of shot and shell which nothing could resist. It was thus, in order to force the allies to raise the siege of Namur, in 1695, that Marshal de Villeroi went to Brussels, and turning his batteries upon the town destroyed four thousand houses in two days. They were riddled with cannon ball, burned by red-hot bullets, or enveloped in the burning of adjacent buildings.

The Army

The bad administration of the Spanish governors paralysed what strength and resources still were left to the country. A contemporary writer, Field-marshal Mérode,^b whose testimony is incontestable, paints the condition of the Belgian troops in these words: "We had in the Low Countries eighteen wretched infantry regiments and fourteen of cavalry and dragoons, which all together did not amount to six thousand beggars or robbers, who had never been properly clothed and for whom pay could not be found. These troops were very fortunate if in a year they received four months' pay. Under the administration of the elector of Bavaria they secured scarcely two. The cavalymen existed only by acting as highwaymen in bands on the roads, stopping coaches, public and private vehicles, and foot travellers, to rob them, or at least to demand alms, pistol in hand. No one could go from one town to another without meeting them."

However, these soldiers, so neglected, and reduced to so deplorable a condition, performed miracles when brought face to face with the enemy. Numerical weakness was the sole cause of their reverses and the small honour maintained by their flag. Whatever may have been the impoverishment of the country, more able management would still have found the means necessary for its defence. For indeed did not the French administration, a few years later, raise thirty-nine thousand infantrymen and five thousand cavalymen "well clothed, armed, mounted and equipped" in Belgium? But the Spanish government, lacking in energy and intelligence, did not know how to make use of the people's money any more than it knew how to turn their courage to account.

Besides this, it was due to the incapacity and jealousy of the foreign governors that the best Belgian officers were not given any commands. Indeed they scarcely deigned to entrust the native noblemen with a few of the subordinate posts, and if Belgium may still cite glorious names for this period, it is because her children found more appreciation abroad than at home. Among those who distinguished themselves in the wars of Germany the famous Tserclaes, count of Tilly, who became generalissimo of the imperial forces (1630), and for a moment counterbalanced the fortune of Gustavus Adolphus, must be mentioned. After him, history still makes mention of the celebrated but unfortunate General Ernst von Mansfeld, and especially Johann von Werth (Jean de Weert) who from a simple soldier raised himself to the command of armies (1640). Thus did Belgian genius and valour show themselves outside the country's limits, while within all energy seemed crushed under a restless and oppressive dominion.

[1692-1702 A.D.]

THE ARTS

The fine arts themselves were extinguished in the midst of public suffering. The great school of Rubens had disappeared. Some genre painters after the style of Adrian Brouwer and Teniers the Elder were still sharing their masters' renown, but they left no disciples. Antoine van der Meulen, who excelled as a painter of battle scenes, had placed himself at the service of Louis XIV, together with the engravers Edelinck and Warin. A host of other artists carried their talent to Italy and Germany, for there was no longer any career for them in Belgium.

The elector, Maximilian of Bavaria, invested with the government of the Netherlands since 1692, made every attempt after the Peace of Ryswick to give to the country a measure of prosperity and to his court a show of magnificence. He was a prince of generous character, who loved splendour and the arts, and who understood the necessity for reviving trade and industry. But scarcely had the nation begun to breathe again after all its woes, when a new quarrel between Europe and Louis XIV sprang up.

The eighteenth century opened gloomily for Belgium. The war had dealt a final blow to the country's prosperity — to her very existence even; but the future threatened to develop greater evils. It was not without a sort of sinister presentiment that the provincial estates recognised the young heir to Charles II. "We have sacrificed to the late king our lives and our property," said those of Brabant and Flanders; "we shall sacrifice them again to his successor." The general government remained with the elector of Bavaria, who placed French garrisons in all the towns, while the Dutch soldiers, who had remained, up to the present, as allies in the cities of Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Ath, Oudenarde, Courtrai, and Nieuport, withdrew to their frontier (February, 1701). But in the following month England and Holland advanced claim to occupy eleven fortresses in Belgium to serve as a barrier to the second of those powers. (They were Nieuport, Ostend, Damme, Dendermonde, Mons, Charleroi, Namur, Luxemburg, Stevensweert, Venlo, and Roermond.) Thus the country's strongholds were destined to protect a foreign nation.

The refusal of Louis XIV armed Germany, Savoy, and Portugal against him as well as the two states mentioned above. All these powers united to drive Philip of Anjou from the Spanish throne and replace him with a prince of the Austrian house.

William III, who had been the prime mover of this league, died before war was declared; but the celebrated John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, took the command of the allied forces in the Netherlands, and this great soldier's genius obtained the mastery over the French monarch's fortune. He was able to hold in check the marquis de Boufflers, to whom Louis had assigned the defence of the Belgian provinces; and the Dutch obtained possession, one after the other, of Venlo, Roermond, and the well-fortified Stevensweert, while the English army, which covered the operations of the Dutch, made its way into the country around Liège, seized that town, and took its citadel by assault (1702). Joseph Clement of Bavaria, who then occupied the episcopal see, had taken sides with France. He now found himself deprived of his estates for the whole course of the war, when an imperial commission directed the affairs of the principality.

In the succeeding years the chances of war seemed more equal. The French had received fresh recruits, and Marshal de Villeroi was following

Marlborough's movements step by step. The latter thereupon turned abruptly towards Germany, where the imperial troops were being worsted, and joining them on the banks of the Danube he gained a decisive victory near Höchstädt (battle of Blenheim) in 1704. Returning to Belgium after this great success, he could not, for a long time, entice Villeroi into giving him battle; but finally obtained a new triumph on the day of Ramillies (May 26th, 1706).

BELGIUM BECOMES "THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS" (1706)

The battle of Ramillies placed Flanders and Brabant in the hands of the allies. These two provinces ceased to recognise Philip of Anjou as sovereign and took oath of fidelity to his rival Charles of Austria (called Charles III as king of Spain and afterwards Charles VI as emperor). Ostend, Dendermonde, Menin, and Ath, which the French garrisons tried to defend, were besieged and captured. The Walloons and other Belgians in the service of Spain abandoned the army of Louis XIV almost to a man, and passed over to the standard of the new king. The government of the Belgian provinces was committed to a state council composed of native-born citizens. Belgium was lost to the house of France.

The war, however, continued with great fury. Marlborough was joined by Prince Eugene of Savoy at the head of a large body of imperial troops, while the French army also received substantial reinforcement. But fortune remained faithful to the allies; they took Lille, Tournay, and Mons, and when Marshal Villars tried to regain the latter place they won a bloody battle from him at Malplaquet, near St. Guilain (September 11th, 1709). In spite of the courage still shown by the French soldiers, each day found them more at a disadvantage.

Louis XIV sued for peace. His propositions were at first rejected, but in 1711 there was a change in the English ministry and the new administration, actuated by pacific intentions, accepted the monarch's proposals. In this way England detached herself from the alliance and at the same time Villars repulsed Prince Eugene, abandoned by Marlborough's successor. On the other hand Charles of Austria had just been called to the imperial throne by the death of his elder brother, and after this event the occupation of the Spanish throne by this prince would have seriously deranged the balance of power in Europe. Negotiations were thereupon entered into, and the congress of Utrecht finally re-established general peace for a long time (1713). The emperor alone refused at first to agree to the conditions devised in the congress, but he did not delay to adopt them himself in the Treaty of Rastatt (1714).

The articles of the Peace of Utrecht had for their basis the partition of the Spanish monarchy. Philip V (duke of Anjou) retained Spain and her colonies. Charles VI (the emperor) received the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and Belgium. It was an arrangement that lacked neither wisdom nor advantage, but as far as Belgium was concerned the articles were particularly iniquitous. The Spanish Netherlands had been given to the house of Austria only on odious conditions. Of all the conquests of Louis XIV only Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Dixmude, and Ypres were restored; while in the north, Venlo and a part of Gelderland, of which they had always remained in possession, were taken away from them. The stipulation of the Treaty of Münster in regard to the closing of the Schelde was renewed. An annual tax of 1,250,000 florins for the benefit of the United Provinces was imposed by means of

[1715 A.D.]

subsidies and under penalty of exaction by military force. But worst of all was the obligation to turn over the most important fortresses of the country to the Dutch, to serve them as a barrier. England and Holland were to remain in possession of the Belgian provinces until the emperor had settled this point to their satisfaction. They asked for Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, and Ypres. Half the garrison of Dendermonde was to be composed of troops in the pay of the United Provinces (1715).

Such was this Barrier Treaty — a work of tyranny and spoliation hitherto unexampled. The whole of Belgium was roused to indignation on learning to what a state of vassalage she was destined; but her resentment was powerless. The fatal decree had been pronounced by Europe; and blame could be imputed neither to Spain, which was destitute, nor to the emperor, who had obtained the provinces only upon these severe conditions, nor to the powers who had sacrificed in their own interests those of a foreign nation. Complaints were made to Charles VI; he recognised the justice of them and declared that he himself had foreseen "the difficulties" of the treaty, but that the "very delicate conjunctures and the situation of affairs" had compelled him to subscribe to them. The tone of his reply was affectionate and his intentions were truly paternal; but his efforts to obtain some concession from the Dutch had but indifferent success, and the Barrier Treaty was modified only in its less important points.

SPOILIATION AND RUIN OF BELGIUM

In the interior, hardships and suffering were extreme. To be sure, there existed some trade between Belgium and Spain, and the latter power with its vast colonies still obtained from Belgian workshops the cloth and arms for the rich inhabitants of the New World; the manufacture of linens, of which the country produced both the raw material and the workmen, still held its own, and the laces which the large towns supplied to the whole of Europe were also a means of livelihood for a numerous class of the population. But herewith ended industrial activity. After the Peace of Ryswick the governor-general (Maximilian of Bavaria), alarmed at the utter ruin of the other branches of commerce, thought that he ought to consult the states of all the provinces as to the means of remedy (1699).

Two only were found: the exclusion of foreign merchandise; and the re-establishment of marine navigation, "by means of a canal to float vessels of large tonnage," putting Ostend in communication with Brussels, Maestricht, and Antwerp, and replacing, so to speak, the Schelde, lost to Belgian commerce. Maximilian forbade the importation of cloth and spun wool, as well as cotton and silk material, and seriously studied the project of the great canal. But war soon broke out, and the entry of the allies into Belgium put an end to these tardy measures.

The English and Dutch, who had practical control of almost the entire country for ten years, used their power in the interest of their own trade and manufactures to the detriment of those of the Belgians. They flooded the towns with foreign merchants, while the difficulty of existing conditions completed the ruin of the Belgian workshops and factories. This last blow was so keenly felt that, in spite of the old national antipathies, there was formed in the country a large party in favour of France. The harm that Louis XIV had done to Belgium, the scorn that his grandson's ministers had exhibited for the rights of the provinces during their short administration by levying arbitrary taxes and banishing whomsoever they pleased, the inevitable

loss of all political independence — none of these wrongs prevented numbers of the inhabitants from believing that French dominion would at least put an end to the invasions of foreign armies, reopen perhaps the avenues of trade, and protect them against odious rivalries.

In the majority of the large towns the people showed themselves disposed to tumult and riot. This was the result of poverty and humiliation. The very splendour of the traditions of the past made the present degradation seem more bitter. The absence of a regular system of government, during the occupation of the country by troops of the maritime powers, had also relaxed all the ties of statehood; for the council assembled at Brussels had but a shadow of temporary power, and as a general thing each locality had, so to speak, to govern itself. Considering all these causes of disorder and social dissolution, all the scourges that war brought in its train, it is perhaps astonishing that the national character could have survived this melancholy epoch without corruption and disgrace.^c

Troubles were excited in the Austrian Netherlands in the year 1716 by the exactions of the marquis of Prié, a Piedmontese who represented Prince Eugene of Savoy, the governor-general, during his defence of Hungary against the Turks. His exactions occasioned tumults in Brussels, Mechlin, and other cities, but the inexorable Prié, favoured by the support of the emperor Charles VI, crushed the defenders of municipal liberty.^d

In 1722 a commercial company was formed at Ostend by Charles VI, but this was sacrificed in 1731 to the jealousy of the Dutch, who contended that by the treaty of Münster the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands were specifically forbidden to engage in the trade with the Indies. Answer was made that the Belgians were no longer Spanish and that the restriction was contrary to the law of nature and of nations. But England also feared the Belgian invasion of the Indian trade, and the disbandment of the company was agreed on in a treaty between the emperor and Great Britain signed at Vienna 1731, Holland taking no part in the treaty.^a

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (1731-1748)

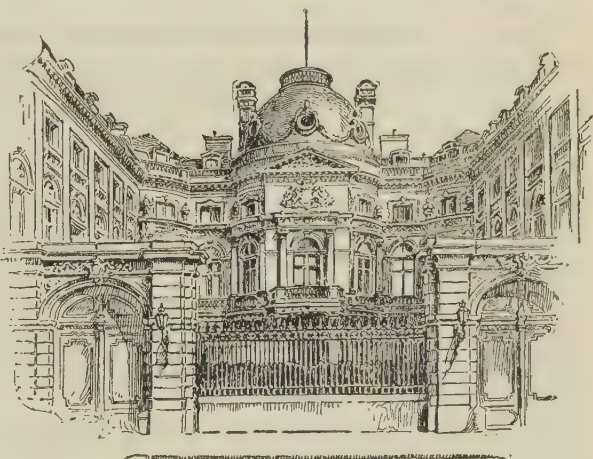
The marquis of Prié had been recalled by the emperor, and the arch-duchess Maria Elizabeth, Charles' sister, had come to take up the reins of government (1725). She was a princess of sweet and benevolent character, who succeeded in making the Belgians love her but whose administration was entirely lacking in vigour. She collected few taxes, but the finances remained in disorder, the towns in debt, and trade in a languishing condition. Agriculture alone, thanks to the return of peace, was able to reassume its former prosperity. All traces of past misfortune were so well effaced in the rural districts, by the labour and intelligence of the farmers, that there at least was witnessed the renascence of Belgium's old-time opulence. But Charles VI, who had no son, saw the succession ill-assured to his daughter Maria Theresa.

In vain did he try to forestall all dispute on the subject by a special regulation which was called the Pragmatic Sanction. The majority of the European powers did indeed consent to recognise the princess's rights to her father's possessions; but no sooner had the latter breathed his last than the storm broke, and the young empress saw herself attacked by the king of Prussia (Frederick II), who took Silesia from her; by the elector of Bavaria, who claimed the empire; and by France, which upheld the elector, in the hope of weakening the Austrian house. Nevertheless the war did not yet extend

[1740-1748 A.D.]

to the Belgian provinces, whose neutrality France from the first respected in order not to offend the maritime powers. It seemed moreover that a single campaign would suffice to overwhelm Maria Theresa, who was lacking in troops, generals, and money. But the daughter of Charles VI was not to be discouraged by her first reverses; and, putting her confidence in the justice of her cause and the love of her subjects, she succeeded in arming the war-like population of Hungary in her behalf.

England and Holland had become interested in the empress' danger. In the Belgian fortresses sixteen thousand English replaced the Dutch troops, which were sent to Germany. Thereupon the French changed their careful tactics in the Low Countries. Louis XV, at the head of a formidable army, entered West Flanders and took Menin and Ypres (1744); but he was obliged to hasten to the help of Alsace, attacked by the Austrians, and an Anglo-Dutch army reinforced by some Belgian troops invaded in its turn the frontiers of France. Nevertheless, the campaigns that followed were all to the advantage of France, whose armies were under the command of the celebrated Marshal Saxe. In 1745 they took Tournay and defeated the entire allied forces at Fontenoy (near Antoing). A portion of Hainault and the whole of Flanders was the price of the victory.



PALACE OF THE COUNT OF FLANDERS, BRÜSSELS

In 1746 the remainder of the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxemburg, fell into the power of France.

The diocese of Liège now became the principal theatre of war. An imperial army which had hastened to the support of the Dutch was beaten at Rocoux (near Liège), and the year after the victory of Lawfeld near Tongres maintained the French in possession of all their conquests. Bergen-op-Zoom was taken and the same fate befell Maestricht in 1748. Abusing the rights the strength of their arms had given them, Marshal Saxe and the intendant of Séchelles crushed the invaded provinces under heavy contributions; they went so far as to demand of the clergy, at one single time, one sixth of the value of all their property.

This accounts for the spontaneous expression of keen joy when, in 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Belgium to Maria Theresa. The French withdrew the following year, and Duke Charles of Lorraine, the empress' brother-in-law, arrived to take control of the government.

This prince had been appointed governor-general upon the death of Maria Elizabeth (1741), but the war detained him a long time in Germany, where he distinguished himself in fighting against Frederick II. His noble and loyal character, his affability, his frankness, his inexhaustible goodness endeared him to the Belgians, among whom he had since resided. The affairs of the country were in the greatest disorder, the revenues of the state

insufficient for its needs, the provinces in debt; the whole government was paralysed. But the skill of the count of Cobenzl, appointed minister plenipotentiary and directory of internal affairs, raised resources little by little, while the affection of the people levelled the obstacles against which the sovereign's power had broken itself. If the minister's efforts to reorganise the government and reform abuses appeared sometimes to exceed the just limits of his authority, and struck at times at honoured customs, the empress' moderation and duke Charles' conservative spirit impressed a character of moderation and slowness upon the execution of his plans. Thus the gradual change that took place in the administration from this time on was free from all agitation and perturbation, and it was likewise by degrees that the young sovereign learned to understand the importance of this part of her possessions.

BENEFICIAL RESULT OF MARIA THERESA'S REIGN

Maria Theresa had thought for a moment of ceding the Netherlands to a prince of the Spanish house, the infante-duke of Parma; and there was nothing extraordinary in this idea, since up to the present time the possession of these provinces had been nothing but a burden to Austria. But a new war broke out between the empress and the king of Prussia (1757), and the Belgians came forward at once with twelve thousand soldiers and 16,000,000 florins, independent of the immense sums which the Antwerp capitalists lent to the imperial treasury. Sacrifices of every kind were made up to the very close of the war (1763), and brought the German ministers to realise the great value of a possession which hitherto had not been half appreciated. The empress was touched by the marks of devotion which the Belgian provinces showered upon her, and from that moment she displayed the liveliest solicitude for their prosperity.

There was much to be done to raise Belgium from the state of depression and inertia into which the disasters of the past had plunged her. The nation had ceased to be rich; and, while it remained hard-working, while it endeavoured to make up by economy for the loss of opulence, it must be admitted that the energy that accomplishes great ends seemed extinguished together with the intellectual progress that prepares them. Arts and letters had almost disappeared. Continued depression had brought about a sort of indifference — a lifelessness under the influence of which the nobility and vigour of the national character were to some degree effaced. Nations pass through phases of torpor that, like moments of sleep, succeed excessive fatigue.

The renascence of Belgium began under Maria Theresa. Not content with re-establishing order in the government, with doubling the revenues of the country, which soon reached 16,000,000 florins, with encouraging every effort in agriculture and industry, she attempted to assure the progress of civilisation, established colleges in the principal cities, a military school at Antwerp, and an academy at Brussels. She honoured the fine arts, and applauded the zeal of Charles of Lorraine in their protection. Severe towards some abuses which would have harmed the church and religion, she set an example of respect for sacred things and exercised as much influence over her subjects by her virtues as by her great wisdom. Thus she became the object of veneration and boundless love, and the last twenty years of her reign have been regarded, with truth, as the happiest period in the memory of the Belgians.

Although separated from the rest of Belgium, the diocese of Liège enjoyed the same tranquillity after having experienced the same agitation. John

[1764-1786 A.D.]

Theodore of Bavaria, who had governed that province from 1744 to 1763, was the brother of Maria Theresa's rival for the empire, to whose party ties of blood had bound him; but he proved himself in his internal administration a wise and peaceful prince. It was the same with his successors, under whom the commerce and industry of the Liégeois regained their activity, while the nation rejoiced untroubled in a liberty henceforth exempt from all peril.

Thus the different provinces of the Catholic Low Countries simultaneously regained a part of their old-time prosperity. This state of things was prolonged during the whole of the reign of the empress, who was able to maintain peace in Europe and to make foreign powers respect the sceptre which protected her subjects. She attained an advanced age without ceasing to hold the reins of her vast empire, and preserved to her last day her zeal for the well-being of her people, and an authority founded on the union of power and virtue. This great princess and Charles of Lorraine expired the same year (1780), both mourned for by the Belgians, to whom this double loss seemed to presage the end of their happiness.

JOSEPH II AND HIS ATTEMPTS AT REFORM (1780)

The child that Maria Theresa had brought in her arms before the Hungarian diet, in 1741, had become a man; he had been associated with her in the government since 1765, and succeeded his mother under the title of Joseph II. He visited Belgium in 1781, but he only remained there a short time. He appeared to carry away a false idea of the national character, yet he nevertheless at that time made projects favourable to the independence of the provinces. The Barrier Treaty was still in force, although it had not been confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, but the United Provinces, being engaged in a naval war with England, were not in condition to support another struggle. The emperor ordered the demolition of all the Belgian fortresses, and those occupied by foreign garrisons were the first to suffer; the garrisons retired without resistance. He next proclaimed the freedom of the Schelde, and by his command a brig, fitted out at Antwerp, sailed down to the sea, braving the forts and the Dutch cruisers. But scarcely had the ship, which was flying the imperial flag, arrived before Saftingen, when it was stopped by the batteries and fell into the hands of those who were guarding the channel (1783).

Joseph thereupon made mighty threats, which alarmed the whole of Europe. A war between the Empire and Holland was anticipated; for the United Provinces would have braved everything rather than free Antwerp and let Belgian commerce revive. They had already seen in the preceding years (1781-1784) the port of Ostend suddenly attain a flourishing condition on account of the neutrality and freedom it enjoyed during the naval war. The right to use the Schelde might revive Antwerp, and that city's natural advantages excited the jealousy and uneasiness of a trading people. But Joseph II, as inconstant as he was precipitate, soon ceased to maintain his righteous claims and contented himself with the sum of 6,000,000 florins which Holland sacrificed in order to retain its privilege.

After having thus given up the completion of Belgium's liberation, the emperor thought for a time of exchanging the country for the electorate of Bavaria, which bordered upon his German possessions. But when the project fell through, he directed the impatient activity of his mind to a plan of general reorganisation of the countries subject to his sway.

Disgusted by the despotism exercised by the clergy of Belgium, Joseph commenced his reign by measures that at once roused a desperate spirit of

hostility in the priesthood, and soon spread among the bigoted mass of the people. Miscalculating his own power, and undervaluing that of the priests, the emperor issued decrees and edicts with a sweeping violence that shocked every prejudice and roused every passion perilous to the country. Toleration to the Protestants, emancipation of the clergy from the papal yoke, reformation in the system of theological instruction were among the wholesale measures of the emperor's enthusiasm, so imprudently attempted and so virulently opposed.^e

The minds of the people had scarcely recovered from the first sensations of surprise when new edicts appeared (January, 1787). One abolished the existing tribunals and the seigniorial, ecclesiastical, and academic judges, and substituted a judicial organisation based on the principle of unity; the other united in one body the various councils connected with the government, and submitted to the imperial approval the choice of permanent deputations (the colleges of the estates-deputies). Two months afterwards a final decree divided the country into nine districts, whose administration was confided to intendants who were to replace all the old provincial authorities. This was a complete upheaval, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel unless we go back to the most violent revolutionary crises.

The Brabantine Revolution of 1787-1789

The estates complained; the people did more: they armed themselves. If the edicts had been put into execution the struggle would have begun at once.

Maria Christina of Austria, sister of Joseph II, and Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, whom she had married, had been living in Brussels, in the quality of governors-general, since 1781. The popular excitement terrified them, and they provisionally suspended the execution of the decrees. The emperor at first blamed them for this condescension, but when a deputation of the estates presented itself, in obedience to his command, and he realised the degree of firmness exhibited by the Belgians, he yielded in the majority of the disputed points, and persisted only in the edict relating to the clergy (August, 1787). The people rejoiced in this partial victory, and preparations for resistance disappeared; but the opening of the general seminary at Louvain still kept alive a little flame of discontent.

This last germ of irritation could not but grow when the diocesan seminaries were closed in spite of the bishops, and the University of Louvain suspended on account of its opposition to the new institution whose doctrines it condemned. In 1788 the Hainault estates refused all subsidies; the emperor broke them, declared their privileges forfeited, and caused the arrest of some of the members. In Brabant, the third estate alone had made the same refusal; the monarch demanded the provisional suppression of the order, the concession of a perpetual subsidy, and the establishment of the new judicial organisation. Upon the Assembly's negative response, an imperial diploma broke and annulled the "*joyeuse-entrée*," that is to say, the fundamental pact which bound the people to the sovereign (June, 1789).

Joseph declared that he could rule the country by force and as a conquest; later he wrote to the general who was directing the movements of the military, "that the more or less of blood shed to settle matters was not a matter for consideration and that the soldiers would be recompensed the same as if they had fought against the Turks." Strange blindness in a prince who made no scruple of violating the most sacred ideas of justice and humanity, not through

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violence and barbarism, but because he believed himself more enlightened than his subjects.

Resistance was not long in coming. There had been formed at Breda a colony of Belgian émigrés tolerated by the Dutch government, and still full of resentment towards Joseph II. This colony soon collected two or three thousand volunteers whose command was confided to Colonel van der Mersch of Menia, an old officer of proven valour. He entered Brabant with his feeble troops, encountered the Austrian division charged with guarding the frontier, was able to allure it to the little town of Turnhout, where he placed himself advantageously, and seconded by the efforts of the burghers he achieved a complete victory (October 26th, 1789).

This was the signal for insurrection throughout the whole of Belgium. A column of volunteers arrived at Ghent, and supported by the people, attacked the garrison of the town and soon made themselves masters of the citadel. The whole of Flanders drove the Austrians out. The people of Brussels attacked them in the streets and forced them to flee. Mons fell into the hands of its citizens in the same manner. On the 11th of January, 1789, the deputies of all the provinces situated north of the Maas, assembled at Brussels, proclaimed the independence of the United Belgian States.

Joseph II, already ill, did not long survive the news (February 20th). "It is your country that has killed me," he said to the prince de Ligne; "what a humiliation for me!" The unhappy sovereign had forgotten how he himself had wounded the people whose institutions he hoped by one word to overthrow.

Nevertheless the Brabantine Revolution (such is the name that history has given it) was not to enjoy a long existence. It was a flash of enthusiasm in a nation faithful to its old laws and to the spirit of its ancestors; but in following this impulse they returned to a past already become impossible. The march of time changes the social order; and, half a century after Joseph's death, the Belgians possessed none of the old institutions for which their fathers had fought. Their memory commands respect, but their day has passed.

The movement could not continue, in the sense in which it had been conceived. The man whose opinions best represented those of the country — Henry van der Noot, formerly an advocate of Brussels, who had put himself at the head of the committee at Breda — had been all-powerful in overthrowing the emperor; but when he became the chief of the government he did nothing. An already powerful party turned its glance towards the future, desiring certain innovations, the majority of which are in operation to-day. But the advocate Vonck, who was its leader, and the brave Van der Mersch, who supported him, were powerless to overcome the profound antipathy inspired in the nation by the principles and example of the French Revolution which, then in progress, had already shaken the old social order to its very foundations. The house of Austria also had its partisans, in whom the memory of Maria Theresa's virtues inspired a sincere attachment to her sons. These adherents did not succeed in getting the people to listen, even when their much-regretted flag was raised.

The Austrians withdrew to the right bank of the Maas. Van der Mersch took up his position opposite to them at Namur, and in the neighbouring townships. But his troops, although numerous, had but an imperfect organisation. Instead of occupying himself exclusively with instructing and disciplining them, Van der Mersch wished to make his army a support to Vonck's party, and his officers soon showed themselves disposed to lay down the law

to the estates. The latter thereupon gave the command of the force to a Prussian officer, General Schönfeld, while Van der Mersch was arrested and sent to the citadel at Antwerp.

But Schönfeld, who seems to have been the agent of a foreign power, made no use whatever of the forces under his orders, and moreover he chilled their enthusiasm by his coldness. The Maas continued to separate the troops of the two nations. The Belgians did not even try to unite with the Liégeois, at that moment in revolt against their bishop (1789), because on the occasion of the games established at Spa he had refused to extend to the new establishments the privilege of taking part in them.

The congress had flattered itself that it would be able to obtain the support of Prussia, of England, and, above all, of Holland. It was a vain hope; but Van der Noot and the majority of the estates could not seek elsewhere the salvation of their cause: they were unwilling to place their country's fate in the hands of a warlike people, and, on the other hand, they had committed the mistake of rejecting the peace propositions of the emperor Leopold II, Joseph's brother. The courts with which they solicited an alliance left them in their delusion up to the very moment when an imperial army was on the march. Then the congress was advised to submit.

In the spring of the following year the Austrians, under the leadership of Bender, re-entered the provinces from which they had been driven. Schönfeld abandoned his soldiers, who managed their retreat towards Flanders with less disorder than might have been expected; the members of the congress dispersed — some leaving the country, the others returning to their houses. The imperial troops re-established, in passing, the bishop of Liège in the principality. Of all the great movements which had agitated Belgium, nothing remained but disaffection for the imperial house and indifference to threatened dangers.

BELGIUM DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1792)

In fact, while Counts Mercy, Argenteau, and Metternich, named one after the other minister plenipotentiary to the Austrian Netherlands, were struggling to revive in the provinces their old-time spirit of obedience and devotion, the French Revolution reached its height, and prepared Europe for a more bloody upheaval than any that had preceded. Leopold, although he had foreseen the war, was not to witness it, death having removed him at the age of forty-five, in 1792; but Francis II, who succeeded him, had scarcely mounted the throne when hostilities commenced. Spectators in the fight which was to decide their fate, the Belgians took scarcely any part in it; and perhaps this neutrality of a people formerly so devoted to Austria was a great weight in the balance. For Belgium became the field upon which the hostile powers long fought, with chances so nearly equal that the support and concurrence of a faithful people might have changed the outcome of the war.

The first actions were of little consequence, and the imperial troops gained some advantage. Two divisions of the enemy left Lille and Valenciennes at the same time and advanced upon Tournay and Mons (April, 1792). The plan of the French was to prevent the union of the Austrian troops, and suddenly overpower them; but a panic of terror seized upon their soldiers at the sight of the German outposts, and the two columns dispersed without fighting. An attempt of General Luckner upon Courtrai was likewise repulsed with ease. In the month of October Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, who had

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reassumed the government of Belgium, marched upon Lille with fifteen thousand men and bombarded the town during six days. But shortly after this empty demonstration the French attacked, on their side, the troops which were covering Hainault. Two brave Belgian generals, Clerfayt and Beaulieu, commanded this corps, twenty thousand strong. Forty thousand of the enemy under Dumouriez attacked them at Jemmapes, near Mons, (November 6th,) and forced them to retire after a stubborn fight.

Then the French army penetrated into the heart of Belgium, while the Austrians retired behind the Maas. Dumouriez entered Brussels the 14th, and Liège on the 28th of the same month. He was received in the first of these cities without opposition; in the second, amid the acclamations of the people.

The Austrian army, which had retreated to the right bank of the Maas, soon received large reinforcements there; and, commanded by the prince of Coburg, took the offensive in the ensuing campaign, drove the French from Limburg and the country around Liège, defeated Dumouriez at Neerwinden (near Landen), reconquered the whole of Belgium, and took Valenciennes (March-July, 1793). Nothing now stopped the victorious march of the allied troops (for the English and Dutch had joined the imperial forces), until the duke of York was detached with a considerable army to besiege the town of Dunkirk, which England was desirous of possessing. This mistake, in separating the two wings of the army, gave superiority to the enemy, who was able to make them give way one after the other. They might have been cut off by a bold attack of the French upon Menin, had not the brave Beaulieu won a decided advantage before the town (September 15th).

Nevertheless, the duke of York was forced to raise the siege of Dunkirk, and the prince of Coburg that of Maubeuge. Thus the career of the victors was arrested. The neutrality of the Prussians finally permitted France to place new forces on the banks of the Sambre. Charleroi was taken, June 26th, 1794, and the prince of Coburg, who marched to the assistance of that place, was at some disadvantage in a general battle fought the next day on the famous plain of Fleurus. Thereupon the allies abandoned Belgium again, and it was occupied by the French as a conquered country.^c

The Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797) and the subsequent Treaty of Lunéville (1801) confirmed the conquerors in the possession of the country, and Belgium became an integral part of France, being governed on the same footing, receiving the *Code Napoléon*, and sharing in the fortunes of the republic and the empire, as described in an earlier volume.

After the fall of Napoleon and the conclusion of the first Peace of Paris (30th of May, 1814), Belgium was for some months ruled by an Austrian governor-general, after which, as we have seen in the last chapter, it was united with Holland under Prince William Frederick of Nassau, who took the title of king of the Netherlands (March 23rd, 1815). The congress of Vienna (May 31st, 1815) determined the relations and fixed the boundaries of the new kingdom; and the new constitution was promulgated on the 24th of August following, the king taking the oath (September 27th) at Brussels.^f



CHAPTER XVIII

BELGIUM SINCE 1815

THE influences of the French Revolution of 1830 were first felt in the adjoining country of Belgium. For the last decade no little inflammable material had collected there, and an explosion had long been prophesied. In order to have a stronger bulwark against the encroachments of France in the north, the congress of Vienna had decreed that southern Belgium should be united with northern Holland as an increase of territory under the house of Orange. In this way the hegemony of Holland was recognised, while Belgium was viewed as a sort of tributary province and treated accordingly; this, in spite of the fact that two-thirds of the population belonged to Belgium and only one-third to Holland. For more than two centuries each of these two countries had been independent of the other, with the exception of a few years under the Napoleonic rule. Belgium remained first under Spanish, later under Austrian dominion; Holland, while yet a young republic, rose to a maritime power of the first rank and ruled over an enormous colonial territory. In the humanities and the art of painting she had been the rival of Germany and Italy.

Added to these differences of their past career were other antagonistic principles, of religion as well as language. Belgium is Roman Catholic; and the language of cultured society as well as of business is French, although two-thirds of the population of the north speak Flemish, which is closely related to the Dutch language; in Holland, however, Calvinism took root very early and the language of the country is a Germanic dialect. In his hatred of everything French, King William strove to restrict the use of the French language more and more, which was very inconvenient in the southern provinces, especially in the law courts and in the army.

The Belgian clergy was very reluctant to submit to a Protestant government and felt its very existence menaced when the king wished to place the whole school system, this domain of hierarchy, under the supervision of the government. The curriculums of the Belgian schools, colleges, and universities were greatly advanced, and in 1825 a college of philosophy was established at Louvain, which everyone was obliged to attend who wished to enter an episcopal seminary. It was expected that this seasonable institution would act as a barrier to the excesses of ultramontaniam. The challenge was accepted. Although ultramontaniam had a great influence over the people, the government had nothing to fear if the liberal elements were in its favour. But these also were antagonised by abolishment of trial by jury, by disci-

[1825-1829 A.D.]

plining officers of justice of the opposition, by restricting the liberty of the press,¹ and by the decided refusal to propose a law for the responsibility of ministers.

As neither the clericals nor the liberals could achieve any advantage alone, the result was the unnatural combination of these two great parties. The clericals assisted the liberals in the agitations for freedom of the press; the liberals worked with the clericals in their efforts to obtain freedom of instruction, by means of which the clergy hoped to regain control of all public education.

BELGIAN DISCONTENT

These grievances might have been settled in the states-general. But here also the Belgians were at a disadvantage; for, in spite of their large majority of population, they had no more delegates than the Hollanders — fifty-five for each state. While the Dutch delegates stood like a solid phalanx, the Belgians, not being so united, and some of them having been drawn to the side of the government, could accomplish nothing.

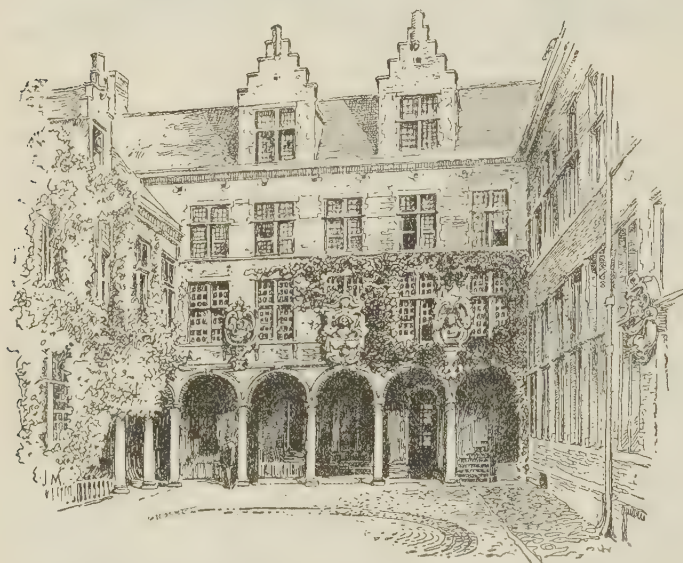
Another cause for disagreement between the two states was their material interests, although the king from self-interest did all he could to further industrial enterprises.² Belgium was made to share the enormous debt of Holland, and was burdened with unaccustomed taxes (for instance on bread and meat) in order to discharge it. This last-named tax exasperated the populace in the highest degree, and in consequence the opposition succeeded in 1829 in electing delegates to the states-general, who were nearly all liberals. The king on his journey through the Belgian cities, where he was joyfully welcomed, allowed himself to be deceived as to the real sentiment of the country, just as Charles X did in Alsace. At the reception of the civic authorities in Liège he declared that he knew now what to think of the ostensible grievances, and that he saw in them only the designs of a few who had their own separate interests to advance — “such behaviour was simply infamous!” At once an order was formed in Flanders, the home of the clericals, whose members wore a medal with the inscription “Fidèles jusqu’à l’infamie” — alluding to the motto of the Genevese of 1566: “Faithful unto beggary!” The excitement was heightened by a message to the states-general of December 11th, 1829, which clearly betrayed the absolutism of the king, and by a circular of the minister of justice, Van Maanen, and the minister of the interior to all their subordinates, ordering them to give at once a formal declaration of their assent to the principles of the message. The Dutch were jubilant over the blow which had been struck against the Belgians. The latter in the press protested against the manifesto of despotism against liberty, and placed Van

[¹ The newspapers, having reopened their attacks against Dutch supremacy, were pitilessly prosecuted in all the provinces at Brussels, Liège, Ghent, Tournay, etc. Nothing was spoken of but the lawsuits against the opposition papers, both Catholic and liberal. On the other hand, the ministerial papers also continued with renewed rage their insults and calumnies against the members of the opposition in the states-general and against the unionists. — JUSTE.^b]

[² If the political situation was an anxious one, the material prosperity of the country on the contrary bore witness to the immense progress made in the reign of William I. One might be proud of calling oneself a citizen of this truly flourishing kingdom, which was so rich and inspired such noble sympathy abroad. The population had increased in 1829 to the number of more than six millions of inhabitants (Holland, 2,314,087; Belgium, 3,921,082). When he opened the session of the states-general of 1827-28, the king had remarked the flourishing condition of commerce and industry: “Our commerce,” he said, “is increasing prosperously. Our naval constructions are developing favourably. Agriculture continues to improve. The exploitation of mines is beginning actively. Manufactures achieve continual progress and make a successful stand against foreign competition both in European markets and in other parts of the world.” — JUSTE.^b]

Maanen, the soul of the ministry, on a par with Polignac. There were even then hints of a separation of Belgium from Holland and a separate constitution and administration of the country.

What did it avail that the government, in order to curry favour with the Belgian opposition, now made a few concessions in regard to the grievances of the language and the press, and abolished the college of Louvain! Its



MUSÉE PLANTIN-MORETUS, ANTWERP, A FAMOUS PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT DATING FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, NOW A MUSEUM

true character had been only too clearly shown and been made more unpopular than before by its dismissal of officials and punishment of authors; among the latter was De Potter, who had suggested the formation of a confederacy in order that all the members thereof might be secure from all violent measures. He was arrested and sentenced, in April, 1830, to eight years of exile. Hardly arrived in Aix-la-Chapelle

on his journey to Lausanne, he was informed of the events of the July week in Paris, went to France, and, settling in Paris, put himself into communication with his friends in Brussels.

IMITATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830

The desire to rid Belgium of an anti-national government, after the example of France, was very obvious, and it was hoped that the July monarchy and the enthusiasm of the French people¹ might be depended upon. De Potter's most intimate friend, Gendebien, went to Paris, in order to arrange for a union of his native country with France and to offer a Belgian contingent in the contest for the Rhine boundaries. But Louis Philippe had no desire to risk the throne he had just mounted by a war of conquest, and refused the offer. Thereupon Gendebien and his friends tried to arouse popular demonstration in order to force France to occupy Belgium, in case Prussia should aid Holland. They were quite open in their undertaking, even going so far as to advertise by posters: "Monday, fireworks; Tuesday, illumination; Wednesday, revolution!"

Meanwhile what course did the officials pursue in order to calm the excite-

[¹ The duke of Wellington said too truly to M. Decazes in 1819: "Sad experience has shown you that no nation in the world can be tranquil if France is not so!" From the authentic testimony of a contemporary, an eye-witness, we learn that the news of the revolution against Charles X had been received in Brussels with the greatest interest.—JUSTE.^b]

[1830 A.D.]

ment? On August 25th, 1830, they permitted the presentation at Brussels of the opera *La Muette de Portici* — which glorifies the rebellion of the Neapolitans against Spanish rule, led by the fisherman Masaniello. Every allusion to domestic affairs was applauded to the echo; and in the streets outside, crowds of the lower classes shouted, “Hurrah for De Potter, down with Van Maanen!”

At the close of the opera the crowds [crying “*Imitons les Parisiens!*”] attacked the residences of the ministerial editor Libri and of Van Maanen. One was totally wrecked, the other burned to the ground. During the night all shops where weapons were for sale were plundered; the work of destruction was continued on the 26th, the tricolour of Brabant raised on the city hall, and the royal arms demolished. On the increase of this rioting among the lowest classes the citizens arose, formed a civic guard, suppressed the anarchy, arranged for a meeting of the most prominent men on the 28th of August, and decided to send a deputation to the king asking him to change the prevailing system of government, to dismiss his cabinet, and to call at once a meeting of the states-general.

The uprising spread quickly over the whole country, was successful everywhere, and only a very few fortresses were able to withstand it. But the king, like Charles and Polignac, had no idea of making concessions, until Belgium should be subdued once more. He sent his eldest son, the prince of Orange, to Brussels, to study the real state of affairs; and his second son, Prince Frederick, to Antwerp, to raise troops. At the same time he called the states-general to the Hague for an extraordinary session on September 13th. His plan was to prolong the situation in this way and occupy Brussels in the meantime. He declared to the deputation that he could not be driven by force to dismiss Van Maanen.

On August 31st the two princes, arriving with the troops at Vilvorde, two hours' distance from Brussels, summoned Baron Hoogvorst, commander of the citizen guard, to their headquarters, in order to confer with him on the restoration of the royal authority. Hoogvorst invited Orange to come to Brussels without troops; the latter, however, insisted on the entry of the troops and the restoration of the regal emblems. When Hoogvorst brought back this answer to Brussels it caused tremendous excitement: a universal clamour for weapons arose, women and children took part in the work, cartridges were manufactured, missiles placed in the houses, and more than fifty barricades erected in the streets. At the same time the prince was notified by a second deputation that the acceptance of his terms was out of the question. The prince finally yielded, and rode alone on September 1st through the densely crowded streets of the city, while the cry of “Long live liberty! Down with Van Maanen!” saluted his ears.

He appointed a committee to discuss the best methods as to an arrangement for an understanding between the government and the citizens, and this committee informed him that the only means was the legislative and administrative separation of Belgium from Holland, the establishment of a Belgian special ministry, and a personal union of the two countries similar to that of Sweden and Norway.

The prince promised to lay their wishes before his father and to support them, and returned to the Hague. The garrison of Brussels also left and joined the troops of Prince Frederick. But the king, deluded by the idea that the great powers would certainly not allow their own creation to be overthrown, and that England above all could not refuse to aid him, would not accede to the representations of his son and a few of his ministers; he did, to

be sure, dismiss Van Maanen, but he tried to pacify the impatient ones by a proclamation regarding the probable decisions of the states-general, and emphasised again the maintenance of the real union and the continuance of legitimate methods.

The situation was made worse by the attitude of the Dutch. They were more royal than the king himself, and thus urged on the quarrel between the two nationalities. In the Dutch papers it was said that rebel blood was not

fraternal blood; the time for negotiations had passed: therefore, "War to rebels and assassins!"

The states-general opened on September 13th. The speech from the throne was very indefinite about the separation of Belgium and Holland. The Dutch delegates had nothing but force of arms to suggest.

Although it had been possible before the opening of the states-general to establish on September 11th a committee of safety, "for the preservation of the dynasty and public order," totally different forces assumed control on receipt of the news from the Hague. Hordes of revolutionists and unemployed labourers came from the other cities of Belgium and from Paris, resolved to fight out the old quarrel in the streets of Brussels. On the 20th of September they took possession of the city hall, disarmed the citizen guard, drove out the committee of safety, and restored to the populace the power which had passed from them to the citizens on August 27th.



FLEMISH VILLAGE GIRL (1820)

Even the Belgian representatives now implored the king to employ force of arms against this dominion of the working class. Prince Frederick was commanded to advance from Vilvorde against Brussels. He issued a proclamation in which he promised general amnesty, but threatened "the ring-leaders of these much too criminal actions" with heavy punishment. He appeared on September 23rd before Brussels with 10,300 troops and twenty-six cannon, achieved a few trifling advantages in the beginning, entered the city, but encountered such serious obstacles in the barricades and the firing from the houses that he withdrew to the park. On the 26th, as his greatly fatigued troops were being surrounded and attacked on all sides, and as ammunition was giving out also, he was forced to retreat to Vilvorde. Among those who led the arrangements for defence in these strenuous days may be especially mentioned the brave sub-lieutenant Pletinckx and the Spaniard Juan van Halen.

The object of the revolution was decided with this battle, at the cost of much bloodshed. The idea of a personal union did not suffice, the dynasty of Orange was no longer possible; only a complete severance of Belgium from Holland, only the establishment of an independent state could now satisfy

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the Belgian people, whether of high or low degree. The provisional government, in which a seat was given to De Potter, who returned on September 20th, laboured with this end in view. With the news of the victory, victory itself spread all over Belgium; the Dutch garrisons and officials were driven out. The Belgian troops, relieved of their oath by the provisional government, went over to the people, only the cities of Luxemburg, Venlo, Maestricht, and Antwerp remaining in the power of the Dutch.

The Dutch government now yielded at last. The states-general on September 28th declared in favour of a separate administration of Belgium; the king gave his sanction on October 4th, and sent the prince of Orange to Antwerp. The latter announced the separation of the two countries, proclaimed liberty of education and unconditional amnesty, and even offered to place himself at the head of the movement and acknowledge the resolutions of the Belgian congress. As his father, however, disapproved of these arbitrary measures, at the same time seeking to arouse civil war in Belgium, the son was also regarded with suspicion, and his proposals were rejected; whereupon he went to London, where the delegates of the great powers were just then assembling for a conference.

Not long after this, about eight thousand volunteers under the French general Mellinet advanced upon Antwerp. Two officers who had distinguished themselves in the park combats, Niellon and Kessels, were assigned to him as commanders; the former had lately been the director of a children's theatre, the latter had travelled about the country exhibiting the skeleton of a whale. Fortune favoured them in the theatre of war also. The Dutch troops were driven out of the city of Antwerp, and General Chassé was obliged to withdraw into the citadel. From here, when the Belgians were preparing to attack him, he bombarded the city with all his batteries for several hours, destroying more than two hundred houses and setting fire to merchandise to the value of several millions. Venlo also fell into the hands of the Belgians; so that now only Maestricht, Luxemburg, and the citadel of Antwerp were in the power of the Dutch.

THE BELGIANS SECURE INDEPENDENCE

The independence of Belgium was already an established fact. The truce proposed by the London conference¹ and the boundary line as it existed before the union of the two states were accepted by the provisional government and the national congress convened on November 10th decreed the perpetual exclusion of the house of Orange. The political constellations were favourable to the Belgians; since, of the Eastern powers usually so eager to intervene, Russia was wholly occupied with the suppression of the Polish revolution, and Austria had to keep watch on Italy. From the Western powers, moreover, there was nothing to fear; a more liberal tendency prevailed in

[¹ Talleyrand said, in reference to this treaty, that "England and France were two gendarmes who forcibly intervened to prevent a duel"; political consequences, also, of the strangest and most unexpected kind, followed the alliance, and the prodigy was presented to the astonished world of an English fleet and a French army combining to wrest the great fortress of Antwerp, which Napoleon had erected for the subjugation of England, from its lawful sovereign, and to restore it to revolutionary influence and the sway of the tricolour flag. Antwerp was the point whence, for centuries, the independence of Great Britain had been most seriously menaced. It is one of the most extraordinary circumstances recorded in history that, after having twice over, as the fruit of the victories of Marlborough and Wellington, wrested this great and menacing fortress from France, and after having been fully taught by her inveterate enemy its paramount importance, England should have entered into a compact with France for its restoration to the dependant of that power, and rendered it again the advanced work of the tricolour flag!—ALISON.]

England since the fall of Wellington, and Louis Philippe was so little able to proceed against Belgium that he declared, on the contrary, that he would brook no intervention there.

Thus the Belgians became masters in their own house. On the question of the future form of government, De Potter, who had republican views, withdrew from the majority and retired into private life. The congress declared itself in favour of a constitutional monarchy by 174 votes; only thirteen were in favour of a republic. On February 13th the constitution, based on the sovereignty of the people, and establishing a senate and house of representatives, was unanimously adopted by the congress. More difficulty was encountered on the question of boundaries, which the London conference decided against Belgium in its protocol of January 20th, after having already, on December 20th, 1830, decided in favour of the separation between Belgium and Holland. The grand duchy of Luxemburg, which King William had received on relinquishing his hereditary domains, was to be left to Holland. Against this decision the Belgians protested, on the plea that the people of Luxemburg had risen with them against King William, and desired union with Belgium, not Holland. The outcome of this dispute depended in a large measure on the selection of the new king.

The crown was first offered to the second son of Louis Philippe, the count of Nemours. His father, rightly foreseeing that the other powers would never consent to such an aggrandisement of French influence, declined the offer, and now the duke of Leuchtenberg, a son of the former viceroy Eugène seemed to have the best prospects. But this grandson of Napoleon was such an unwelcome neighbour to Louis Philippe that he strained every nerve to defeat his election, and withdrew his objections to the choice of his son. On February 13th, the duke de Nemours was elected king by a small majority. But Louis Philippe for the second time declined the Belgian crown. His principal object had been attained by the defeat of the Leuchtenberg prince, and he knew that the London conference had decided against his son.

LEOPOLD I, KING OF THE BELGIANS (1831-1865)

A new choice was necessary, and it could not have been a better one. It fell, on June 4th, upon Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had brilliantly distinguished himself in the wars for freedom. In 1816 he had married the daughter of the prince regent of England; she died the following year, but he continued to reside in England.¹ Through the marriage of his sister with the duke of Kent, he was the uncle of Princess Victoria, the future queen of England. He had refused the crown of Greece in 1830, but now accepted that of Belgium, after the congress had accepted the new decision of the London conference of June 26th (the eighteen articles), that the Luxemburg question should remain *in statu quo* for the present, to be definitely decided at some future time. He made his entry into Brussels on July 21st, took the oath of fealty to the constitution, and was proclaimed king of the Belgians.

Hardly had the new king begun a tour of the country when the Dutch troops, more than seventy thousand men, entered Belgium on August 2nd, defeated the Belgian army at Hasselt and Louvain, and threatened Brussels. Leopold called upon England and France for aid. A French army came into Belgium, and an English fleet took position on the coast of Holland. The Dutch were obliged to retreat; but with the assistance of the Eastern pow-

[¹ August 9th, 1831, he married Princess Louise Marie, the daughter of Louis Philippe of France.]

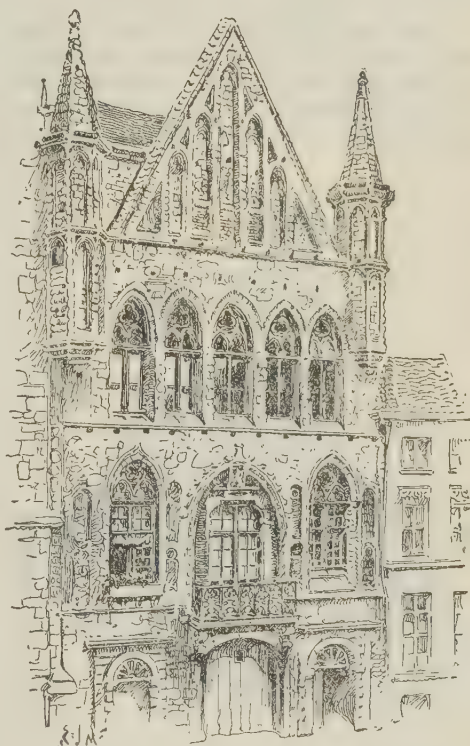
[1831-1865 A.D.]

ers, which had remembered the Holy Alliance after the suppression of the Polish rebellion, they obtained a revision of the London protocol (October 6th) according to which (in the protocol of the twenty-four articles) not the whole of Luxemburg was to fall to Belgium; though the western portion with 165,000 inhabitants, mostly Walloons, was to be united with Belgium, the eastern or German part, with 170,000 inhabitants, was to be restored to the king of Holland, who had always retained possession of the fortress of Luxemburg. As a compensation he was also to have several districts of Limburg, to be taken from Belgium, and also 8,400,000 gulden, which Belgium was to pay annually to Holland as her share of the national debt of the Netherlands.

When King William was not yet satisfied and refused to sign his acceptance of the terms, an Anglo-French fleet blockaded the Dutch coast, and a French army under Marshal Gérard crossed the Belgian frontier, on November 15th, 1832, to seize the citadel of Antwerp. It was still occupied by the gallant General Chassé with the Dutch garrison. After holding out one month, he was obliged to surrender the citadel on December 23rd; it was at once occupied by Belgian troops.¹ Chassé and the garrison were taken to France as prisoners-of-war, and not released until the following year, when King William consented at least to the preliminary treaty of May 21st, 1833. The unedifying quarrel was decided, finally, only by the London treaty of April 19th, 1839, when William at last accepted the twenty-four articles, and permitted the free navigation of the Schelde.

Belgium was able to develop materially as well as intellectually under the government of Leopold I, who married in 1832 Princess Louise of Orleans, the oldest daughter of Louis Philippe. The union of the clericals and the liberals, having served its purpose, soon changed into decided disunion and was dissolved. Both parties sought for the majority in the house of representatives, hoping thus to retain control of the ministry. Leopold, the model constitutional king, under whom, rather than under his father-in-law, the constitution was a reality, left them free to act. He was at the helm always, in the most difficult times, even after the February revolution and under the Napoleonism so eager for annexation, and guided the ship of state with prudence and discretion. On his death, on December 10th, 1865, the whole country mourned him truly and deeply.^d

[¹ The siege of the citadel of Antwerp, in a military point of view, is one of the most memorable of which the annals of Europe make mention.—ALISON.^e]



CLOTH HALL, GHENT (BUILT 1385)

LEOPOLD II AND THE SOCIALIST ADVANCE (1865)

A glorious reign was ended; Leopold had not only consolidated the independence of Belgium, but he had been the active promoter of her prosperity. The country had not attained perfection, but under the reign of this, the first national king, enormous and un hoped-for progress had been made.

The inauguration of Leopold II took place December 17th. The representatives of the powers were present, and the proceedings were marked with a solemnity which took its significance more from the patriotic enthusiasm of the people than from the pomp of a court. Saluting the assembly, the king pronounced with clear and steady voice the constitutional oath: "I swear to

observe the constitution and the laws of the Belgians, to maintain the national independence and the integrity of the national territory."^e



LEOPOLD II (1835-)

· DIVISION IN LIBERAL PARTY —
ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 caused alarm in both Holland and Belgium. Belgium feared again becoming a battle-ground for contending nations. This fear was not realised, however, as the powers recognised her as neutral, thus leaving Belgium at liberty to resume her internal political disputes.

Müller^d in speaking of this period sums up the condition of Belgium in these words: "The principal interest of Belgian history during the years 1876-81

lies in the battle there waged between liberal ideas and ultramontane bigotry." Constant disputes occurred, and when the liberals, after a victory in the two houses, proceeded to introduce measures for free education and the exclusion of religious teaching in the schools, the bitterness of the Catholic party became so great that the life of the king was threatened. Now began again that ever-recurring struggle between conservatism and progress. In a country dominated as Belgium had been by the clergy, this struggle was necessarily a severe one. For a long time the supremacy of the clergy over the masses made the number of scholars in the Catholic schools exceed that of the state schools by some two hundred thousand. A definite issue to this question was prevented by a division of the liberal party; this division was caused by the franchise reform. The period from 1884-94 is known as "the bourgeois régime," one of the most disturbed periods of the nineteenth century. The socialist element now comes forward and the next few years are characterised by strikes and discord everywhere. March 18th, 1886, a socialist uprising at Liège on the anniversary of the Paris commune spread swiftly; and thousands of workmen went on strike, demanding higher wages and the power

[1886-1908 A.D.]

to vote. The insurrection was suppressed by force, but the result was increased determination to revise the constitution.

Years of debate were embittered by inability to construct a majority among those agreeing upon enlarged suffrage, but disagreeing as to whether it should be qualified or universal. At length, in 1890, an unfavourable vote having quashed various reform bills, fifty thousand workmen struck and violence reigned at Brussels and elsewhere. Quiet was restored by promise of compromise in 1893. The right to vote for representatives to the chamber was granted to every man of twenty-five years, and the right to vote for senators to every man of thirty, while the Catholics secured the privilege of two, sometimes three votes to an individual possessing certain educational or property qualifications. This brought the number of votes for representatives up from 140,000 to 2,085,000. In 1894 the Catholics secured an increased majority over the liberals, though the socialists obtained a solid representation; the conditions of the suffrage being most vividly shown by the fact that while the Catholics received 900,000 votes, the socialists 350,000, and the liberals 450,000, yet their respective representations were: in the senate, 71 Catholics, 29 liberals, and two socialists; in the chamber, 104 Catholics, 28 socialists, and 20 liberal progressists. Opposition to such disproportion led to constant efforts at reform, culminating in riots in 1899, on the occasion of an act still further strengthening the Catholic hold.

The riots led to the government's withdrawal of this measure, and a substitution by which the Catholics in 1900 elected to the senate 58 members, the liberals and radicals 39, and the socialists 5; while in the chamber there were 85 Catholics, 33 liberals, and 33 socialists. In 1901 the liberals, radicals, and socialists combined against the system of "plural universal suffrage," which gives to some citizens more than one vote, and which, in the words of a radical leader, "enables the clerical party to crush the *bourgeoise* in towns and industrial centres and places in an unfair minority the bulk of the working classes." In the following year violent demonstrations were made against the system and were only put down after considerable blood had been shed. As yet the agitation has not accomplished its object, nor have the opposition succeeded in forcing the government to do away with the practice of allowing men of wealth to evade military service by the payment of money; but in the election of 1904 the clericals lost some seats, and in May, 1906, still more. Their downfall appears to be only a question of time. The chief leaders of the clericals have been Malou, whose ministry was last in power in 1884, and the conservative Beernaert, who has of late years found a rival in the strongly clerical Woeste. The socialists find their greatest strength among the working classes.

Like others of the European powers, Belgium is interested in the development of Africa, particularly of that part which is known as the Congo Free State. The beginnings of this state date back to the formation in 1876 by



BELFRY OF BRUGES. COMMENCED 1282 AND COMPLETED A CENTURY LATER

Leopold II., with the coöperation of leading African explorers and the approval of European governments, of an association for promoting exploration and colonisation in the Congo basin. Under the auspices of the association much exploring work was done by Henry M. Stanley and others, and treaties were made with native chiefs through which territorial rights were acquired over a vast area. After some years the Congo International Association, as the society was then called, sought and received recognition as an independent state. In 1884-85 an international conference, summoned for the purpose, constituted and defined the new state, and in consideration of his interest and activity conferred the sovereignty upon Leopold II. The state was also declared perpetually neutral, freedom of trade was established, and rules were laid down for the protection of the natives and for the suppression of the slave-trade. By a later convention made in 1890 Belgium, to which Leopold had willed all his sovereign rights in the state, was authorized to annex the state at any time after June 3, 1901. When the time for annexation came, however, the Belgian government, after considerable discussion, instead of annexing the Free State at once, merely reaffirmed the optional right of annexation at some future time. Two years later charges of selfish extortion and of terrible cruelty toward the natives on the part of the Belgian officials attracted widespread attention, and it appears that some of the charges were well founded. Late in 1907 the English premier gave warning that the condition of affairs in the Congo could not be tolerated much longer. At the same time it is unquestionably true that the condition of the people has been greatly improved since 1885 and that much has been done toward stamping out the horrors of the slave-trade. The state will probably in time be annexed to Belgium, and the subject is again under consideration.

At home the Flemish language and influence have been greatly revived. Of the 6,693,548 inhabitants in 1900, 2,882,005 spoke Flemish only, and 2,574,805 spoke French only; while 54 per cent. could speak Flemish, and 52 per cent. could speak French. In 1873 Flemish obtained recognition in the law courts, and has since taken a place of equal official usage with French, which had been the official language since the fifteenth century.

In 1900 the king presented his private estates to the Belgian nation to be preserved and used as public parks. The queen's death occurred in 1902. Shortly after that event King Leopold was shot at by an Italian anarchist while driving through Brussels. The present king having three daughters, the inheritance devolves on Prince Albert, second son of the count of Flanders, brother of the king. The heir presumptive married the duchess Elizabeth of Bavaria, on October 2nd, 1900, and in November, 1901, a son was born.^a

Of the present state of the country its historian Leclère has written: Belgium of the present day affords a picture of a rapid and general transformation. Politically it is becoming a democracy, economically, thanks to the development without, it is one of the wealthiest and most energetic nations of Europe. Its economic progress has determined its political transformation. Situated at the meeting-point of three great civilisations, whose influence it at once feels and assimilates, Belgium is becoming more and more a microcosm of Europe, an active laboratory of political, economic, and social experiences.^f



CHAPTER XIX

HOLLAND SINCE 1815

THE final separation of the kingdom of the Netherlands into the kingdoms of Holland and of Belgium has already been described. It was not formally and entirely consummated until 1839. The next year William I abdicated in favour of his eldest son, and three years later his death occurred in Berlin, where he had retired. His abdication was not a matter of regret to the Dutch people, as, during the nine years pending the treaty of separation, his actions, totally lacking as they were in dignity, had put him in disfavour both with the Dutch and the Belgians. The accession of his son, who was inaugurated as William II, was therefore a happy change for the people. This prince, cosmopolitan in his education and having a soldier's record, won the love of his people. He made a decided change for the better in the finances of the country, improved the commerce and added to its freedom, by his concessions to the revolutionary fever which in 1848 spread from France throughout Europe.^a

When King William II died at Breda, in March, 1849, a remarkable prince of Orange had passed away — a man of singular purpose and force of character. A born soldier, he had developed, upon Wellington's battle-fields in the peninsula, in the Pyrenees, and around Waterloo, some rare tactical gifts, and a personal valour which commanded the admiration and the lifelong friendship of the Iron Duke himself; and he enjoyed a popularity, both in Holland and in Belgium, which survived even after the Belgians had risen against the unwise and intolerant rule of King William I, which the narrow-minded congress of Vienna had imposed upon them.

But the second King William of Holland was not a politician. He showed his lack of political wisdom in acting diametrically against the positive instructions of his royal father, who had sent him to the south with a mission which he openly ignored by issuing a manifesto to the Belgians in which he professed to recognise their independence. The king immediately repudiated that manifesto, which, without adding to his son's popularity in the southern Netherlands, seriously jeopardised his prestige and prospects in the north. Indeed, the wrath of the Dutch people, then highly incensed at what they

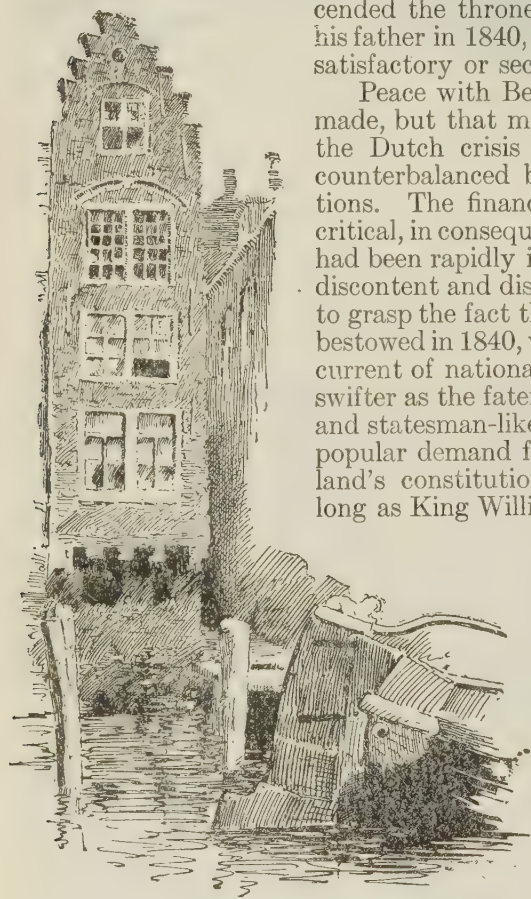
branded as Belgian treason, became so violent that it was publicly proposed to exclude him from the throne. Nor was his conduct in London, whither his father sent him on another political mission, which proved as futile as his previous errand to obtain the hand of Princess Charlotte had been, calculated to regain for him the hold he had lost upon his future Dutch subjects. Not even the brilliant military campaign which he undertook in Belgium at the head of the Dutch army could, fruitless as it turned out to be, entirely restore confidence in him. So when King William II ascended the throne of Holland on the abdication of his father in 1840, his position could hardly be called satisfactory or secure.

Peace with Belgium had, it is true, at last been made, but that more or less beneficial settlement of the Dutch crisis abroad was perhaps more than counterbalanced by threatening internal complications. The finances had become disordered, if not critical, in consequence of the Belgian troubles; taxes had been rapidly increasing, and with them popular discontent and disgust against a régime which failed to grasp the fact that the flimsy reforms, grudgingly bestowed in 1840, were wholly unavailing to stem the current of national feeling which set in stronger and swifter as the fateful year 1848 approached. A wise and statesman-like ruler would not have resisted the popular demand for a thorough remodelling of Holland's constitution upon an enlightened basis so long as King William II did. But he was a soldier,

not a statesman. Married to Anna Paulovna, a Russian grand-duchess, he seemed to have abandoned the liberal traditions of his predecessors and of his people for the autocratic tendencies of Muscovite rule.

For eight years the king withstood the efforts of the Dutch reform party, who in Jan Rudolf Thorbecke, the foremost statesman of Holland in the nineteenth century — and “too great a man for so small a country” (as a British statesman is said to have characterised him)

— had found a leader and a soul. Already in 1844 Thorbecke, with eight other members of the Dutch chamber, had elaborated a reform bill. Thorbecke, a student, afterwards a professor in the law faculty of Leyden University, was strongly supported by the vast mass of his educated and enlightened countrymen, then mostly unrepresented in the legislature. Yet for a time all his endeavours were baffled by the powerful court party, and Thorbecke even failed to obtain re-election as a member of the second chamber in 1846. His time, however, was coming rapidly. In 1847 serious riots occurred at various places, even at the Hague, and notably at Groningen. The king at last saw the danger of further delay, and, prompted maybe by the warnings of coming



OLD HOUSE, DORT

[1848-1853 A.D.]

crisis all over Europe, he promised reforms when opening the states-general in the autumn of the same year.

There is no doubt that this timely resolve warded off from Holland the threatening revolution which had broken out in neighbouring states. In March, 1848, a royal commission was appointed to elaborate a new constitution.¹ Of that royal commission Thorbecke was much more than a member. The commission was virtually his commission, and the project it presented to the king, his life-work. Its main features having been fully discussed and accepted beforehand, its progress was swift. In October following it became law, and an interim cabinet was appointed to carry out its provisions.

THE MINISTRIES OF THORBECKE

The preponderance of Thorbecke in Dutch political life during the latter half of the nineteenth century was such that the modern history of the Netherlands may be safely divided into two periods—the Thorbecke period, and the period after Thorbecke's death. The first Thorbecke ministry, formed as the natural outcome of the triumph of his efforts and principles, lasted only till 1853, but was marked by extraordinary activity. During that, comparatively speaking, brief period many fundamental laws were passed for which the constitution had already provided: such as a new electoral law; a law to regulate the responsibility of ministers; another, to settle the rights and duties of provincial governments and councils, and of communal governments and councils, together establishing, in large measure, a complete system of decentralisation—thus practically introducing a kind of local government in Holland half a century before it was attempted in Great Britain, but within well-defined limits and safeguards; an act to regulate the rights and duties of Dutch citizenship; another, to settle the parliamentary prerogative of inquiry; etc.

In Van Bosse, Thorbecke had secured the services of an able and energetic minister of finance, who raised the state credit, abolished several irksome and oppressive taxes, and established free trade, Holland being the only continental state that afterwards remained faithful in the main to free-trade principles. The postal and telegraph services were reorganised, and the great work of draining the Haarlem Lake was completed. The first Thorbecke cabinet came to an untimely end in 1853, in consequence of what was called "the April movement," because it had originated in that month. Article 165 of the constitution had recognised, in a country where there was no state church, the equality of all religious bodies, subject to governmental control. The pope and the militant clerical party in Holland perceived in that article an opportunity to re-establish in the Low Countries the ancient bishoprics of Utrecht, Haarlem, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Roermond, the bishop of Utrecht becoming an archbishop. This measure—coupled, it must be confessed, with some unfortunate reflections on Dutch Protestantism by the pope, in his decree on that occasion—revived all the anti-Catholic prejudices of former days. Some political enemies of Thorbecke, who could not forgive him his triumphs, were not loth to fan the flames, and a veritable no-popery storm

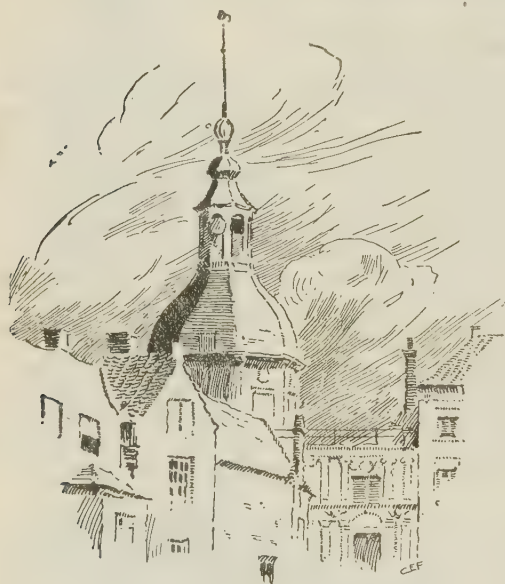
[¹ By it Holland received all the immunities of a free government, and her inhabitants came to enjoy nearly the same rights and liberties as those of Great Britain. All traces of the aristocratic privileges retained by the constitution of 1815 were swept away. All citizens were, without distinction of rank or creed, made eligible to all employments; the king's person was declared inviolable, but his ministers responsible. The provisions contained all the elements of real freedom, and made as large concessions to democracy as were consistent with its existence. — ALISON.]

swept over the country, which Thorbecke resisted but could not withstand, he himself being accused of treasonable "papism." For several years to come Thorbecke was compelled to relinquish the active duties of leadership, and not until 1862 did he regain it. The intervening years form a sort of interregnum in modern Dutch history.

Four cabinets followed each other at about equal intervals, the most important among them being the ministry of Dr. Justinus van der Bruggen. It was during his premiership in 1857 that the Primary Education Law was passed, which established neutral (non-sectarian) state schools, and afterwards largely became the pattern of similar legislation in foreign countries,

notably of the Education Act of 1870 in England. The Dutch law, however, did not as yet provide for compulsory education.

The subsequent cabinet of Dr. van Hall carried, in 1860, a most important law, directing the construction of a vast system of state railways, connecting the already existing private lines, and involving the building of very costly bridges over the broad rivers in the south. That the Dutch chambers adopted the principle of state railways in 1860 was largely due to Thorbecke's influential advocacy. By 1872 the whole first network of Dutch state railways was at last completed. It is noteworthy that the cost of building them was almost entirely furnished by the surplus funds accruing annually (up to the year 1877) from the administration of



DOME OF THE DORT MUSEUM

the Dutch East Indies under the "culture system." Consequently the Dutch state railways are the only ones in existence not burdened with debt. The state, however, did not undertake their working. This was entrusted to a private company, the state merely receiving a share in the net profits.

Thorbecke came back to power in January, 1862. His second term of office was marked by the same reforming energy as the first. In the four years that it lasted Thorbecke had the Secondary Education Act passed (1863), completing the work of 1857; contributed to the legislation by virtue of which the great canalisation works at Amsterdam and Frotterdam were sanctioned (1863); carried his bill emancipating upwards of thirty thousand slaves in the Dutch West Indies, at the cost of 10,000,000 guilders in compensation, paid by the state.

Heemskerk, the leader of the conservative party, was Thorbecke's great antagonist, the two Dutch statesmen playing in the political arena parts somewhat resembling those of Gladstone and Disraeli in England. Heemskerk, who died in 1880, and who stood three times at the head of affairs, was a politician of talent, though of less calibre and moral fibre than Dr. van Hall, his greater predecessor, and his reactionary tendencies and views found favour at court. There is little doubt that the king's proposal, in 1867, to

[1867-1874 A.D.]

transfer Luxemburg to France, if it did not emanate from Heemskerk, had his warm approval. It was none the less dangerous, especially as it came after Königgrätz, which had settled the German question in a manner not at all favourable to Napoleonic ambitions.

Queen Sophie belonged to the most unflinching and ablest opponents of Bismarck's policy. She corresponded much with Napoleon III, and wrote articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* against it. In 1871, after the sacking of the Tuileries, among many documents discovered were a large number of the queen's letters to Napoleon. Some were subsequently published, and demonstrate that she repeatedly warned him against the designs and armaments of Prussia. Says Lord Malmesbury^b: "The queen was a very clever woman, and knew all the affairs of Europe better than most ministers."^d

A picturesque view of court life and relations is given by De Amicis, who visited Holland in 1874.

DE AMICIS ON COURT LIFE IN HOLLAND

In Holland the king is considered more as a stadholder than as a king; he represents, as has said the duke of Aosta, the smallest possible quantity of kingship: the sentiment of the Dutch is less that of devotion to the royal family than affection for that house of Orange which partook equally of their triumphs and their reverses, and lived during three centuries their peculiar life. The country at bottom is republican, and its monarchy is a sort of crown-presidency: the king discourses at banquets and public festivals; he rejoices in a certain reputation as orator because he improvises his speeches and because he speaks with a clear voice and a soldierly eloquence which incites the people to enthusiasm. The hereditary prince, William of Orange, a student at the University of Leyden, passed the public examination and obtained the degree of doctor of law. Prince Alexander, the younger son, studied at the same university; he is a member of a students' club and invites his professors and fellow-students to dine with him. At the Hague Prince William frequents the cafés, entertains his neighbours, and promenades the streets with the young men of his acquaintance; in the Bois the queen seats herself on a bench beside a poor woman. In this people, republican by nature and tradition, there is not to be discovered the slightest trace of an element desiring a republic. On the contrary, they love and venerate their king, and at festivals given in his honour they take the horses from his carriage and oblige everyone to wear an orange cockade in homage to the name of Orange; at ordinary times they occupy themselves only with their affairs and their families.^e

LAST YEARS OF WILLIAM III

The dangers foreshadowed or undergone in 1866-67 were accentuated four years later, during the Franco-German complications, ending in the downfall of the French empire. The Fock cabinet succeeded in keeping the Netherlands outside the war arena. The king sent for Thorbecke again in January, 1871, in this instance for the third and last time. He succeeded in forming another ministry, but he was no longer the Thorbecke of yore. At any rate, before Thorbecke died, in June, 1872, he must have been conscious that his death might mean the partial disruption of the party he had created, as well as the shattering of the edifice he had been instrumental in building up. His cabinet did not survive for long under the leadership of his successor, Dr. Geertsema, and finally disappeared in August, 1874, after having had its

Income Tax Bill rejected. Its most important measures had been the further extension of state railways in Holland (1873) and her colonies, the abolition of differential import duties in the Dutch East Indies, and the transference of the remaining Dutch portion of the Gold Coast to the British government for a sum of money and certain British "concessions" in the Eastern Archipelago. This transaction, which shortly afterwards resulted, on the one hand, in the Ashanti expedition, and on the other in the disastrous war of the Dutch

against the Achinese,¹ had been one of the many weapons used by the opposition against Thorbecke.

Queen Sophie died at the Hague in June, 1877. As far as the Dutch royal family were concerned, the effect of Queen Sophie's decease was absolutely disastrous. The quarrels between the king and the prince of Orange, who had inherited the wit and the mind of his royal mother, and who if he had lived might have proved one of the most distinguished of his race, became aggravated when the wife and the mother was no longer there to conciliate and pacify. Father and son parted, never to see each other again.

It is at least probable that the departure of the prince of Orange for Paris, and the unlikelihood of his return to Holland during the lifetime of his father,



THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE, OR GROOTE KERK,
ROTTERDAM, CONSECRATED IN 1477

may have had as much bearing on the king's decision to remarry as the circumstance that his second son Alexander, who succeeded to the title and presumptive rights of the prince of Orange after the decease of his elder brother, but who died in 1884, was then in very bad health. The direct Nassau line was threatened unless King William were to marry again and had further issue. His bride was Princess Emma of Waldeck-Pyrmont, and by the

[¹ Holland had assumed a protectorate over the whole of Sumatra, and taken over England's claims as well. War was now declared against the sultan of the Malayan state of Achin, situated at the northwest extremity of the island of Sumatra, under the pretext of putting an end to piracy and the slave trade. General van Swieten took command of an expedition of about twelve thousand men, landed in Achin in December, 1873, defeating the enemy in several encounters, surrounded the fortified palace of the sultan, called the Kraton, and opened a bombardment. The sultan fled from the palace and withdrew into the interior of the country; Van Swieten took possession of the palace on January 24th, 1874. He forced the tributary states of Achin to submit to Dutch supremacy. The state of Achin was incorporated with the Dutch colonial possessions, and a strong garrison left behind when the expedition returned home. — MÜLLER.]

[1880-1897 A.D.]

marriage King William consolidated his popularity. Popular rejoicings greeted the birth, on the last day of August, 1880, of a princess who received the name of Wilhelmina Sophia Frederika and the title "princess of Orange."

A NEW CONSTITUTION; AND A REGENCY

The revision of the old constitution, which had been prepared by a royal commission, proved an even more arduous and more laborious task than that of the penal code. The new *Grondwet*, or Fundamental Law, came into force in 1887. The oath to be taken by each king or queen on ascending the throne is given in the Fundamental Law, and shows that the regal rights in Holland are conferred by special contract between the people and the crown, and not inherited of divine right. According to the third chapter, the states-general represent the whole people, being divided into a first and second chamber, the former consisting of fifty, the latter of one hundred members—Amsterdam returning nine, Rotterdam five, the Hague three, Groningen and Utrecht two each. This was an important addition of strength, the old second chamber having had at most eighty members, one for every forty-five thousand of the inhabitants. The basis of the franchise was at the same time materially altered and much enlarged, the effect being to add some two hundred thousand male voters of the age of twenty-three to the electorate, the rights of the latter being afterwards settled in a special statute.

The necessity of the new constitution had already been demonstrated early in 1889, when the king's alarming condition, physical and mental, had compelled the appointment of a regent. The king growing steadily worse, and the end, to all appearances, rapidly approaching, a further bill was introduced and passed, appointing Queen Emma regent of the Netherlands during the minority of the princess of Orange, a council of guardians for the latter being also nominated. On the 23rd of November, 1890, King William died.

Van Houten's bill, which abolished the *scrutin de liste*, introduced the lodger franchise, and virtually made every male citizen capable of supporting himself and family a qualified voter, passed the second chamber in June, 1896, and the first chamber in the following September. It was the most far-reaching electoral reform yet attempted in the Low Countries, as it not only largely increased the number of voters, but extended the suffrage to social strata hitherto deprived of all franchise rights.

In the concluding years of the nineteenth century the ministerial efforts in Holland, under the influence of Dr. N. G. Pierson, formerly president of the Netherlands Bank, and a distinguished professor of political economy, mainly consisted of financial and labour legislation.

So far as foreign relations since 1880 are concerned, these have been cordial with Germany, neither the opinions of some Germans that Holland ought to be annexed or acquired, nor the efforts of isolated Dutchmen to bring about a federation with Germany, finding much favour. The scheme, however, of many enthusiasts for a Zollverein, or even for a political federation, between Holland and Belgium has not yet taken practical shape. With England relations were not always of an entirely amicable nature.¹

The policy of Holland in support of the policy of the United States, which proposed great reforms in maritime law, has always tended towards mininimis-

[¹ This was due particularly to the attitude of the Netherlands toward the South African War. Early in 1902 Dr. Kuyper visited London, and subsequently it was announced that the offer of the Dutch government to facilitate the cessation of hostilities had been rejected by Great Britain.]

ing the risks of international strife by substituting the pacific adjustment of disputes for the arbitrament of the sword. That policy culminated in 1899 in the peace conference of the Hague and the formation of a permanent international court of arbitration, Holland taking a prominent part in both.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN WILHELMINA (1898)

The young queen attained her majority in 1898, and was solemnly enthroned in the so-called New Church in Amsterdam, taking her oath of fidelity to the constitution in the presence of the states-general on September 6th. In October, 1900, the announcement that the young sovereign was

betrothed to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a Prussian officer of the guard, four years her senior, was well received. The approval of the states-general, prescribed by the constitution, was therefore readily obtained, and the marriage was solemnised with great pomp in the Great Church at the Hague on the 7th of February, 1901, Duke Henry having been created a prince and a general in the Dutch army for the occasion, under the title of Prince Henry of the Netherlands, thus reviving the popular title of a popular prince, King William's brother, which threatened to be extinguished with his demise in 1879. The prince consort proved, however, a great disappointment; by his misbehaviour and by his ill treatment of his young wife he quickly gained for himself the hatred and contempt of the whole Dutch people.



WILHELMINA (1880-)

Amongst the last achievements of the Pierson cabinet were the enactment of compulsory education (1900) and the introduction of obligatory military service consequent upon the reorganisation of the Dutch army (1901).

The June elections of 1901 resulted in the overthrow of the liberal party, which had held almost uninterrupted control of the government for over two decades. For some time all the conservative anti-liberal parties, the ultra-Protestants (or anti-revolutionists), the Catholics, and the historical Christians had been drawing together. In Dr. Abraham Kuyper, the recognised head of the ultra-Protestants, they found a leader who could unite all factions. At the same time a serious split in the liberal ranks made their success possible. The liberal democrats advocated a revision of the constitution with a view to the early adoption of universal suffrage. To this programme the moderate liberals objected, refusing all revision on the ground that the time for electoral reform was inopportune. The socialists, hitherto supporters of the liberal candidates and programme, determined for the first time to act by themselves. After a heated campaign, the elections both to the second chamber and to the provincial estates, which chose the members of the first chamber of the states-general, were carried by the conservative coalition. The second chamber was

[1901-1908 A.D.]

found to be composed of 58 conservatives and 42 liberals, including with the latter 7 socialist members—a clear anti-liberal majority of 16 votes. After the provincial estates had chosen the new members of the upper chamber, it was found, however, that the liberals retained a small majority. The liberal ministry of Pierson forthwith resigned, and Kuyper with some difficulty succeeded in organising a ministry from the various groups of the anti-liberal coalition. The liberal majority in the upper chamber refrained for a long time from opposing the new government, but in 1904 they ventured to do so; the upper chamber was then dissolved, and a new one was chosen in which the ministerialists had a decided majority. In June of the following year, however, the elections for the second chamber resulted in an anti-ministerialist victory, and on July 3d the Kuyper ministry resigned. Party divisions among the victors prevented any successful combination for some weeks, but in August Dr. T. H. de Meester managed to form a ministry, which lasted until February, 1907, when it resigned as a result of the defeat in the First Chamber of a measure providing for the abolition of the long-service term of the militia after the completion of the first period of training. The legislative program of the new ministry, as outlined in the meeting of the States General in September, included the improvement of coast defences, the partial draining of the Zuyder Zee, workingmen's insurance, and reform of the electoral system.

Since 1850 much progress has been made in material development. The population, which stood at only three millions in 1849, had advanced to almost five and one-half millions by January, 1904. In the provinces of North and South Holland the population had indeed almost doubled in half a century. The population of Amsterdam, the Hague, and Utrecht more than doubled, whilst that of Rotterdam shot up from 90,000 to 357,000 in 1903. The imports for home consumption, which were valued at £15,052,012 in 1849, had grown to £189,000,000 in 1903; the exports of home produce having increased in the same period from £10,634,128 to £162,500,000.

This commendable progress is in part due to the fact that during this long period the kingdom has, with the exception of troublesome native revolts in some of the colonies, been at peace with the world; in part to the fact that it alone among all the countries of continental Europe has consistently upheld the principles of free trade.^a

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Petrus Johannes Blok, was born in Helder in 1855. After studying in Leyden he became professor of history at Groningen in 1884; was afterwards appointed professor of Dutch history in the University of Leyden and instructor in history to Queen Wilhelmina. His writings are principally studies of the social and political history of the Netherlands during the Middle Ages. He is professedly a pupil of Fruin, but his style bears no comparison with that of the master, being too frequently colorless, hasty, and oblivious of the niceties of the national language. On the other hand his conscientious fairness is particularly refreshing after the deluge of partisan literature poured out from *Orange-Klaut*, Calvinistic, and "liberal" sources.

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Robert Fruin, one of the most eminent historical writers of the Netherlands and professor of Dutch history at the university of Leyden, was born in Rotterdam, November 14th, 1823, and died in January, 1899, after a brief illness. Unfortunately none of his works has been translated: this places him beyond the reach of the student unfamiliar with the Dutch language; and yet a thorough treatment of Dutch history is impossible without some knowledge of the 250 monographs left by Fruin on history in all its branches—military, political, social, financial, economical, ecclesiastical, and religious. "It is true Professor Fruin founded no school," says one of his biographers; "he never tried to make others adopt his line. His one aim was to arouse love for his subject and to give a worthy example of devotion and unselfish performance of the duty in hand. He never urged his own opinions, never made propaganda for certain principles of instruction. His aim was to present the pros and cons, to collect data whereby we might give judgment; and to this watchword he remained true."

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Hugo de Groot (Grotius so called), juriconsult, diplomat, and Dutch historian, was born at Delft, April 10th, 1583, and died at Rostock, August 28th, 1645. At the age of eight he composed meritorious Latin verses; at twelve he was a student at the university of Leyden. He took the degree of doctor of law and entered upon a career as advocate, quitting it in 1603 when the United Provinces appointed him historiographer. In 1613 he formed one of a deputation to the court of England, where his name became widely esteemed. During the religious wrangles in which Olden-Barneveld forfeited his life, Grotius was condemned to life imprisonment but was enabled by the ingenuity of his wife to escape to Paris, where he put forth the remarkable *De jure belli et pacis*, which established his reputation throughout Europe. He was offered the post of Swedish ambassador to France, but Richelieu's ill will prevented his succeeding there, and he obtained his recall. After taking leave of the Swedish court he was shipwrecked near Dantzic. He never recovered from the exposure, dying upon his arrival at Rostock.

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Théodore Juste, Belgian historian, was born at Brussels, January 11th, 1818; died at the same place in 1888. In 1859 he was appointed instructor in general history to the military schools. He was the most prolific among the historians of his country, but his work, both in matter and manner, is very unequal. Here he gives himself up entirely to generalities, there he gets lost in infinite details. He makes laudable endeavours to remain impartial, but frequently succeeds only in being impassive. Yet it must not be forgotten that Juste, more than any other Netherlandish writer, has given enormous impetus to the national taste for history in the Netherlands.

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John Lothrop Motley was born April 15th, 1814, at Dorchester, Mass.; was graduated at Harvard, and after a period of European travel returned to study law in America, where he was ultimately admitted to the bar. In 1841 he was made secretary of legation to the Russian mission; but resigned in a few months, having definitely resolved on a literary career. He spent years in the laborious investigation of the archives preserved at Berlin, Dresden, Brussels, and the Hague, and his historical works are everywhere recognised as painstaking and scholarly; embodying an enormous amount of original research, with full attention to the character of the actors and strict fidelity to the details of the stirring scenes which he depicts. From a literary point of view Motley is perhaps the most brilliant of American historical writers; but while all acknowledge his superiority as a stylist, and his influence in instigating the Dutch scholars to the development of their own resources, a number of modern historians consider him more brilliant than trustworthy, declaring that he was not without partisanship, and that he cultivated his imagination to the detriment of his historical perception. But such criticism is made of every great chronicler, and on the whole America has no historian of superior dignity. The last volumes of the *History of the United Netherlands* were published in 1868, at which time the author held the post of United States minister at Vienna. Ill health interfered seriously with the continuation of his literary labors towards the close of his career, and on the 29th of May, 1877, he died at Kingston Russell House near Dorchester, England.

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Melis Stoke, a Dutch writer of rhymed chronicles, lived at Utrecht during the latter years of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. He was a scribe and attaché to Count Floris V. Little is known of his history. He published a rhymed chronicle treating of events in Holland from 885 to 1305, which was printed for the first time at Amsterdam, in 1591. Small confidence can be placed in the actuality of events recorded in this chronicle, and the commentaries added by Huydecoper to his edition of 1772 are equally open to doubt. The versification, well sustained throughout, is musical but devoid of rhetorical ornament, adhering to simple narrative. The early part is brief, often obscure; but with the beginning of the reign of Floris V, the details become fuller, and the description graphic and vigorous.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

PERIOD OF ROMAN, FRANKISH, AND SAXON INVASIONS (28 B.C.—843 A.D.)

- B.C. 15 Gallia Belgica becomes a separate province under an imperial governor.
A.D. 28–47 Roman conquest of Frisians.
70 Claudius Civilis, the “Mithridates of the West,” unites Celts and Teutons in a vain effort to expel the Romans from Gaul.
280 The Franks (Ripuarians) occupy the country.
358 The Franks are given Toxandria.
406 The Franks aid Rome to defeat the barbarians.
429 The Salians from Dispargum (or Disiburg) win at Cambray.
451 The Franks take part in the battle of Châlons against the Huns.
481–511 Clovis in power. The Saxons move in.
622–32 Dagobert I founds the first Christian church.
692 Pepin of Heristal conquers King Radbod.
695 Willibrod the first bishop.
700 Independent dukedoms arise, Brabant the chief.
719 Radbod dies.
754 Charles Martel conquers Radbod’s son Poppo.
755 St. Boniface killed by the Frisians.
785 Charlemagne crushes Frisians and Saxons.
843 Treaty of Verdun divides up the Netherlands.

EARLY HISTORY OF HAINAULT

During Cæsar’s time this county is inhabited by the Nervii, and does not get its name until the seventh century. In the eleventh the Baldwins of Flanders are its rulers under the title “Count of Flanders and Hainault.” Hainault continues with Flanders until it falls to the house of Burgundy in 1436.

EARLY HISTORY OF BRABANT

Godfrey the Bearded, first count of Brabant, flourishes in the early part of the twelfth century. His great-grandson, **Henry (I) the Warrior**,

- 1190 changes the title of count for that of duke.
1235 **Henry (II) the Magnanimous** succeeds.
1248 **Henry (III) the Debonair**.
1261 His heir is set aside by **John (I) the Victorious**, his brother.
1288 Henry of Luxemburg killed at the battle of Woeringen.
1404 Brabant is united with Flanders.
1480 The duchy passes to the house of Burgundy.

EARLY HISTORY OF GELDERLAND

Batavians and Chamavians, Saxons and Franks, mingle in the original population of Gelderland. There seems to be no logical connection between the line of counts governing under the Carolingian kings and that of which Count Otto (end of the tenth century) is a representative.

- 1096 A charter signed by **Gerhard of Gelderland**. **Gerhard II** took to wife **Ermgard** of Zutphen.
- 1181 Their son **Henry** becomes ruler over both inheritances.
- 1182 **Otto I**, his son, succeeds.
- 1207 Death of Otto; succession of **Gerhard III**.
- 1229 Death of Gerhard; succession of **Otto II**.
- 1271 **Reinald I** succeeds, and during his reign Limburg is seized by Brabant.
- 1326 **Reinald II** follows and is made "duke" of Gelderland.
- 1339 **Reinald III** succeeds; quarrels with his brother Edward.
- 1371 Death of Reinald. Contest between rival factions.
- 1378 A decision in favour of **William**, nephew of the late duke.
- 1402 He dies and is succeeded by his son **Reinald IV**, who dies childless.
- 1423 **Arnold**, his grand-nephew, succeeds. Civil war between him and his son Adolphus. Charles the Bold of Burgundy, purchases the duchy from Arnold.
- 1473 Arnold dies and **Charles of Burgundy** is established as duke of Gelderland

EARLY HISTORY OF FRIESLAND

The history of the Frisians is largely legendary, until A.D. 28, when we hear of them as at strife with the Romans.

- 689 Battle of Dorstadt. **Radbod** is driven from West Friesland; but returns to defeat Charles Martel. He is succeeded by **Aldegild II**, who is also driven out of West Friesland by the Franks.
- 754 **Poppo**, last independent prince of the Frisians, defeated by Charles Martel. Charlemagne grants the Frisians many concessions. During his reign their country is divided into West, Middle, and East Frisia.
- 843 Treaty of Verdun again changes the boundaries.
- 880 The whole country is reunited with Germany.
- 911 Frisia adheres to **Conrad**, king of the East, while Lorraine follows Charles king of the West. The history of West Frisia is gradually merged with that of Holland, **Dirk I**, first count of Holland, being the son of Gerulf, count of Frisia.

EARLY HISTORY OF FLANDERS

- 864 **Baldwin Forester** or **Iron Arm**, marries the daughter of Charles the Bald, and is acknowledged by him as governor of the countship of Flanders; he dies in
- 878 and is succeeded by his son **Baldwin the Bald**.
- 918 Death of Baldwin and succession of his son **Arnold**, during whose reign the first weavers and fullers of Ghent are established.
- 989 **Baldwin IV**, son of Arnold, succeeds and adds to his realm Valenciennes, Walcheren, and the islands of Zeeland.
- 1036 His son, **Baldwin V**, succeeds.
- 1067 **Baldwin VI** succeeds and brings Hainault into the control of Flanders.
- 1093 Succession of **Robert II**, the crusader. His death and the death of his son, **Baldwin VII**, in
- 1119 end the old line of Flemish counts, and the power falls to **Charles the Good** of Denmark.
- 1127 He is assassinated by the merchants of Bruges, who are in revenge tortured to death by the people. Six claimants dispute the throne, the nobility electing **William of Normandy**. He is opposed by **Count Thierry** of Alsace, who overthrows and kills him and who in
- 1128 is acknowledged legitimate ruler. Rise of the Belgium communes.
- 1168 **Thierry** dies, leaving his crown to his son **Philip of Alsace**.
- 1191 His brother-in-law, **Baldwin of Hainault**, succeeds and yields extensive territories to France.
- 1195 Succession of **Baldwin IX**, who leaves the government to his brother Philip and goes to found the Latin Empire at Constantinople.
- 1214 Battle of Bouvines.
- 1279 In default of heirs, Hainault goes to John of Avennes, and Flanders to **Guy de Dampierre**.

- 1288 Battle of Woeringen.
 1297 Pope Boniface VIII called to arbitrate between Guy and the French king.
 1300 Guy and his sons imprisoned by Philip of France.
 1301 Philip confiscates Flanders.
 1302 The "Bruges Matins," during which three thousand two hundred French are massacred.
 Battle of Courtrai (battle of the Spurs).
 1305 Death of Guy in prison and release of his son **Robert of Béthune** upon his signing a contract detrimental to Flanders.
 1328 Death of the old count at the age of eighty-two. He is succeeded by his grandson, **Louis of Nevers or of Crécy**. The communes defeated at Cassel.
 1335 The peace between France and England broken and the Flemish provinces dragged anew into a European war. Jacob van Artevelde puts himself at the head of the people.
 1345 He is beset and murdered upon his return from a journey to Bruges.
 1346 Death of Count Louis on the field of Crécy. His sixteen-year-old son **Louis of Male** succeeds.
 1357 The duke of Brabant cedes Antwerp and Mechlin to Louis.
 1369 Lille, Douai, Béthune, Hesdin, and Orchies ceded by France.
 1382 Battle of Roosebeke.
 1384 Death of Louis, last of the house of Dampierre. With **Philip of Burgundy**, his son-in-law, was to begin a new order of things.
 1404 Death of Philip. Succession of **John of Burgundy** (the Fearless).
 1431 Assassination of John. Accession of **Philip**, his son.

THE COUNTS OF HOLLAND (843-1299)

- Charles the Simple bestows Egmond and its dependencies on **Dirk I**, who dies in or about 923 and is succeeded by his son **Dirk II**, who in turn succeeded in 988 by his son **Arnold**. Arnold is killed in battle in 993 and is succeeded by his twelve-year-old son **Dirk III**, with Luitgarde as regent.
 1010 Last Norman invasion of the Netherlands.
 1015 Dirk builds and fortifies Dordrecht.
 1039 Death of Dirk III and succession of **Dirk IV**, who in 1049 is assassinated. He is succeeded by his brother, **Floris I**.
 1061 Death of Floris. Succeeded by his infant son under guardianship of Gertrude of Saxony, who in 1063 marries Robert of Flanders and confers on him the government of the country during her son's minority.
 1091 Death of **Dirk V**; succession of **Floris II**, the Fat.
 1121 Death of Floris; succession of **Dirk VI**, a child under the guardianship of his mother Petronella, who continues the struggle against Germany.
 1125 End of the enmity between the emperors of Germany and the counts of Holland, upon the election of Lothair to the throne of Germany.
 1157 Death of Dirk VI; succession of **Floris III**.
 1165 Philip of Flanders defeats and captures Count Floris.
 1167 He is released and reinstated.
 1170 Holland swept by a great flood.
 1187 Floris departs for the Crusades and dies of a pestilence.
 1191 **Dirk VII** succeeds. He engages in disastrous wars.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- 1203 Death of Dirk. His daughter **Ada** succeeds; **William**, the dead count's brother, succeeds in replacing Ada.
 1214 William participates in the defeat at Bouvines.
 1217 He sets sail for the Holy Land, but goes to the assistance of Portugal, besieges Damietta, and returns to Holland, dying
 1224 **Floris IV**, aged twelve years, succeeds his father.
 1235 He is slain by the count de Clermont. His son, **William II**, under the governorship of his brother Otto III, bishop of Utrecht, succeeds.
 1248 William is crowned king of Germany.
 1256 He is killed in battle against the Frieslanders; and **Floris V**, then an infant, succeeds under the governorship of his uncle Floris.
 1296 Floris is murdered, and his son **John I**, a minor, succeeds under a divided regency.
 1299 Death of the last of the counts of Holland. The count of Hainault recognised as the heir under the title of **John II**.

THE HOUSE OF HAINAULT (1299-1356)

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- 1303 Zealand ceded to Flanders.
 1304 The count abdicates in favour of his son William, and dies. His son succeeds as **William III**.
 1323 Flanders releases Holland from homage for the Zealand islands.
 1337 Succession of **William IV**.
 1345 He declares war against Utrecht, and later against the Frieslanders, by whom he is defeated and killed. His sister **Margaret** succeeds. She is recalled to Bavaria and leaves the administration to her second son William.
 1349 Dissensions arising between mother and son, two parties are formed, that of William being known as the "cods," that of Margaret as the "hooks." The struggle ends
 1354 with an agreement by which William retains Holland, Zealand, and Friesland under the title of **William V**, while Margaret receives a pension and the possession of Hainault.
 1359 **Albert**, the count's younger brother, assumes the government upon evidence of William's hopeless insanity.
 1379 Death of the mad count.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

- 1404 Death of Count Albert; succession of his son **William VI**; violent altercations between the cod and the hook parties. Hollanders lose Friesland.
 1417 Death of William, and succession of his daughter **Jacqueline**, whose claim is disputed by her paternal uncle John of Bavaria until his death by poison.
 1425 He having named Philip of Burgundy as rightful successor, the latter keeps up the war against the countess, and succeeds in wresting from her, by the Reconciliation of Delft, the administration of all her states.
 1434 Complete abdication and
 1436 death of Jacqueline, leaving her territories to the undisputed possession of **Philip** duke of Burgundy.

THE NETHERLANDS UNDER THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY (1436-1493)

Philip of Burgundy, after purchasing the title of the duchess of Luxemburg to her estate, now governs over an area about equal to that of the existing kingdoms of Holland and Belgium.

- 1436 Philip declares war against England.
 1440 The Dutch and Flemings capture Hanseatic fleet; twelve years' truce declared.
 1467 Succession of **Charles the Bold**, who has already held for some time the office of stadholder-general of Holland.
 1468 Alliance with Edward IV of England against France.
 1476 Charles defeated by the Swiss at the battle of Morat.
 1477 Battle of Nancy. Charles loses both the battle and his life, leaving all his powers to his eighteen-year-old daughter **Mary**. The congress meets at Ghent, February 3rd, and the result of its deliberations is the formal grant, on February 11th, by the duchess Mary, of the "Great Privilege." August 18th of the same year she marries **Maximilian**, son of the emperor of Germany, and dies.
 1482 Maximilian is imprisoned at Bruges.

THE NETHERLANDS UNDER THE EMPIRE (1493-1609)

- 1493 Maximilian succeeds to the imperial throne, and in
 1494 appoints his son **Philip the Fair** to the governorship of the Netherlands.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1506 Death of Philip. Maximilian names his daughter **Margaret** governante.
 1510 War with the Hanseatic towns.

- 1515 **Charles**, having attained his fifteenth year, is inaugurated duke of Brabant and count of Flanders and Holland.
- 1519 Election of **Charles V** to the empire.
- 1527 The bishop of Utrecht cedes to the emperor the whole of his temporal power.
- 1528 The duke of Gelderland lays down his arms.
- 1529 Peace of Cambray.
- 1540 Ghent severely punished for rebellion.
- 1543 Acquisition of Friesland and Gelderland by **Charles**.
- 1555 **Charles** abdicates at Brussels; **Philip II** succeeds.
- 1559 **Philip** sails for Spain. **Margaret**, duchess of Parma, a regent.
- 1562 Conspiracy for the overthrow of **Granvella**, the king's overseer in the Netherlands. The regent joins her voice to the protests sent to **Philip**. **Granvella** removed.
- 1564 **Wigele** is appointed in his stead. Fresh indignities are perpetrated and **Philip** proclaims the furious decree of the council of Trent.
- 1566 Establishment of the Inquisition in the Netherlands. Certain dissenting noblemen meet at the baths of Spa, and the foundations for the Compromise of February are laid. The image-breaking riot and the sack of the Antwerp cathedral follow.

ALVA'S REIGN OF TERROR (1567-1573)

- 1567 The prince of Orange retires into Germany, and the confederacy is dispersed. **Alva** sets out to conquer by force of arms. Arrest of **Egmont** and **Horn**. **Philip** establishes the bloody "council of Troubles."
- 1568 **Philip** signs the death-warrant of all the Netherlanders as heretics. Execution of **Egmont** and **Horn**. The prince of Orange opens his campaign.
- 1572 The Sea Beggars take **Briel**. Nearly all the important cities raise the standard of the deliverer. **Louis** of Nassau takes **Mons**, which is later recovered by the Spaniards. The states-general assemble at **Dordrecht** July 15th.
- 1573 The siege of **Haarlem**. Decline of **Alva's** fortunes. He is recalled December 15th and **Requesens** takes his place.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE TRIUMPHANT (1574-1584)

- 1574 Spanish fleet is defeated off **Middelburg** by **Boisot**. **Middelburg** after two years' siege yields to the patriots. Spaniards leave off siege of **Leyden**. **Avila** defeats and kills **Louis** of Nassau at **Mooker Heath**. His soldiers mutiny and take **Antwerp** as security for three years' back pay. Spaniards resume siege of **Leyden**. **Boisot** defeats Spanish fleet near **Antwerp**. **Orange** has the dikes broken to let the sea round **Leyden**. **Boisot** appears before **Leyden** with a fleet. Spaniards besiege **Zieriksee**. **Leyden** relieved. The dikes are rebuilt. The university of **Leyden** founded in commemoration.
- 1575 **Holland** and **Zealand** form an alliance.
- 1576 **Requesens** dies. **Zieriksee** surrenders. Spanish mutineers seize **Alost**; seize council. The patriots hold a congress at **Ghent**. Spaniards by using women as shields take **Maestricht**. Spanish mutineers sack and destroy **Antwerp**. "The Spanish Fury," November 4th. **Don John** of Austria replaces **Requesens**. The congress signs the "Pacification of **Ghent**," an alliance against Spain; all the provinces accept it.
- 1577 Union of Brussels signed. **Don John** signs "the Perpetual Edict." **William** of Orange enters Brussels and is made governor or ruward.
- 1578 The states make an alliance with England. **Alessandro** of Parma crushes patriot army at **Gembloux**. **Don John** dies and is succeeded by **Alessandro** of Parma.
- 1579 Patriots sign the Union of Utrecht. **Parma** besieges **Maestricht**.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC

- 1579 **Egmont's** son taken as a traitor. **Parma** sacks **Maestricht**. **Hembyze** seizes the government of **Ghent**. **Orange** restores order. **Renneberg** sells **Mechlin** to Spain.
- 1580 The provinces declare independence. The states of **Holland** offer sovereignty to **Orange**. Patriots routed at **Hardenberg Heath**. **Philip** offers a reward for the assassination of **William** of **Orange**.
- 1581 **William** of **Orange** accepts temporarily the sovereignty of the provinces. **Renneberg's** troops defeated. He dies. The act of Abjuration and Declaration of Independence published. Five of the provinces elect the duke of **Alençon** and **Anjou**; two elect

- Orange. The seven unite against Spain. Anjou forces Parma to retire from Cambray. Parma takes Tournay.
- 1582 Anjou is inaugurated at Antwerp. Orange wounded by an assassin. Parma takes Oudenarde. Orange accepts full sovereignty of Holland under a constitution, "The Great Privilege of the Lady Mary."
- 1583 Anjou's plot to seize Antwerp fails.
- 1584 Two attempts made on Orange's life. Anjou dies. William of Orange killed by an assassin.

PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE (1584-1609)

- 1584 **Maurice of Orange** succeeds his father.
- 1585 Parma takes Antwerp after a year of siege. Deputies offer sovereignty to France and England. Elizabeth declines, but sends troops under Leicester.
- 1586 Spaniards beaten near Zutphen. Sir Philip Sidney killed.
- 1587 Leicester recalled because of his unpopularity.
- 1588 The Dutch greatly hamper the Spanish armada.
- 1589 English garrison surrenders Gertruydenberg to Parma.
- 1591 Maurice takes Breda, Zutphen, Nimeguen, etc.
- 1592 Parma dies.
- 1593 Maurice takes Gertruydenberg.
- 1594 Maurice takes Groningen, last Spanish stronghold. Archduke Ernest succeeds Parma. Two attempts on Maurice's life fail.
- 1595 Archduke Ernest dies; succeeded by Fuentes, who takes Cambray and is replaced by Archduke Albert, who wins battles against France. The Dutch make explorations, and colonise.
- 1596 Dutch and English fleet sacks Cadiz. Dutch form the India Company.
- 1597 Maurice defeats Spaniards at Turnhout and takes many cities.
- 1598 French and Spanish war ended by Treaty of Vervins. Philip II cedes the Netherlands and Burgundy to Albert and Isabella. Albert crowned at Brussels. Philip II dies.
- 1599 Maurice takes Bommel. Spanish troops mutiny.
- 1600 Maurice defeats Albert and Mendoza near Nieuport.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1601 Maurice takes Rheinberg, but fails before Bois-le-Duc. Albert begins a three years' siege of Ostend.
- 1604 Maurice takes Sluys.
- 1605 A Dutch fleet defeats the Spanish and pursues them into Dover. Spinola takes towns in Overysse and defeats Maurice at Ruhrort. The Dutch defeat a Spanish fleet off Malabar.
- 1606 Dutch fleet routed off Cape St. Vincent.
- 1607 Dutch fleet under Heemskerk defeat Spaniards at Gibraltar. Spaniards make proposals of peace.
- 1608 Congress at the Hague.
- 1609 Twelve years Treaty of Antwerp signed. Spain recognises Holland's independence.

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE (1609-1648)

- 1610 War between Cleves and Jülich. Maurice takes Jülich and ends the war. Arminius dies, leaving fierce religious dissensions, taking shape of two parties, Remonstrants and Counter-remonstrants.
- 1616 The towns held as security by England bought back.
- 1617 Riots at Amsterdam and the Hague. Maurice seizes Briel and overthrows government of Nimeguen, arrests Barneveld, Grotius, etc.; deposes many town-governments. Synod of Dordrecht meets.
- 1619 Expels remonstrants; tries and condemns Barneveld, who is executed. Grotius imprisoned for life. Thirty Years' War begins.
- 1620 Persecution of remonstrants.
- 1621 Grotius escapes from prison. Twelve-years truce ends. War with Spain begins.
- 1622 Spinola takes Jülich by siege, but is repulsed at Bergen-op-Zoom
- 1623 Plot to assassinate Maurice fails.

- 1624 Treaty with France and England. Dutch build New Amsterdam (New York) in America.
- 1625 Maurice dies and is succeeded by his brother **Frederick Henry**. The Spaniards take Breda.
- 1627 Frederick Henry takes Groenlo. Piet Heyn defeats Spanish fleet.
- 1628 Piet Heyn takes Spanish treasure fleet near Havana.
- 1629 Piet Heyn killed while capturing Dunkirk pirates. Frederick besieges Bois-le-Duc, and takes it. Part of Holland flooded to frustrate the Spaniards.
- 1630 Dutch victories in the West Indies.
- 1631 Frederick Henry besieges Dunkirk, but is recalled. Dutch fleet wins near Tholen. Frederick's three-year-old son declared his successor as stadholder. Grotius returns and is rebanished.
- 1632 Frederick besieges Maestricht, and beats off Pappenheim at Meerssen; Maestricht and Limburg surrender. Spain makes overtures of peace.
- 1634 Dutch found colony at Curaçao. Alliance made with France.
- 1635 French allies win at Avein.
- 1637 Spaniards take Venlo and Roermond. Frederick takes Breda. Dutch defeat Portuguese in Brazil. The era of tulipo-mania.
- 1638 Frederick takes Calloo and Verrebroek, but is defeated at Liefkenshoek and Geldern.
- 1639 Van Tromp defeats the Spaniards in the Downs.
- 1640 Dutch win at Nassau. Lose at Moervaert.
- 1641 Frederick's son married to princess royal of England.
- 1643 Dutch win a skirmish at Bergen-op-Zoom.
- 1647 Frederick Henry dies; succeeded by his son **William II**.
- 1648 Peace proclaimed with Spain, which acknowledges complete independence of the United Provinces, in the Treaty of Münster.

ENTANGLEMENTS IN EUROPEAN POLITICS (1648-1715)

The French overrun Spanish Netherlands.

- 1649 English parliament's ambassador to Holland assassinated.
- 1650 Prince William arrests Admiral de Witt, but is forced to release him. Contest between prince and the states ends in the prince being frustrated at Amsterdam. He dies and is succeeded by his son **William III**.
- 1651 The "great assembly" meets. English parliament passes the Navigation Act and seizes Dutch ships.
- 1652 War with England begins by an encounter between Blake and Tromp off Dover. Tromp succeeded by De Ruyter, who defeats Ayscue off Plymouth, and fights Blake and Ayscue. Blake fights De Ruyter off Kent. Van Galen defeats the English near Leghorn in Mediterranean. Tromp, reinstated, defeats Blake off Goodwin Sands.
- 1653 Tromp in three days' battle with superior force saves his convoy. Tromp defeated by Monk off Nieuport. Tromp fights drawn battle with Monk off Scheveningen. Holland proposes peace, and forms an alliance with Denmark.
- 1654 Disadvantageous peace made with England and prince of Orange excluded from stadholdership. Dutch driven out of Brazil.
- 1655 War between Denmark and Sweden.
- 1656 Dutch raise siege of Dantzic. Don John of Austria governor of Spanish Netherlands. Brief naval war with French privateers.
- 1657 Sweden and Denmark at war. Dutch defeat Swedish fleet in the Sound.
- 1659 Dutch aid in capture of Nyborg. Dutch crush Algerine pirates. Treaty of the Pyrenees gives Louis XIV large parts of Spanish Netherlands.
- 1660 Dutch blockade Swedish fleet in Landskrona. Peace arranged. Charles II of England restored and welcomed in Holland. Act of exclusion against Orange repealed.
- 1662 Treaty with Brazil. Charles I's judges delivered to England.
- 1664 English take many Dutch possessions. De Ruyter captures English ships and forts in the West Indies. Charles II seizes one hundred and thirty Dutch vessels and lays an embargo.
- 1665 England declares war. Opdam defeated and killed in naval battle off Lowestoft. Tromp in command, superseded by De Ruyter. De Witt takes command. Bishop Galen of Münster declares war and invades the United Provinces. Louis XIV of France sends troops to aid the Provinces.
- 1666 Peace with Münster arranged. France declares war on England. De Ruyter and Tromp defeat Monk and Prince Rupert in a great naval battle off the North Foreland. Monk defeats De Ruyter near Ostend. English burn 160 Dutch merchantmen in the Vlie.
- 1667 Peace conference fails. De Ruyter takes Sheerness and burns it. De Ruyter burns English war-ships at Chatham. De Ruyter enters the Thames and retires. Peace with England. Louis XIV invades the Spanish Netherlands, which ask aid of the United Provinces. The Perpetual Edict passed.

- 1668 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 1669 Charles II treacherously joins France in a plot to crush the United Provinces.
 1671 Charles tries to force Holland to insult the flag.
 1672 The states-general appoint William, prince of Orange, captain-general. English under Holmes attack Dutch Smyrna fleet without warning, and are repulsed. England and France declare war on the states-general. French army invades Holland and takes various cities. Amsterdam opens the dikes. De Ruyter defeats English fleet in the battle of Southwold Bay (Solebay). Perpetual Edict revoked; Orange made stadholder. The De Witts massacred by populace. Elector of Brandenburg and emperor of Germany join the United Provinces. Duke of Luxemburg aids the Provinces.
 1673 Bishops of Münster and Cologne defeated at Groningen and retire. Tromp and De Ruyter defeat English and French. De Ruyter defeats English fleet. De Ruyter defeats English and French invading fleet in the Texel. The French take Maastricht. Orange recaptures Naarden.
 1674 England makes peace with Holland. Bishops of Münster and Cologne make peace. The French capture cities. Orange fights a drawn battle at Seneffe with Condé; then takes Grave and Huy. De Ruyter repulsed at Martinique. Tromp lands on Belle-Île.
 1675 Condé takes Dinant, Huy, and Limburg.
 1676 Orange fails to take Maastricht. De Ruyter fights two naval battles with the French and is killed in the second. Orange deposes government of Middelburg.
 1677 Orange defeated at St. Omer and Cassel. Orange besieges Charleroi but is repulsed. Orange marries Mary, daughter of James duke of York (James II of England).
 1678 Peace with France signed at Nimeguen. Orange, in spite of peace, attacks French at Mons.
 1681 Louis XIV breaks the peace; Orange raises a confederacy against him.
 1684 The French take Luxemburg.
 1685 Orange aids in Monmouth's invasion of England.
 1686 League of Augsburg formed against France.
 1688 William of Orange lands in England.
 1689 William and Mary proclaimed sovereigns of England. Louis XIV declares war.
 1690 Dutch under Waldeck defeated at Fleurus. Dutch and English fleets beaten at Beachy Head.
 1691 Mons taken by the French. Waldeck beaten at Leuze.
 1692 Dutch and English fleets defeat French at La Hogue. Maximilian of Bavaria governor of Spanish Netherlands.
 1693 French win at Furnes and Dixmude, Maastricht, Huy, Neerwinden, Charleroi; and lose at Landen. Dutch fleets defeated at Cape St. Vincent.
 1694 Dutch and English fleets bombard French coast.
 1695 Queen Mary dies. William takes Namur by siege.
 1697 William takes Ath. French capture Dutch fleet. Treaty of Ryswick signed.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1701 Dutch garrisons made prisoners by the French. William dies.
 1702 War declared against France. Duke of Marlborough commands allied troops and gains many victories.
 1703 Marlborough takes Bonn. Obdam loses at Ekeren. Deputies of the states-general prevent Marlborough attacking the French in their lines between the Meuse and Maas.
 1704 Marlborough wins many battles, including Blenheim. Dutch and English take Gibraltar.
 1706 Marlborough wins at Ramillies.
 1708 French defeated in many battles. Louis XIV's proposals of peace rejected.
 1709 Marlborough takes Tournay, Malplaquet, Mons. Barrier treaty with England proposed.
 1712 England leaves the alliance. The Dutch take Le Quesnoy. The allies are beaten at Denain, Douai, Le Quesnoy and Bouchain.
 1713 Treaty of Utrecht provides against French claims on the Spanish (now Austrian) Netherlands.
 1715 Satisfactory Barrier Treaty made with France.

A REPUBLIC AGAIN (1715-1794)

- 1716-19 Financial panics.
 1718 Mississippi and South Sea bubbles.
 1720 Insurrection in Brussels secures privileges.
 1722 William Charles Henry Friso of Orange-Nassau made stadholder of Gelderland.
 1725-7 Treaties of Vienna and Hanover.

- 1731 Ostend Company abolished.
 1731-32 Religious disputes. A sea-worm threatens to ruin the dikes.
 1733 Prince of Orange-Nassau marries English princess-royal.
 1735-39 The states involved in English-Spanish war.
 1740 The Dutch massacre Batavians (in East Indies).
 1742 The states involved in English-French war.
 1744 The states join the Quadruple Alliance. French win at Menin and Ypres,
 1745 Tournay, Fontenoy, and take many cities.
 1747 French invade the states. William of Orange-Nassau made stadholder as **William IV**.
 French take Bergen-op-Zoom after siege. The states make the stadholdership hereditary.
 1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 1751 William IV dies. Is succeeded by his son **William V**, a minor, with Anne of England as regent.
 1756 The states avow neutrality in Seven Years' War.
 1757 Austrian Netherlands take part.
 1765 The emperor Joseph II succeeds Maria Theresa.
 1766 William V of age. Encounters with England, who claims right of search.
 1779 Admiral Bylandt humiliated by English commodore.
 1780 England forces war.
 1781 English capture St. Eustatius; are repulsed in naval battle of Doggerbank.
 1782 Holland recognises the independence of the United States of America.
 1783 The "Schutterij" reorganised. Joseph II interferes and takes the barrier towns.
 1784 His ship is refused the passage of the Schelde, and he threatens war. Duke Ludwig of Brunswick, commander of the troops, forced to resign and retire.
 1785 Joseph II proposes peace and a treaty is made.
 1786 The states of Holland remove the stadholder from various military offices.
 1787 The free corps displaces members of town-governments favourable to Orange. Encounters between troops of the states of Holland and those of the stadholder. The princess of Orange arrested on her way to the Hague. Joseph II arouses opposition in Belgium by edicts. He also interferes in and invades Holland. Various cities surrender or are abandoned. The states of Holland restore the stadholder to his office. Amsterdam taken by siege. The stadholdership again made hereditary.
 1789 Joseph II annuls the *Joyeuse Entrée* and produces revolution in Brabant, where he is defeated at Turnhout, Ghent, Brussels, Mons.
 1790 The United States of Belgium declare independence, which they maintain for only a year.
 1792 The states-general withdraw their ambassador from France on account of the arrest of Louis XVI. The French invade Belgium.

EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

- 1793 The French take Breda and various cities.
 1794 French victory of Fleurus drives Austrians from Netherlands. Pichegru takes Sluys by siege, also Bois-le-Duc, Maestricht.
 1795 The stadholder abandons Holland. The patriots welcome the French and establish a new government as the Batavian Republic.

THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC (1797-1806)

- 1797 English defeat Dutch fleet under De Winter off Camperdown. Treaty of Campo-Formio gives Belgium to the French.
 1798 A constituent assembly organised.
 1799 The Dutch fleet surrenders in the Texel. Allies endeavour to reinstate the stadholder, but are defeated near Bergen.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 Treaty of Lunéville confirms French possession of Lunéville.
 1805 Batavian Republic given a new constitution and **Schimmelpenninck** made grand pensionary.
 1806 Napoleon makes Holland a kingdom under his brother **Louis**.

- 1809 English fail in effort to invade Walcheren.
 1810 Louis abdicates. Napoleon annexes Holland to his empire. Decay of Dutch prosperity and Napoleon's fall prepare public for the plot to restore the house of Orange.
 1813 Uprising against the French succeeds. The prince of Orange, son of William V, lands. William of Orange is proclaimed sovereign prince as **William I**.

THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

- 1814 A constitution drawn up and accepted. Orange takes the oath. The allies establish the Austrian baron Vincent, as governor of Belgium. The allies, by treaty of Paris, annex Belgium to Holland under William of Orange as governor-general.
 1815 Amalgamation of Holland and Belgium completed. Napoleon returns to France. English and Dutch (under William Prince of Orange, son of William I) defeated at Quatre-Bras by Ney. Dutch under Orange take part at Waterloo. Commission to reorganise the kingdom reports. William I inaugurated at Brussels. Belgium, being Catholic, and of greater population, grows restive under Protestants' and Dutch monopoly of government and suppression of priests.
 1827 The king signs a concordat with the pope. The king banishes malcontents.

BELGIUM OBTAINS INDEPENDENCE (1830)

- 1830 French Revolution excites the Belgians. Riots in Brussels spread to the other cities. The heir-apparent promises reforms. States-general at the Hague adopt delay, and troops move on Brussels. The Dutch occupy part of Brussels but retreat before the opposition. Provisional government declares Belgium independent. Congress at Brussels proclaims independence. London conference dissevers kingdom of Holland. Dutch troops shut up in Antwerp citadel.
 1831 Duke de Nemours (son of French king) chosen king of Belgium; his father declines for him. De Chokier chosen regent. Duke **Leopold** of Saxe-Coburg elected king. The Dutch defeat the Belgians at Louvain. The French send an army, and Orange consents to an armistice. Treaty proposed by the powers accepted by Belgians, but refused by the Dutch.
 1832 Leopold marries daughter of the French king. England and France combine to cow Holland. French besiege and take Antwerp. French army returns to France.
 1833 Convention with Holland signed.
 1834 Riots in Brussels against supporters of Orange.
 1839 Treaty with Holland signed.

HOLLAND (1839-1906)

- 1840 William I abdicates for his son **William II**.
 1843 William I dies.
 1848 French Revolution leads to demand for a new constitution; granted April 17th.
 1849 William II dies; is succeeded by **William III**.
 1861 Great flood.
 1863 Slavery ended in Dutch West Indies.
 1865 Two canals begun.
 1867 Disputes with Germany over Luxemburg.
 1869 International exposition at Amsterdam.
 1871 Possessions in Guinea ceded to England.
 1872 Thorbecke dies.
 1873-79 War in Sumatra with sultan of Achin ends successfully.
 1882 Disputes over commercial treaty with France. New war in Sumatra ends in victory.
 1887 Revised constitution in force.
 1889 During illness of the king, the queen nominated regent.
 1890 The king recovers; declared incapacitated, and the queen made regent. William III dies, and is succeeded by his daughter **Wilhelmina** under regency. Duke of Nassau made grand duke of Luxemburg.
 1892 Labour riots.
 1894 Insurrection in Dutch East Indies put down.
 1896-98 Severe fighting in Dutch East Indies.
 1898 Conscription bill passed. Queen **Wilhelmina** crowned.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

- 1901 Queen Wilhelmina marries Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.
 1905 Fall of the Kuyper ministry. Dr. T. H. de Meester forms a new one
 1907 The de Meester ministry resigns. Electoral reform promised.

BELGIUM (1842-1906)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1842 Educational bill passed over clerical opposition.
 1846 Liberal congress at Brussels.
 1847 Liberals win elections and form cabinet.
 1848 French Revolution causes slight uneasiness. The king's offer to resign declined. Electoral reforms passed. Attempted invasions from France fail. Financial panics.
 1852-54 Liberals lose power.
 1853 Army increased to one hundred thousand men.
 1857 Clerical disputes over charities and Liberal gains.
 1860 Octrois abolished.
 1863 Schelde declared open.
 1865 Leopold I dies, and is succeeded by his son **Leopold II.**
 1869 Crown-prince dies. Belgium protected from France by England. Political riots force resignation of ministry.
 1872-76 Religious riots against Catholics.
 1874 Van de Weyer dies.
 1878 Catholics lose at elections.
 1880 Liberals win against Catholics. Dispute with the Vatican.
 1883 Bill for parliamentary reform passed.
 1884 Clerics win elections, but passing a reactionary education bill are defeated.
 1885 The king declared king of the Kongo Free State. Exposition at Antwerp.
 1885-87 Riots among miners.
 1892 Universal suffrage rejected for household suffrage. Heavy and continued strikes and riots.
 1894 Exposition at Antwerp. Electoral reform bill passed.
 Treaty with England concerning Kongo Free State.
 1895 Disputes over educational bills.
 1897 Flemish made official language.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

- 1901 Military bill reduces time of compulsory service. The government postpones the annexation of the Congo Free State.
 1903 Charges of terrible cruelty made against Belgian officials in the Free State.
 1906 Elections result in decrease of clerical majority in the Chamber from twenty to twelve
 1907 King Leopold opens the new port of Zeebrugge, the sea terminus of the Bruges ship canal.



PART XVIII

THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, A. VON ARNETH, A. BEER, K. BIEDERMANN, H. BLUM, T. CARLYLE, CHRONICLES OF COLMAR, R. COMYN, W. COXE, M. CREIGHTON, H. DELBRÜCK, E. DULLER, K. FISCHER, H. T. FLATHE, FREDERICK II, B. GEBHARDT, J. K. L. GIESELER, A. GINDELY, K. R. HAGEN-BACH, J. W. HEADLAM, O. KAMMEL, F. KOHLRAUSCH, R. KOSER, F. X. VON KRONES, K. LAMPRECHT, J. MAJLÁTH, H. MARNALI, W. MENZEL, D. MÜLLER, W. ONCKEN, W. PIERSON, J. D. E. PREUSS, H. PRUTZ, L. VON RANKE, H. VON SYBEL, H. VON TREITSCHKE, G. WAITZ, A. WOLF

TOGETHER WITH A REVIEW OF

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

FRANZ X. VON KRONES

A STUDY OF

THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUNGARY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

H. MARCZALI

AND A CHARACTERISATION OF

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY FROM 1740 TO 1840

BY

REINHOLD KOSER

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

A. ALISON, F. ASHLEY, L. ASSELINE, H. BAUMGARTEN, E. BERNER, T. VON BERNHARDI, A. BISSETT, W. BLOS, A. BOSSERT, J. BRYCE, K. BULLE, R. CHÉLARD, CHRONICLE OF HEINRICH THE DEAF, CHRONICON THURINGI-CUM, K. VON CLAUSEWITZ, CONRADUS, E. CSUDAY, G. DROYSEN, J. G. DROYSEN, K. DRYANDER, S. A. DUNHAM, F. EBERTY, J. G. ECCARD, J. P. ECKERMANN, F. EHRENBERG, K. EISNER, G... ELLINGER, J. EMMER, W. ERNST, G. G. GERVINUS, F. GIEHNE, J. GRÜNBECK, J. GRÜNHAGEN, K. HAGEN, H. HALLAM, C. HARDWICKE, K. HARTMANN, W. VON HASSELL, L. HÄUSSER, A. H. L. HEEREN, H. HEINE, E. F. HENDERSON, O. HENNE-AM-RHYN, J. L. A. HUILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, A. JÄGER, O. JÄGER, J. JANSSEN, W. KELLY, F. KEYM, F. C. KHEVENHILLER, A. KLEINSCHMIDT, F. VON KÖPPEN, B. VON KUGLER, H. LANGWERTH VON SIMMERN, F. LASSALLE, H. LAUBE, E. LAVISSE, H. C. LEA, G. V. LECHLER, L. LEGER, G. G. LEIBNITZ, C. T. LEWIS, T. LINDNER, S. MALASPINA, MARIOTTI, MATTHEW DE PARIS, MATTHIAS OF NEUENBURG, J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, H. MEYNERT, P. DE MLADE-NOWICH, G. I. DE MONTBEL, W. MÜLLER, B. G. NIEBUHR, F. PALACKY, C. T. PERTHES, J. S. PÜTTER, F. VON RAUMER, P. F. REICHENSPERGER, E. REIMANN, H. RESCHAUER, H. M. RICHTER, B. ROGGE, W. ROGGE, C. SABINA, A. SCHÄFER, P. SCHAFF, J. SCHERR, J. C. F. VON SCHILLER, A. W. VON SCHLEGEL, F. VON SCHLEGEL, A. SCHMIDT, K. SCHMIDT, J. SIME, A. SPRINGER, W. STRANTZ, R. G. E. (ST. RENÉ) TAILLANDIER, B. TAYLOR, D. THIEBAULT, E. ÜTTE-RODT ZU SCHARFFENBERG, E. VEHSE, J. VON VICTRING, A. VON VIVENOT, E. W. G. WACHSMUTH, G. WEBER, J. B. WEISS, K. WERNER, E. WERTHEIMER, J. V. WIDMANN, H. WIERMANN, WILLIAM I, J. WINTER, K. VON WINTERFELD, J. G. A. WIRTH, A. WITZSCHEL, E. ZELLER



BOOK I

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE HOHENSTAUFENS¹

[1125-1190 A.D.]

AFTER the extinction of the Franconian dynasty, a moment had again arrived when the German princes, if they were desirous of becoming independent and sovereign rulers, were not obliged to place a new emperor above themselves; but such a thought was foreign to their minds, and they preferred paying homage to one whom they had exalted to the highest step of honour, rather than behold Germany divided into numerous petty kingdoms.

Accordingly in 1125 the German tribes again encamped on the banks of the Rhine, in the vicinity of Mainz, and ten princes selected from each of the four principal families, viz., Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia, assembled in Mainz for the first election. Three princes only were proposed: Duke Frederick of Swabia (the mighty and courageous Hohenstaufen), Lothair of Saxony, and Leopold of Austria. The two latter on their knees, and almost in tears, entreated that they might be spared the infliction of such a heavy burden, whilst Frederick, in his proud mind, ambitiously thought that the crown could be destined for none other but himself; and such feeling of pretension indeed was too visibly expressed in his countenance. Adalbert, the archbishop of Mainz, however, who was himself not well inclined towards the Hohenstaufens, put to all three the question: "Whether each was willing and ready to yield and swear allegiance to him that should be elected?" The two former answered in the affirmative; but Frederick hesitated and left the assembly, under the excuse that he must take counsel of his friends. The princes were all indignant at this conduct, and the archbishop persuaded them at length to make choice of Lothair of Saxony, although against his own will.

[¹ We take up the story of the Holy Roman Empire where we left it in Volume VII.]

LOTHAIR II (1125-1137 A.D.)

But hostilities soon broke out between the two powerful Hohenstaufen dukes, Frederick of Swabia and Conrad of Franconia; and during nearly the entire reign of the new king, the beautiful lands of Swabia, Franconia, and Alsace were laid waste and destroyed, until at last both the dukes found themselves compelled to bow before the imperial authority. In this dispute the emperor Lothair, in order to strengthen his party, had recourse to means which produced agitation and dissension, and continued to do so for more than a hundred years afterwards. He gave his only daughter Gertrude in marriage to Henry the Proud, the powerful duke of Bavaria (of the Guelfs), and gave him, besides Bavaria, the duchy of Saxony likewise. This is the first instance of two dukedoms being governed by one person. Nay, with the acquiescence of the pope, and under the condition that after Henry's death they were to become the property of the Roman church, he even invested him with the valuable hereditary possessions of Matilda in Italy, as a fief, so that the duke's authority extended from the Elbe to far beyond the Alps, being much more powerful than even that of the emperor himself; for besides his patrimonial lands in Swabia and Bavaria, he had likewise inherited from his mother the moiety of the great ancestral possessions in Saxony, and in addition to all this his consort now brought him the entire lands of Supplinburg, Nordheim, and old Brunswick.

Thus the foundation was laid at this period for the subsequent jealousy, so destructive to Germany and Italy, between the Guelfs and Hohenstaufens—the latter being called Waiblingers from their castle Waiblingen on the Rems (styled by the Italians Ghibellini)—and the faction-names of the Guelfs and Ghibellines henceforward continued for centuries to resound from Mount Etna and Vesuvius to the coasts of the North and the Baltic seas. Lothair's reign became so shaken and troubled, partly by the dispute of the Hohenstaufens and partly by the Italian campaigns, that but very few, if any, of the great hopes he had at first excited by his chivalric, wise, and pious character were realised.¹

During his second and rather successful campaign in Italy [against Conrad, the anti-pope Anacletus, and Roger II of Sicily, resulting in his being crowned as emperor by Pope Innocent II], Lothair was seized with an illness, and died on his return, in the village of Breitenwang, between the rivers Inn and Lech, in the wildest part of the Tyrolese mountains. His body was conveyed to and interred in the monastery of Königsutter, in Saxony, founded by himself.^b

CONRAD III, VON HOHENSTAUFEN (1138-1152 A.D.)

The great struggle between church and state, the pope and the emperor, had now commenced, and centuries were to pass away before its termination. On the one side stood the pope, supported by France and by an un-German faction in Germany, which up to this period had been the Saxon one, but, since Saxony had fallen to the Bavarian Welf, was denominated the faction of the Welfs, or, as they were called in Italy, Guelfs. On the other side stood the emperor, who, besides defending the prerogatives of the state against the encroachments of the church, sought more especially to

[¹ On one of his Italian visits he paid homage to the pope in such abject manner that the pope had a painting made of the scene, and wrote beneath it the words, "The king is made the vassal of the pope" (*Rex homo fit papæ*). Frederick Barbarossa later destroyed it.]

[1138-1146 A.D.]

uphold the interests and honour of the German nation against the Italians and the French, in pursuance of which he was but too often treacherously abandoned by his own party in Germany. After the extinction of the Salic dynasty and the short reign of Lothair, the Hohenstaufens mounted the throne, on which they long sat, and, naming their race after the allod of Waiblingen in the Remsthal, which they had inherited from the last of the Salic emperors, the name of the Waiblinger, or in Italian, Ghibellini, was gradually fixed upon the imperial faction.

The election of a successor to the throne was appointed to take place at Mainz (1138 A.D.); the Waiblinger, however, anticipated the Guelfs, in the most unheard of manner, and proclaimed Conrad von Hohenstaufen emperor at Coblenz. Handsome in his person, and replete with life and vigour, of undaunted and well-trying valour, Conrad stood superior to all the princes of his time, and seemed by nature fitted for command. His election was, moreover, favoured by the decease of Adalbert of Mainz, and by the dread with which the princes of the empire beheld the rising power of the Guelfs, which it was Conrad's first aim to break. His faint-hearted opponent, staggered by his unexpected attack, delivered up the crown jewels; the Saxons, and even Lothair's widow, submitted to him; but, on his demanding from Henry the cession of Saxony, under pretence of the illegal union of two duchies under one chief, the duke rebelled, and was put under the ban of the empire, Bavaria was given to Leopold of Austria, and Saxony to Albert the Bear.

The ancient feud was instantly renewed (1139 A.D.). The Guelfs possessed numerous allods and fiefs in Swabia and Bavaria, which, supported by Welf, Henry's brother, defended the cause of their liege, whilst Henry himself carried on the struggle in Saxony. Conrad von Zähringen, at the same time, rose in favour of the Guelfs, and the emperor, sending against him his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa (the son of Frederick the One-eyed), who succeeded in getting possession of Zurich, took the field in person, and invaded the lands of the Guelfs.

It was in 1141, when besieging Welf in Weinsberg, that the Germans for the first time changed their war cry, "*Kyrie eleison*," for the party cries of "*The Welf!*" "*The Waiblinger!*" After enduring a long siege, Welf was compelled to surrender, Conrad granting free egress to the women, with whatever they were able to carry. The duchess, accordingly, took her husband, Welf, on her shoulders, and all the women of the city following her example, they proceeded out of the city gates, to the great astonishment of the emperor, who, struck with admiration at this act of heroism, permitted the garrison to withdraw, exclaiming to those who attempted to dissuade him, "An emperor keeps his word!"¹ The feud was put an end to by the deaths of Henry and Leopold, who, amongst other places, had destroyed Ratisbon. The son of the former, Henry the Lion, received Saxony, which Albrecht was, consequently, compelled to cede; in return for which, Brandenburg, which had formerly, like Thuringia, been annexed to the duchy of Saxony, was declared independent. Leopold's brother, Henry Jasomirgott, a surname he derived from his motto,² married the widow of Henry the Proud, the mother of Henry the Lion, and became duke of Bavaria. Welf, the only malcontent, leagued with Bela, king of Hungary, and Roger of Naples, and continued to carry on a petty feud. Leopold was defeated (1146 A.D.) by the Hungarians on the Leitha. In the same year, Conrad made an unsuc-

¹ According to the oldest chroniclers, St. Panteleon (Eccard) and the Chron. Weingart, Leibnizius,^d Welf and his duchess were at that time not at Weinsberg.

² Or rather from his common oath, "Ja so mir Gott helfe."

cessful inroad into Poland, for the purpose of restoring the duke, Wladislaw, who had been expelled by his subjects on account of his German wife, who continually incited him against his brothers, and treated the Poles with contempt.

About this time the religious enthusiasm, which the Crusades had so greatly tended to rouse, rapidly spread; the German prophets, nevertheless, found a greater number of followers in France than in Germany. Ulrich of Ratisbon became the reformer of the celebrated monastery of Cluny, the pride of the monkish world, and the pattern after which all other monasteries formed, or rather reformed themselves. St. Bruno of Cologne founded the severe order of the Carthusians, who bound themselves by the strictest vow completely to renounce the world; and Norbert of Xanten,¹ the equally strict order of the Premonstrants, in the wild vale of Prémontré. Whilst these pious Germans promulgated to the mountaineers of France the doctrine of worshipping God in solitude, Count Hugo von Blankenburg, a Saxon, the abbot of the convent of St. Victor, in Paris, known as Hugh de St. Victor (1140), formed this doctrine into an ingenious philosophical system, and invented scientific mysticism, or divine mysteries, which were further amplified by Honorius of Augst near Bâle (Augustodunensis), and by Rupert, abbot of Deutz, near Cologne. With these three fathers of mysticism, who gave utterance to the spirit with which the Middle Ages were so deeply imbued, was associated Hildegard, countess von Sponheim, and abbess of Bingen, who was the oracle of the pope and of the emperor. She died at a great age (1198 A.D.). She and her sister Elisabeth had visions, during which they appeared to be influenced by a sort of poetical inspiration. Whilst the Germans were thus buried in poetical mysticism, the French and Italians constructed a new system of scholastic divinity, the result of a comparison of the doctrines of the ancient Greek philosophers, for instance, those of Aristotle, with the received tenets of the church, all whose ordinances were defended by philosophical subtleties, which the free-thinkers laboured to confute. Abelard, the freedom of whose opinions was quickly adopted by the heretics (*Ketzer*, *Katharer*, purifiers) in Germany, flourished at this period in France. He was the most celebrated among the free-thinkers of his times.

The Roman church endeavoured from the commencement to divide the heretics into different sects, and to give them different names, as if they, in opposition to the united church, could merely have confused and contradictory notions. But the heretics were, from the commencement, extremely simple, and their views aimed at nothing less than the restoration of Christianity in its original purity; they exhibited genuine piety, not merely the mock devotion of church ceremonies; real brotherly love in Christ, not the slavish subordination in which the laity was held by the despotic priesthood, whose moral corruption unfitted them for the sacred office they filled. This was the doctrine taught by Tanchelin at Antwerp and at Bonn, and for which he was put to death, his conversion having been vainly attempted by St.

¹ A knight in the army of the emperor Henry IV, who was converted by a stroke of lightning, which struck him from his horse. Other celebrated enthusiasts of this age were Eberhard, brother to Count Adolf von Altena, and Mark, who was outlawed by Lothair as a partisan of the Hohenstaufen, and being struck on the forehead with a battle-axe whilst fighting with the count of Limburg, instantly changed his opinions, and fled, disguised as a serf, to France, where he was afterwards discovered as a swineherd. In the country around Treves, Rochelin the hermit dwelt for fourteen years naked in the forest. The countess Ida von Toggenburg attained still greater celebrity in Switzerland. A raven flew away with her wedding ring, which was found and worn by a huntsman. The count, perceiving the ring, believed his wife to be unfaithful to him, and cast her from a window down a precipice. She escaped unhurt and lived long after in seclusion.

[1146 A.D.]

Norbert, who had been presented with the archbishopric of Magdeburg (1126).

This heresy afterwards took a political character in Italy. The Romans, who had long struggled against their chains, revolted against Innocentius II, who had entered into an offensive alliance against them with their ancient enemy, the neighbouring town of Tivoli. In the heat of the insurrection, Arnold of Brescia, a monk, the disciple of Abelard, promulgated his heretical doctrines, which threatened to hurl the tiara from the pontiff's brow. This man preached a universal reform, the reduction of the church to its primitive state of simplicity and poverty, and the restoration in the state of the freedom and equality of the ancient Grecian and Roman republics, at the same time that St. Bernard was raising a crusade, in which the religious enthusiasm of the age was carried to its highest pitch; and thus did the adverse opinions of so many centuries meet, as it were, in the persons of these two men. Arnold expelled the pope from Rome, and restored the ancient republican form of government. A Roman, Jordanus, was elected consul.

The pope, Eugenius III, after vainly entreating assistance from Conrad III, who was sufficiently acquainted with Italy to be well aware of the futility of an expedition to Rome, fled into France, to St. Bernard, in order to aid him in the more important scheme of raising a general crusade. He returned to Rome, whence he contrived to expel Arnold, in 1149. Heresy also spread throughout Switzerland. Arnold of Brescia resided for some time at Constance and Zurich. The shepherds of Schwyz carried on a long dispute with the insolent abbot of Einsiedeln, who attempted to deprive them of a pasturage, the ancient free inheritance of their fathers, in defence of which they were aided by the neighbouring herdsmen of Uri and Unterwalden, and although, in 1144, excommunicated by the abbot, by the bishop of Constance, and put under the ban of the empire by the nobility, they refused to yield (being probably infected with Arnold's free and bold opinions), and, for eleven years, asserted their independence, without the priests or nobles venturing to attack them in their mountain strongholds; a foretoken of the Swiss confederation of more modern times.

The Crusade of Conrad the Third (1147 A.D.)

The bad state of affairs in the East, meanwhile, necessitated another crusade. The crown of Jerusalem had passed from the house of Lorraine to that of Anjou. The settlers in the Holy Land chiefly consisted of French, who, merely intent upon plunder and conquest, neglected the cause of religion. They had, moreover, married Arabian and Turkish women, and their descendants, the Pullanes, devoid of their fathers' energy, and inheriting the soft effeminacy of their mothers, were educated amid the intrigues of Eastern harems.

The fall of Edessa filled the whole of Christendom with consternation, and the loss of the Holy Sepulchre was everywhere prognosticated. The pope, Eugenius III, a haughty and ambitious man, formed the scheme of assembling the emperor, the kings, and princes of Europe beneath the banner of the church, and of placing himself as a shepherd at their head. St. Bernard travelled through France, emulating his predecessor, Peter the Hermit, in the warmth of his appeal to the people. On the Rhine, a priest named Radulf again incited the people against the Jews, who were assassinated in great numbers in almost all the Rhenish cities. St. Bernard, on his arrival in Germany, opposed Radulf, whom he compelled to return to his convent, and,

aided by St. Hildegard, the Velleda of the times, persuaded multitudes to follow the crusade. The people, in their enthusiasm, tore his clothes off, in order to sew the pieces on their shoulders in the form of a cross. At Frankfort-on-the-Main he was so closely pressed that the emperor was obliged to carry him away from his admirers like a child on his arm. At first Conrad was unwilling to visit the Holy Land, on account of the unsettled state of his authority in Germany, but he was forced to yield to circumstances, and, whilst presiding over the diet at Spire, was presented with the cross by St. Bernard, the sign of his vow.

Henry the Lion, Albert the Bear, all the Saxon nobility, and Conrad von Zähringen, who had no inclination to accompany the emperor to the Holy Land, turned their arms, aided by their Danish allies, against the pagan Wends. Henry the Lion, after making peace with the Wendish chief Niclot, contented himself with the destruction of the pagan temples at Rhetra and Oldenburg. He invested the bishop Vicelin with the latter place, bestowing it upon him in fee, as if he united in his own person the prerogatives of both the emperor and the pope. He also invested the count Henry with Ratzeburg, after compelling Pribislaw, another Wendish prince, who was less warlike than Niclot, to surrender his lands. Albert the Bear took Brandenburg, which was desperately defended by Jatzeo, one of Pribislaw's nephews, by storm; and the whole of the territory beneath his jurisdiction took henceforth the name of Brandenburg.



A TWELFTH CENTURY CRUSADER

In the spring of 1147 Conrad III assembled an immense multitude at Ratisbon, and marched them along the Danube into Greece, where, notwithstanding the friendly reception of the emperor Manuel, many untoward events took place. On reaching Asia Minor, the army divided, Otto von Freysingen marching to the left along the sea-coast whilst the emperor led the main force inland. The scarcity of provisions caused great suffering to both armies; the Greeks on their approach fled into the fortified towns,

and the starving pilgrims were merely able to procure scanty and sometimes poisoned food at an enormous price. The Greeks even confess that the emperor Manuel permitted them to sell poisoned flour. It was no unusual practice for them to take the gold offered in exchange for their provisions by the honest Germans, and to run off without giving anything in return. Conrad, nevertheless, continued to push on, but was treacherously led by the Greek guides into a Turkish ambushade. The petty princes of Asia Minor combined against the Germans, and Conrad's army, after wandering for three days without food amid the pathless mountains around Iconium, was suddenly attacked and routed by the Turks. The horrors of this dreadful day, October 26th, 1147, were still further increased by an eclipse of the sun. Conrad, who had received two severe arrow wounds, now attempted to rescue the remainder of his army from their perilous situation by an orderly

[1147-1152 A.D.]

retreat, but the brave Count Bernard von Plötzke, who brought up the rear, was deprived of the whole of his men by the arrows of their Turkish pursuers.

Otto von Freysingen reached Antioch with the remnant of his weakened forces, whilst the Germans who marched under Conrad, and the French under Louis, merely found their way to Adalia on the sea-coast, a desolate abode, where hunger and pestilence alone awaited them. The leaders went by sea to Antioch. The common soldiery were, for the greater part, starved to death.

Edessa being irreparably lost, it was concerted in a council, held by all the princes present, that an expedition should be undertaken against Damascus, which, it was further agreed, should be bestowed upon Count Thierry of Flanders, who had just arrived; and, after paying their devotions at the Holy Sepulchre, the whole body of the pilgrims took the field, and a brilliant victory was gained at Rabna, Conrad and his Germans forcing their way through the retreating French, and falling with irresistible fury on the now panic-stricken enemy. Conrad is said to have cut a Turk so completely asunder at one blow, that his head, arms, and the upper part of his body fell to the ground. The Pullanes, jealous of the fortune of the count of Flanders, now prince of Damascus, were easily bribed by the Turks to betray the pilgrims, whom they persuaded to abandon their safe position, and then broke their plighted word; upon which the emperor Conrad, and Louis of France, justly enraged at their treachery, raised the siege of Damascus and returned to their respective dominions. And thus was another brilliant enterprise doomed to terminate in shame and dishonour.

Welf, who had hurried home before the rest of the pilgrims, had again conspired, with Roger of Naples, against Conrad; and Henry the Lion, deeming the moment favourable, on account of the recent discomfiture of the emperor, openly claimed Bavaria as his own. Conrad hastened back to Germany and Henry held a diet at Speier. His son Henry, who had already been crowned king of Germany, reduced Welf to submission, but shortly afterwards expired in the bloom of youth. The emperor did not long survive him; he died at Bamberg (according to popular report, of poison administered to him by Roger), when on the point of invading Poland for the purpose of replacing Wladislaw on the throne (1152 A.D.). The double eagle was introduced by him into the arms of the empire. It was taken from those of the Greek emperor, by whom it was borne as the symbol of the ancient Eastern and Western Roman Empires.

ACCESSION OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA (1152 A.D.)

The claim of Frederick, Conrad's nephew, to the crown, was received without opposition. The jealous vassals of the empire seemed under the influence of a charm. Even the insolent Guelfs bent in lowly submission. There was little union between the heads of this inimical and illustrious house, Welf the elder of Upper Swabia, and Henry the Lion of Saxony, the latter of whom was, moreover, at variance with his stepfather, Henry of Babenberg, who withheld from him his paternal inheritance, Bavaria. In 1152 Frederick was elected emperor at Frankfort-on-the-Main; and crowned with ancient solemnity at Aachen. This election was the first that took place in the presence of the city delegates. Frederick publicly swore to increase justice, to curb wrong, to protect and extend the empire. On quitting the cathedral, a vassal threw himself at his feet in the hope of obtaining pardon

on this solemn occasion for his guilt, but the emperor, mindful of his oath, refused to practise mercy instead of justice.

Frederick was remarkable for the handsome and manly appearance, and the genuine German cast of countenance, which distinguished the whole of the Hohenstaufen family, and conduced to their popularity. Shortly cropped fair hair, curling closely over a broad and massive forehead, blue eyes with a quick and penetrating glance, and well-curved lips that lent an expression of benevolence to his fine features, a fair white skin, a well-formed and muscular

person, combined with perfect simplicity in dress and manners, present a pleasing portrait of this noble chevalier. His beard, that inclined to red, gained for him the Italian sobriquet of Barbarossa. Ever mindful of the greatness of his destiny, Frederick was at once firm and persevering, a deep politician and a wise statesman. To guarantee the internal unity and the external security of the state, was his preponderating idea; and regardless of the animosity with which the German princes secretly sought to undermine the imperial authority he directed his principal forces against his most dangerous enemy, the pope, and rightly concluded that he alone could overcome him in Italy. Those who charge him with having neglected the affairs of Germany, and with having devoted himself entirely to those of Italy, on the grounds that he would have acted more wisely had he confined himself to Germany, forget the times in which he lived. The pope would never have suffered him to remain at peace in Germany, he would ever have



A POLISH NOBLEMAN, TWELFTH CENTURY

stirred up fresh enemies around him, and Frederick had no other choice than, as a good general, to carry on the war in his adversary's territory, and to direct his whole force against the enemy's centre. The peaceful government of Germany was alone to be secured by the imposition of shackles on the pope.

By giving the crown of Denmark in fee to Sweyn, Frederick at once terminated the strife between him and his two brothers, Canute and Valdemar, and secured the northern frontier of the empire. The allegiance of Henry the Lion being confirmed by a promise of the duchy of Bavaria in reversion, he unceremoniously dismissed the papal legates, who interfered in the election of the bishops, and assembled a powerful army, with the intention of quickly following in their footsteps. When he was encamped on the Boden-

[1152-1155 A.D.]

see, the ancient cents or cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden marched under the banner of the count of Lenzburg, their governor, to do him feudal service in the field.

Whilst the emperor was assembling his forces at Constance, ambassadors from the city of Lodi threw themselves at his feet, complaining of the oppression of their city by Milan, whose inhabitants affected the papal party. Frederick commanded the Milanese to make restitution to their neighbours, but they tore his letter in sign of contempt. He afterwards crossed the Alps, and, planting the standard of the empire in the vale of Roncaglia, near Piacenza (1154 A.D.), summoned all the Italian vassals to do their bounden service as royal bodyguard, and declared all who refused to appear to have forfeited their fiefs. The Ghibellines obeyed the summons; the Guelfs treated it with contempt. Milan sent an open defiance, but Frederick, too prudent to attempt by force the subjugation of this well-fortified and densely populated city, sought to weaken her by gradually occupying the towns with which she was in league. The importance of the cities in upper Italy had been greatly increased by the Crusades, by the consequent extension of their commercial relations with the East, and also by the absence of the ruling family since the reign of the countess Matilda; the warlike nobility of the country had, moreover, assumed the right of citizenship in the cities. The richest commercial cities were Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, whilst Milan, situated in the heart of Lombardy, was far superior to them all in military power, and had become the focus of the papal faction. The cities of Rosate, Cairo, Asti fell one after another into the hands of the victorious emperor, who, in order to strike terror into his opponents, reduced the strongly fortified city of Tortona, which had long resisted the siege, to ashes, and levelled the ground on which it had stood. At Pavia he seized the iron crown of Lombardy, and entered into a negotiation with the pope, Adrian IV, for the performance of the ceremony of coronation. Rome was still convulsed by two rival factions, one in favour of the pope, the other composed of the heretical republican disciples of Arnold of Brescia.

FREDERICK IN ROME (1155 A.D.)

The dread with which the success and popularity of Arnold impressed the pope, rendered him more docile towards the emperor, who little foresaw of what a powerful weapon he voluntarily deprived himself, by persecuting Arnold, a man as truly great as he was unfortunate, instead of aiding him to the utmost in carrying out his plans for the complete reformation of the church. When the ambassadors from the citizens of Rome entered his presence, and spoke to him of ancient Roman virtue, he replied to them contemptuously, "Ancient Rome and ancient Roman virtue no longer dwell with you, her effeminate and perfidious children, but with us, her hardy and true-hearted sons." The enthusiasm created by Arnold of Brescia appeared to him merely an Italian comedy, the contemptible shadow of a temporal republic, instead of, as in fact it was, the germ of a great ecclesiastical reform. He, consequently, permitted Arnold's execution, and this luckless reformer was hanged and then burned at sunrise before the gates of the city, to whose inhabitants he had preached religious and civil liberty (1155).

Rome trembled before the emperor. The pope solemnly placed the crown upon his brow in the church of St. Peter, and the emperor, in return, held his stirrup, an action the symbolical interpretation of which signified that spiritual power could not retain its empire without the aid of the tem-

poral. Frederick also caused the picture representing Lothair's acceptance of the crown in fee from the pope, which was publicly exhibited in the Lateran, to be burned, and expressed his displeasure at the artful method by which the church falsely sought to extend her authority, in the following remarkable words: "God has raised the church by means of the state; the church, nevertheless, will overthrow the state. She has commenced by painting, and from painting has proceeded to writing. Writing will gain the mastery over all, if we permit it. Efface your pictures and retake your documents, that peace may be preserved between the state and the church."

The Romans, in the meantime, unable to forget their long-hoped-for republic, were maddened by rage, and the ceremony of the coronation was scarcely over when an insurrection broke out, and Frederick, whose horse fell beneath him, was alone saved by the courage of Henry the Lion. A horrid tumult, in which multitudes were butchered, ensued, but was finally quelled by the Germans. In order to punish the insolence of the Normans, Frederick took the field against William, the son of Roger; but his army being wasted by pestilence, he was forced to retreat through his enemies, who in different places barricaded his path. Spoleto was reduced to ashes for refusing the customary contribution (*fodrum*). The passage of the Etsch was defended by the Veronese, whom he evaded by the rapidity of his movements, and the pass through the mountains being guarded by a fortress, it was carried by storm by Otto von Wittelsbach, his bravest adherent, who reached it over almost inaccessible rocks, and the Veronese nobles, captured within its walls, were condemned to hang each other.

On his return (1156 A.D.) the emperor held a diet at Ratisbon, in which he rewarded Henry the Lion for the succour he had afforded him during the Italian campaign with the duchy of Saxony. Henry Jasomirgott was compensated with the duchy of Austria, which remained henceforth independent of Bavaria. Welf was confirmed in the duchy of Tuscany; Frederick von Rotenburg was created duke of Swabia, the emperor disclaiming the title of duke in addition to his own; Berthold von Zähringen was compelled to resign the government of Burgundy, which his father Conrad had held. This province presented a scene of the direst anarchy. Its affairs had been almost entirely neglected by the emperor, and the difference between the language spoken by the inhabitants and that of Germany, had gradually estranged them from the Germans, a circumstance of which the French monarchs took advantage in order to gain over the Burgundian nobles, whom they occasionally supported against Germany.

It was just at this conjuncture that William, count of Burgundy (Franche Comté), imprisoned Beatrice, the only child of his brother, Count Reinhold, in a tower, and deprived her of her rich inheritance. The emperor, mindful of the fidelity with which her father had served him in a time of need, hastened to procure her liberation, and to raise her as his empress to the throne, which her beauty, talents, and virtues were well fitted to adorn. The marriage was celebrated at Würzburg. Five sons were the fruit of their happy union. The whole province of Burgundy (of whose fidelity she was the pledge, and which is traversed by the Rhone) swore fealty to the emperor at Besançon.

In 1157, assisted by Henry the Lion and by Bohemia, he opened a campaign against Poland, and compelled Boleslaw, the king of that country, once more to recognise the supremacy of the German Empire, and barefoot, his naked sword hanging around his neck, to take the oath of fealty; after which, the royal dignity was bestowed by the emperor upon his obedient vassal, Wladislaw of Bohemia.

[1157-1158 A.D.]

The feuds so common throughout Germany were suspended by force; as an example to deter others, he condemned the count palatine Hermann, who persisted in carrying on a feud with the archbishop of Mainz, to carry a dog, a disgrace so bitterly felt by the haughty vassal, that he withdrew into a monastery. The Palatinate was bestowed upon Conrad, the emperor's brother. The introduction of the different orders and customs of chivalry, and the warlike notions inculcated by the Crusades, had greatly tended to foster the natural predilection of the Germans, the love of arms, and there were many knights who supported themselves solely by robbery and petty feuds, or, as it was called, by the stirrup. Their castles were mere robbers' nests, whence they attacked and carried off their private enemies or wealthy travellers, the higher church dignitaries and merchants, whom they compelled to pay a ransom. Frederick destroyed a considerable number of these strongholds.

THE SECOND VISIT TO ITALY (1158 A.D.)

It is about this period that the oppression under which the peasantry groaned comes under our notice. The magnificence and luxury introduced from the East, and the formation of different orders of nobility, had multiplied the necessities of life, and consequently had increased the rent of land and feudal taxes. Numbers of the peasants claimed the right of burghership in the towns as *Ausbürger*, absentees, or *Pfahlbürger*, citizens dwelling in the suburbs; and by thus placing themselves under the protection of the cities, occasioned numerous feuds between them and the provincial nobility, who refused to give up their serfs. Some of the princes protected the peasantry, and became in consequence extremely popular. The landgraf Ludwig of Thuringia was long ignorant of the misconduct of his nobility. One day having wandered from the track when pursuing the chase, he took shelter for the night in the house of a smith at Ruhla, without discovering his rank to his host. The next morning the smith set to work at his forge, and, as he beat the iron, exclaimed, "Become hard, Luz! Become hard, Luz!" and, on being demanded his meaning by the landgraf, replied, that "he meant that the landgraf ought to become hard as iron towards the nobles." The hint was not thrown away upon his listener, Ludwig henceforward adding to his own power by freeing the peasants from the heavy yoke imposed upon them by the nobility. The nobles made a brave defence in the battle of Naumburg, but were finally defeated, and yoked in turn by fours in a plough, which the landgraf guided with his own hand, and with which he ploughed up a field, still known as the *Adelacker* (the nobles' acre). Ludwig received thence the sobriquet of "the Iron." His corpse was borne from Naumburg to Reinhartsbrunn, a distance of ten miles, on the shoulders of the nobility.

The policy pursued by the emperor was imitated by several of the princes, who sought to keep their vassals in check by means of the cities. Henry the Lion bestowed great privileges on his provincial towns, Lübeck, Bruns-
wick, etc. Berthold von Zähringen, who, in 1113, founded Freiburg im-Breisgau, followed his example. Albert the Bear sought to ameliorate the condition of his Slavonic frontier, by draining and cultivating the marshes, and by bringing numerous colonists from the Netherlands, whence came the name of Fleming that is still given to the frontier tracts of country filled with dikes and marshes, more especially in the vicinity of Magdeburg.

Having thus given peace to Germany and extended his empire, the emperor was once more at leisure to form his plans upon Italy, where the pope had

again ventured to mention the empire as a gift bestowed by him upon the emperor, who no sooner menaced him than he declared that he had intended to say *bonum factum* not *feudum*. In 1158, Frederick crossed the Alps, preceded by his zealous adherent, the valiant Otto von Wittelsbach, who everywhere spread the terror of his name. The Milanese, who, in revenge, had laid the cities of Lodi and Crema in ruins, opposed the emperor at Cassano and were defeated. He, nevertheless, treated Milan with great lenity, on her surrender in the autumn.

Frederick, true to his policy of legally regulating the affairs of the country as a prince of peace, not as a powerful conqueror, convoked a diet of the native princes of Lombardy in the fields of Roncaglia, where the great feudatories of Italy appeared in person. The cities were each represented by two consuls. Frederick, in common with the rest of his contemporaries, acted upon the idea of the intimate connection of the German Empire with that of Rome, and therefore discovered no hesitation in reviving all the ancient privileges, which were, in fact, more conformable with his policy, no mention being made of hierarchical power in the old Roman law, which merely propounded the temporal and unlimited authority of the emperor, and thus provided him with a powerful weapon not only against the pope, but also against his unruly vassals, with which he willingly armed himself.

The new Italian code, delivered by the diet held at Roncaglia, was founded partly on the German, partly on the Roman legislation. It was decided that all the royal dues usurped by the dukes, markgrafs, and townships should relapse to the crown, and that the nomination of all princes and counts, as well as city consuls, was invalid unless confirmed by the emperor. This was an old German prerogative. It was further resolved that the great fiefs should be inalienable and indivisible, in order to put an end to the feuds caused by their conferment and division. The universities were endowed with additional privileges. A general tax, a most unpopular novelty, was deduced from the Roman law, and now for the first time imposed. When Otto von Wittelsbach attempted to enforce this tax on the Milanese, an insurrection ensued, and he was driven out of the city; and, at the same time, the majority of the cities declared against the deputies, their representatives at the diet, who had been chiefly induced to vote with the emperor by the hope of being confirmed by him in their consulates. Adrian IV also protested against the diet. Henry the Lion then attempted to negotiate matters; the cardinals sent to him for that purpose being seized and imprisoned in the Tyrol by the lawless counts of Eppan, Henry, in his right as duke of Bavaria, punished them by destroying their castles. On the decease of Adrian, in 1159, there was a schism among the cardinals, the Ghibellines electing Victor IV, the Guelfs, Alexander III. [The latter was a zealous and ardent prelate of very much the same character as Hildebrand. Public opinion supported him in the church, and both England and France recognised him. He laid Frederick under the ban, and assisted with every means in his power the Italian cities in their desperate struggle with the emperor.]

WAR AGAINST THE ITALIAN CITIES

Frederick's first attack was directed against the cities, his nearest and most dangerous foes. After a dreadful siege, such as no German had ever yet been doomed to stand, he took Crema, the ally of Milan (1160 A.D.). Four times without success did the enraged Milanese secretly attempt his assassination. Milan defied him, and, during the winter, when most of the

[1160-1165 A.D.]

German princes returned as usual to the other side of the Alps, the Milanese defeated him during an inroad into the province of Carnaro. In the spring of 1161, strong reinforcements arrived from Germany, and the siege began with increased fury, the emperor swearing that his head should not again wear the crown until he had rased Milan to the ground. The contest lasted a whole year without intermission, and terminated on the 6th of March, 1162, in the capitulation of the proud city, which hunger alone had forced to yield.

The starved citizens marched out of the city in sackcloth, ropes around their necks, tapers in their hands, and the nobles with their naked swords hanging around their necks. In this state they remained some time exposed to the heavy rain, until the emperor, who was at table, came forth and saw them deliver up their weapons and badges of honour, whilst their palladium, a tall tree bearing a cross, was cut down with a German axe. He then ordered a part of the city wall to be thrown down, and rode through the opening into the city. He contented himself, notwithstanding, with the total destruction of all the walls, towers, and fortifications; the city and the lives of the inhabitants were spared. A considerable booty was gained by pillage. Frederick henceforth ruled Italy with a rod of iron. He created Reinhold, the austere archbishop of Cologne and count of Dassel, archchancellor and regent of Italy, and gave him subordinate officers, who filled the country with rapine and oppression. The extortion thus practised was known as little as it had been enjoined by the emperor, the intention of whose regulations was merely the enforcement of strict justice and the maintenance of order; the unhappy results, however, fell upon his head.

During the absence of the emperor, feuds had broken out anew in Germany. These disturbances hastened his return.

The emperor's attention was now recalled to Italy. The pope, Victor, expired in 1164. The recognition of Alexander III by the emperor remained dubious. This pope, a man of energy and cunning, had withdrawn to Genoa, and thence to France, where he sought to form a league against the emperor, in which he was encouraged by the republics of Venice and Genoa, which began to view with dread the supremacy of the emperor in Italy. A reconciliation would indubitably have been proposed by Frederick, had not Henry, king of England, exactly at that juncture, declared against Alexander, with whom he was at variance concerning some ecclesiastical affairs, and Henry the Lion, being that monarch's son-in-law, and the alliance with the Guelfs being of greater moment to the emperor than the reconciliation with the pope, he recognised the new pope, Paschal III, and invited him to Germany, where, in 1165, he canonised Charlemagne at Aachen.

THE FORMATION OF THE LOMBARD LEAGUE (1167 A.D.)

This decision on the part of the emperor put the finishing stroke to Alexander's projects. The insolent behaviour of the Germans had naturally excited the hatred of the Italians. Pagano, the governor of Padua, committed violence on the beautiful Speronella Dalesmani. The governors were Italians, but the horrors they perpetrated were countenanced by the Germans. The confiscated estates were entered by these men in the Book of Pain, as it was called. The rape of the beautiful Paduan was the signal for open revolt. The Germans, although few in number, successfully defended their lives, but were unable to hinder Alexander's triumphal entry into Rome, 1165 A.D., and the interdict laid upon the emperor. Notwithstanding this, they main-

tained their ground and continued their attacks upon the pope. The Lombards in upper Italy, meanwhile, remained masters of the field. On the 7th of April, 1167, the league between the cities of Lombardy was established, and Milan was rebuilt on a handsome scale, and more strongly fortified, the women giving all their jewels to the churches that had been plundered of their decorations by the Germans.

In the same year, the emperor undertook his third expedition against Rome, and invested Paschal with the tiara [being in return crowned at Rome a second time as emperor]. But before he could attack the cities, his fine army was almost entirely swept away by a pestilence. At Pisa, the emperor threw his glove into the air as he pronounced the whole of the Lombard League under the ban of the empire. He then retreated with the remainder of his army beyond the Alps. On being closely pursued, he ordered the hostages that accompanied his retreat to be hanged on the trees on the roadside. In Susa he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Italians; the knight Hermann von Siebeneichen, who had placed himself in the emperor's bed, whilst the latter fled under cover of the night, being seized in his stead.

DEFECTION OF HENRY THE LION

As long as the good understanding between the Ghibellines and the Guelfs subsisted, Henry the Lion lent his aid to the emperor during his Italian expeditions, and was, in return, allowed the free exercise of his authority in the north of Germany, where, although already possessed of Saxony and Bavaria, he ceaselessly endeavoured to extend his dominion by the utter annihilation of the unfortunate Wends or Slavs. The aged and brave prince, Nielot, was treacherously induced to quit his castle of Werle, and assassinated. His son, Wratislaw, was granted a petty territory, but becoming suspected, was thrown into prison. His second son, Pribislaw, and his ally, Kasimir, prince of Pomerania, placed themselves at the head of the Wends, who fought with all the energy of despair, and gained a glorious victory over the Saxons at Demmin (1164 A.D.); upon which Henry the Lion invaded the country, hanged the unfortunate Wratislaw, and was on the point of laying the land waste by fire and sword, when a similar attempt was made on his northern frontier by the Danes. In order to protect himself from their attacks, he concluded peace with the Wends, deeming himself more secure in the vicinity of the petty Wendish princes than in that of the powerful Danish monarch.

In Denmark the dispute between the three brothers still continued. Henry invaded Denmark, and compelled the proud Waldemar, with whom he held a conference on the bridge of the Eider, to give up to him half of the treasures gained in the pillage of Ancona, and to accept of him as colleague in the government of Rügen.

The aged Welf died at Memmingen, where, surrounded by boon companions, he held a luxurious court, squandered his revenues, and loaded himself with debt (1169 A.D.). For weeks at a time the whole of the Swabian and Bavarian nobility would feast and dance on the Lechfeld near Augsburg, at the expense of Welf, who at length became blind. Henry the Lion had never assisted him; the emperor's treasury, on the contrary, was ever open to him, and as he left no issue, he bequeathed his Swabian allods and the lands of the countess Matilda in Italy to his benefactor. The loss of the Guelfic inheritance estranged Henry the Lion from the emperor, and he lost no opportunity of seeking for revenge.

[1169-1175 A.D.]

The Italians treated the election of Calixtus III by the Ghibellines with indifference, and remained firm in their allegiance to Alexander III, in whose honour they erected the formidable fortress of Alessandria, as a bulwark against the Germans. Christian of Mainz, the only imperialist who still kept the field in Italy, again vainly besieged Ancona. The emperor, whose arrival in Italy was urgently implored, was detained in Germany by his mistrust of Henry the Lion, who, in order to furnish himself with a pretext for refusing his assistance in the intended campaign without coming to an open breach, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1171 A.D.); whence, after performing his devotions at the Holy Sepulchre, without unsheathing his sword in its defence, he returned to his native country. During his stay in the Holy Land, the papal partisans in the East, who at an earlier period had treacherously refused their assistance to Conrad, the Ghibelline, loaded Henry with attentions on account of his Guelfic origin. This crusade has been adorned in the legends of the time with manifold wonders. On his return, he caused a lion, the symbol of power, carved in stone, to be placed in the market-place at Brunswick (1172 A.D.); an occurrence that gave rise to the fable of the faithful lion, by which he is said to have been accompanied during his pilgrimage.



ITALIAN KNIGHT OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

FREDERICK AGAIN IN ITALY (1174 A.D.)

At length, in 1174, Frederick Barbarossa persuaded the sullen duke to perform his duty in the field, and for the fifth time crossed the Alps. A terrible revenge was taken upon Susa, which was burned to the ground. Alessandria withstood the siege. The military science of the age, every *ruse de guerre*, was exhausted by both the besiegers and the besieged, and the whole of the winter was fruitlessly expended without any signal success on either side. The Lombard League meanwhile assembled an immense army in order to oppose Frederick in the open field, whilst treason threatened him on another side.

The Venetians also embraced the papal party, and defeated Ulrich, the patriarch of Aquileia, who held Carniola in fee of the empire. Henry also at length acted with open disloyalty, and declared to the emperor, who lay sick at Chiavenna, on the Lake of Como, his intention of abandoning him; and, unshaken by Frederick's exhortation in the name of duty and honour to renounce his perfidious plans, offered to provide him with money on condition of receiving considerable additions to his power in Germany, and the free imperial town of Goslar in gift. These unjust demands were steadily refused by Frederick, who, embracing the Guelf's knees, entreated him, as the honour of the empire was at stake, not to abandon him in the hour of

need before the eyes of the enemy, with the flower of the army. At this scene, Jordanus Truchsess, the Guelf's vassal, laughed and said, "Duke, the crown, which you now behold at your feet, will ere long shine upon your brow"; to which one of the emperor's retainers replied, "I should rather fear that the crown might gain the ascendancy." The emperor was at length raised by the beautiful empress, Beatrice, who said to him, "God will help you, when at some future time you remember this day, and the Guelf's insolence." The Guelf withdrew with all his vassals.

Frederick, reduced to the alternative of either following his insolent vassal, or of exposing himself and his weakened forces to total destruction by remaining in his present position, courageously resolved to abide the hazard, and to await the arrival of fresh reinforcements from Germany; the Lombards, however, saw their advantage, and attacked him at Legnano, on the 29th of May, 1176. The Swabians (the southern Germans still remaining true to their allegiance) fought with all the courage of despair, but Berthold von Zähringen was taken prisoner, the emperor's horse fell in the thickest of the fight, his banner was won by the "legion of death," a chosen Lombard troop, and he was given up as dead. He escaped almost by miracle, whilst his little army was entirely overwhelmed.

In this necessity the emperor had recourse to subtlety, and ingeniously contrived to produce disunion among his opponents. Evading the Lombard League, he opened a negotiation with Venice and with the pope, to whom he offered to make atonement; nor were his proposals rejected, the pope hoping to turn the momentary distress of the emperor to advantage, by negotiating terms before the arrival of the reinforcements, which he foresaw would be sent to his assistance from Germany, and Venice being blinded by her jealousy of the rising power of the cities of Lombardy. An interview took place at Venice, when peace was concluded between Frederick and Alexander III (1177 A.D.). Guelfic historiographers relate that on the emperor's kissing the pope's feet, the latter placed his foot on Frederick's neck, uttering these words of holy writ, "Thou shalt tread upon the adder and the lion"; to which Frederick replied, "Not unto thee, but unto St. Peter be this honour!" The letters of the pope that relate to these times are silent in regard to this occurrence, whilst there are many proofs, on the other hand, that several conversations took place between the pope and the emperor, each of whom treated the other with respect and esteem, as the most intelligent men of their age.

It is true, however, that the emperor sacrificed Calixtus, and that he bestowed upon the Lombard cities the privilege of electing their own consuls; but it is also true that these concessions on the emperor's part were balanced by those made by the pope, who released the emperor from the interdict, and confirmed all the powerful archbishops and bishops, the staunch adherents of the emperor, in their dignities, thus relieving him from any apprehension on the side of the church, the most dangerous rival of his temporal power. The story of the humiliation of Barbarossa by the pope has been preserved at Venice by inscriptions and paintings, and another story equally fabulous has also been handed down in Italy by means of a popular festival. It is said that Otto, the emperor's son, attacked Venice by sea, but was defeated, and brought a prisoner to the city; and that in order to perpetuate the memory of this victory, the pope, Alexander, bestowed upon the doge the privilege of making an annual excursion into the sea, in a magnificently decorated ship, the *Bucentaur*, solemnly to espouse the sea by casting a ring into her bosom, thus metaphorically asserting the rule of the city of Venice over the

[1170-1180 A.D.]

waves. This festival continued for several centuries, but its historical origin is unknown.

The death of Albert the Bear, in 1170, and the partition of Brandenburg between his sons Otto and Bernard, diminished the number of Henry's dangerous rivals in the north. The insolence with which the neighbouring bishops, who relied upon the emperor for aid, opposed him, particularly Reinhold, archbishop of Cologne, Wichmann of Magdeburg, and the bishops of Halberstadt and Münster, nevertheless, kept him fully occupied. Unintimidated by the influence and power of these "bald-pates," as he scornfully termed them, he boldly attacked them in return, and gained possession of Halberstadt, when Bishop Ulrich died in consequence of the ill-treatment he received, and a thousand persons were burned alive in the cathedral.

On the emperor's return from Italy, he summoned the Lion to appear before the supreme tribunal, and on the third public summons being unattended, pronounced him under the ban of the empire. The bald-pates triumphed. All his ancient foes, all those who hoped to rise by his fall, joined the Ghibelline faction against the last of the Guelfs, to whose cause Saxony alone adhered. The Lion, driven to bay, proved himself worthy of his name, and almost obliterated the stain upon his honour, the treason of which he had been guilty, by his valorous feats. Aided by his faithful adherents and vassals, he gained a decisive victory on the Halerfeld, 1180 A.D. He maintained the contest for three years, but his suspicion and pride at length estranged from him the vassals by whom he had been so long upheld, and he was closely besieged by the emperor in Stade, where he was abandoned by all except Bernard von der Lippe (who, after the remarkable defence of Haldersleben had been forced to quit his country and his connections), and the city of Lübeck, which refused to surrender to the emperor, until commanded to do so by its benefactor, the Lion.

Archbishop Wichmann, whose lands he had laid waste, besieged him, dammed up the little river Bever, and directed its waters, which had collected for several months, into the town, which was quickly flooded. The citizens took refuge beneath the roofs of the houses until the water had disappeared, and refused to surrender. Shortly before this, Bernard had set fire to the heath on which the archbishop had pitched his camp.

Henry, seeing that all was lost, sent Ludwig, landgraf of Thuringia, whom he had restored to liberty, to sue for peace, and threw himself at the emperor's feet at Erfurt. Frederick no sooner saw his treacherous vassal at his feet, than, with a generous recollection of their former days of friendship, he raised him from his knees, and affectionately embracing him, shed tears of joy at their reconciliation; but, sensible of the danger of permitting the existence of the great duchies, he remained inflexible in his determination to crush the power of the Guelfs, by treating Bavaria and Saxony as he had formerly Franconia and Lorraine. Their partition was resolved upon, and Henry was merely permitted to retain Brunswick. Bavaria was given to the trusty Otto von Wittelsbach, in whose family it has ever since remained. And for the better security of this new order of things, Henry the Lion was exiled for three years. On his way to England, accompanied merely by a small retinue, the citizens of Bardowick, his own town, closed the gates against him, and treated him with every mark of indignity.

Bohemia met with severe treatment at the hands of the emperor. The aged Wenceslaus had secretly intrigued with the Italians, and, without obtaining the consent of the emperor, had proclaimed his son, Frederick, his successor on the throne. Barbarossa deposed both father and son, and bestowed

the crown on one of their relatives, whom he released for that purpose from prison; but this prince proving equally unruly and hostile, he deprived him of his crown, which he restored to Frederick on payment of a sum of money (1180 A.D.).

THE PEACE OF CONSTANCE (1183 A.D.)

Barbarossa granted the greatest privileges to the cities, with the intention of still further diminishing the power of the great vassals; and it is, consequently, to him that a number of the most considerable cities are indebted for their complete enfranchisement, and for their elevation to the rank of free imperial cities under the immediate protection of the crown.

On the death of Pope Alexander, Frederick preserved good relations with his successor Urban, and concluded a fresh treaty of peace and amity at Constance with Lombardy, to which, although it still remained annexed to the empire, he granted the privilege of electing its own governors and of forming alliances.

The Whitsuntide holidays were celebrated at Mainz, in 1184, with unwonted magnificence. Forty thousand knights, the most lovely women, and the most distinguished bards in the empire here surrounded Frederick Barbarossa, who seemed now to have attained the summit of his power; and the splendour that was displayed on this occasion was long celebrated in song. The emperor's five sons, Henry his successor on the throne, Frederick duke of Swabia, Conrad duke of Franconia, Otto duke of Burgundy, and the youthful Philip were present. A violent storm that arose in the night, and overthrew the tents in this encampment of pleasure, was, however, regarded as an omen of future ill.

In the following year the emperor carried a great project into execution. The difficulty he had experienced in keeping the cities of Lombardy in check, and notwithstanding the endeavours of the archbishop Christian, in retaining the papal dominions without the possession of lower Italy, drew his attention thither, and he succeeded in obtaining the hand of Constanza, the daughter and heiress of Roger the Norman, king of Apulia, and Sicily,¹ 1185 A.D. But scarcely had he crossed the Alps, when Knud, the new king of Denmark, infringed the treaty, and, uniting his forces with those of Jarimar of Rügen, gained a naval victory over Boleslaw of Pomerania, whom he compelled to do him homage. The princess of Mecklenburg, Nielot, the son of Wratislaw, and Borwin, the son of Priczlaw, met with a similar fate. The emperor, whom the affairs of Italy fully occupied, deferred his revenge; but his son Frederick, Ludwig III of Thuringia and a Thuringian count, Siegfried, sent back their brides, the three daughters of Knud, to Denmark.

BARBAROSSA'S CRUSADE AND DEATH

The situation of the Christians in the East became gradually more perplexing. The treachery practised by the Greeks and the Pullanes during the last crusade towards the emperors, Conrad III, and Louis VII, gradually met with its fitting reward, although the disputes that arose among the Mohammedans were at first in their favour. Zenki the Great had been succeeded by his son Nurad-din, who was opposed by the Egyptian caliphs,

¹ He said, "Italy, like the eel, even when held fast by the head, the tail, and the middle, still threatens to slip from our clutches."

[1185-1188 A.D.]

and whose son was deprived of his throne by a new aspirant, named Saladin, who, uniting Syria and Egypt beneath his rule, subdued the Assassins, the most dangerous enemies of the sultans, and attacked the weak and demoralised Christians, whose strength had been spent in intestine feuds.

Henry the Lion, who visited Jerusalem in 1171, might have saved Egypt, but merely contented himself with paying his devotions at the sepulchre, and returned home without drawing his sword against the infidels. The other troops of pilgrims that arrived singly and few in number were utterly powerless. Jerusalem was for some time valiantly defended by the queen Sibylla, but finally surrendered. A German knight greatly distinguished himself during this siege, by the valour with which he resisted the Turks when storming the city. The Christians were granted a free exit; Saladin beholding them from a lofty throne, as they quitted the city in mournful procession, October 30th, 1187. All the churches, that of the Holy Sepulchre alone excepted, were reconverted into mosques. And thus was Jerusalem lost by the incapacity of her French rulers, and the whole of Palestine would inevitably have again fallen a prey to the Turks, had not Conrad of Montferrat, the son of the captive marquis, encouraged the trembling citizens of Tyre to make head against Saladin.

William, bishop of Tyre, the most noted of the historians of his times, instantly hastened into the west for the purpose of demanding assistance.

The pious emperor, then in his seventieth year, joyfully took up the cross for the second time, and with him his son, Frederick of Swabia, and the flower of German chivalry — in all, one hundred thousand men. Barbarossa, after sending a solemn declaration of war to Saladin, broke up his camp, 1188 A.D., met with a friendly reception from Bela, king of Hungary, held a magnificent tournament at Belgrade, hanged all the Servians, whose robber bands harassed him on his march, that fell into his hands, as common thieves, and advanced into the plains of Rumelia. The Greek emperor, Isaac, who was on friendly terms with him, and had promised to furnish his army with provisions, broke his word, and, besides countenancing the hostility with which the crusaders were treated by his subjects, threw the count von Diez, whom Frederick sent to him, into prison. Barbarossa, upon this, gave his soldiery license to plunder, and the beautiful country was speedily laid waste. The Cumanians, Isaac's mercenaries, fled before the Germans, who revenged the assassination of some pilgrims by destroying the city of Manicava, and



ARMOUR OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

by putting four thousand of the inhabitants to the sword. The large city of Philippopolis, where the sick and wounded Germans who had been left there had been mercilessly slaughtered by the inhabitants, shared the same fate. These acts of retributive justice performed, Barbarossa advanced against Constantinople, where Isaac, in order to secure his capital from destruction, placed his whole fleet at his disposal. The crusaders no sooner reached Asia Minor, than the Greeks recommenced their former treacherous practices, and the sultan of Iconium, who, through jealousy of Saladin's power, had entered into a friendly alliance with the emperor, also attacked him.

Barbarossa defeated all their attempts. On one occasion, he concealed the flower of his troops in a large tent, the gift of the Hungarian queen, and pretended to fly before the Turks, who no sooner commenced pillaging the abandoned camp, than the knights rushed forth and cut them down. A Turkish prisoner who was driven in chains in advance of the army, in order to serve as guide, sacrificed his life for the sake of misleading the Christians amid the pathless mountains, where, starving with hunger, tormented by thirst, foot-weary and faint, they were suddenly attacked on every side. Stones were rolled upon their heads as they advanced through the narrow gorge, and the young duke of Swabia narrowly escaped, his helmet being struck off his head. Peace was now offered by the Turks on payment of a large sum of money; to this the emperor replied by sending them a small silver coin, which they were at liberty to divide amongst themselves, and pushing boldly forward beat off the enemy.

The suffering of the army rapidly increased; water was nowhere to be discovered, and they were reduced to the necessity of drinking the blood of their horses. The aged emperor encouraged his troops by his words, and was answered by the Swabians, who raised their native war-song. His son, Frederick, hastened forwards with half of the army, again defeated the Turks, and fought his way to Iconium, entered the city with the retreating enemy, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and gained an immense booty. Barbarossa was meanwhile surrounded by the sultan's army. His soldiers were almost worn out with fatigue and hunger. The aged emperor, believing his son lost, burst into tears. All wept around him; when suddenly rising he exclaimed, "Christ still lives, Christ conquers!" and heading his chivalry in the assault, they attacked the enemy and gained a complete victory. Ten thousand Turks were slain. Several fell beneath the hand of Barbarossa himself, who emulated in his old age the deeds of his youth. Iconium, where plenty awaited them, was at length reached.

After recruiting here, they continued their march as far as the little river Calicadnus (Seleph), in Cilicia, where the road happening to be blocked up with beasts of burden, the impatient old emperor, instead of waiting, attempted to cross the stream on horseback,¹ and was carried away by the current. His body was recovered, and borne by his sorrowing army to Antioch, where it was entombed in St. Peter's church (1190).

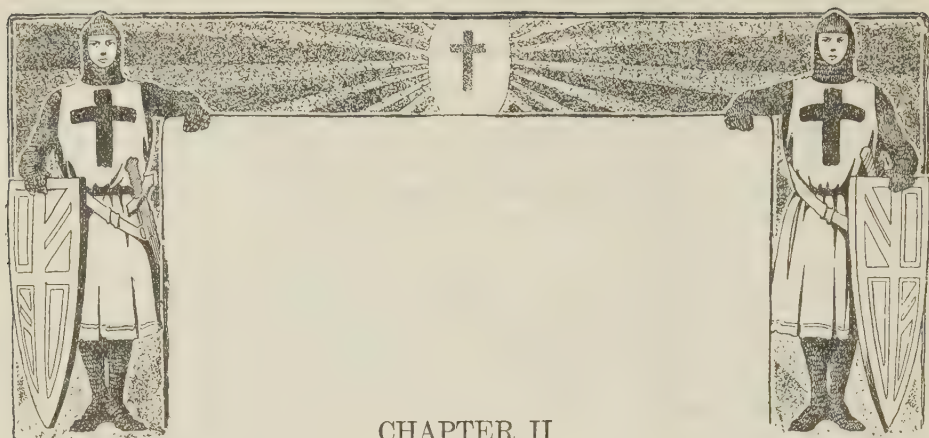
The news of the death of their great emperor was received with incredulity by the Germans, whose dreamy hope of being one day ruled by a dynasty of mighty sovereigns, who should unite a peaceful world beneath their sway, at length almost identified itself with that of Barbarossa's return and gave rise to legendary tales, which still record the popular feeling of the times. In a deep rocky cleft, in the Kyffhäuser Berg, on the golden meadow of

[¹ According to some stories he was bathing in the stream.]

[1190 A.D.]

Thuringia, still sleeps this great and noble emperor: his head resting on his arm, he sits by a granite block, through which his red beard has grown in the lapse of time; but when the ravens no longer fly around the mountain, he will awake and restore the golden age to the expectant world. According to another legend, the emperor sits, wrapped in sleep, in the Untersberg, near Salzburg; and when the dead pear tree on the Walsersfeld, which has been cut down three times but ever grows anew, blossoms, he will come forth, hang his shield on the tree, and commence a tremendous battle, in which the whole world will join, and the god shall overcome the wicked. The attachment which the Germans bore to this emperor is apparent in the action of one solitary individual, Conrad von Boppard, who bestowed a large estate on the monastery of Schönau, on condition of masses being read forever for the repose of the soul of his departed sovereign. The little church on the Hohenstaufen, to which it was Barbarossa's custom to descend from the castle in order to hear mass, still stands, and over the walled-up doors may be read the words, "*Hic transibat Cesar.*" Excellent portraits of Frederick and Beatrice may still be seen to the right of the door of the church at Welzheim, which was founded by their son Philip. But the great palace, 710 feet in length, which he built at Gelnhausen, in honour of the beautiful Gela, who is said to have been the mistress of his youthful affections, and who renounced him against his will and took the veil, in order not to be an obstacle in his glorious career, lies in ruins.^e





CHAPTER II

THE LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS

[1190-1273 A.D.]

HENRY VI

FREDERICK's eldest son, Henry, who during his father's life was named his successor, and who in his absence had been invested with the government of the empire, was not dissimilar from his father in the power of his mind, in chivalric bearing, and in grand ideas and plans; but his disposition was extremely partial and severe, often cruel; and, in order to execute great ambitious projects, he betrayed feelings of a very mercenary nature. This was displayed in an occurrence which has not done him much honour. King Richard Cœur de Lion, of England, when in Palestine had at the siege of Acre a dispute with Duke Leopold of Austria; inasmuch as the Germans, after the city was taken, were encamped on one of its quarters, Duke Leopold caused the German banner to be raised upon a tower, like those of the kings of England and France. But the proud Richard of England caused it to be torn down, and it was trampled in the mud by the English.

This was an affront to the whole German army, and certainly deserved immediate and severe punishment. But the revenge which the duke and the emperor Henry took afterwards upon the king was of the most treacherous and ignoble character. Richard, upon his return from Palestine in 1192, was cast by a storm upon the Italian coast near Aquileia, and wished to continue his route through Germany; but, although he had disguised himself as a pilgrim, he was recognised in Vienna by his expensive style of living and by the imprudence of his servant. He was seized and delivered up to Duke Leopold, who had previously returned, and by whom he was surrendered to the emperor Henry. The noble, chivalric king of England, and brother-in-law of Henry the Lion, was now detained at Trifels, in close confinement, above a year, until he was formally brought before the assembly of German princes at Hagenau, as a criminal, and defended himself; nor was he liberated and allowed to return to his kingdom until the English had paid a ransom of a million of dollars — for that period an immense sum. In thus proceeding against Richard, Henry had, it is true, acted in conformity with the ancient

[1190-1195 A.D.]

rights of the imperial dignity, according to which the emperor was authorised to cite before him all the kings of Christendom, and sit in judgment over them. But the manner in which he acted in this case was degrading, and unworthy of any ruling power.

The emperor concluded with Henry the Lion, who after his return from England had produced fresh wars, a permanent treaty of peace, and by the marriage which took place between the duke's son, Henry the Slender, and Agnes, princess palatine and niece of Frederick I, the reconciliation of these distinguished houses was confirmed.^b

THE WAR IN SICILY (1193 A.D.)

The departure of the emperor Frederick for the Holy Land had been immediately followed by the death of William II, king of Sicily. Henry VI laid claim to the kingdom of Sicily, in virtue of his marriage to Constanza; but the German name was odious to the people, and the pretensions of a bastard prevailed over the right of the legitimate heiress. Tancred, count of Lecce, mounted the throne of his grandfather.

Henry crossed the Alps for the double purpose of obtaining the imperial crown and reducing the usurper of Sicily. Henry and Constanza were crowned by Pope Celestine III in St. Peter's (1191). The German forces received but little resistance until they arrived at the gates of Naples. Whilst that city held out against the invaders, Henry beheld his troops and captains swept off by disease; retreat became necessary. The death of the eldest son of King Tancred was soon afterwards followed by that of the afflicted father. To Tancred succeeded his second son, William III (1193), whose tender age invited Henry once more to attempt the reduction of Sicily. With the assistance of Pisa and Genoa, he obtained an easy conquest of the Italian provinces; and passing over to the island, became master of Messina, Palermo, and other principal cities. The widow of Tancred, with the young king and princesses, submitted to the conqueror on the promise of obtaining for herself the county of Lecce, and for her son the principality of Tarentum. The hapless William knelt before the emperor, and resigned the sceptre of the Normans to the house of Swabia (1195).

But no sooner was Henry secure of the prize than he gave way to the ferocity of his nature; and signalised the brutality of his mind by violating the repose of the dead, and inflicting the most shocking cruelties on the living. The sepulchres of Tancred and his son were broken open, their bodies stripped of the last trappings of royalty; and under pretence of a conspiracy the young William was arrested and inhumanly mutilated and blinded, and with his mother and sisters doomed to hopeless captivity in Germany. The merciless emperor appeared intent upon the destruction of the Normans; and the sympathy of Constanza was awakened by the groans of her fellow countrymen. Satiated at length with the blood and spoils of his new subjects, Henry departed for his native land; and the Sicilians beheld with grief and indignation the treasures of the realm transported from the island to Germany.^c He not only conveyed away the gold and silver, together with all the costly ornaments of the ancient Norman kings, to such an extent that 160 animals were loaded therewith and proceeded with them to the castle of Trifels on the Rhine, but he caused the eyes of the grandees who had rebelled to be put out, and as an insult to their misfortunes and in mockery of their efforts to get possession of the throne and wear the crown, he placed them upon

seats of red-hot iron, and fastened upon their heads crowns formed also of burning iron. The rest of their accomplices were, it is true, so much terrified thereby that they vowed allegiance; but this submission did not come from their hearts, and Henry's successor paid severely for his cruelties.

He meditated the most important plans, which, had they been accomplished, would have given to the whole empire a completely different form. Among the rest he offered to render the fiefs of the German princes hereditary, promised to renounce all imperial claims to the property left by bishops, and the rest of the clergy; in return for which, however, he desired the imperial throne to be made likewise hereditary in his family. He even promised to unite Naples and Sicily wholly with the empire. Many princes voluntarily agreed to these propositions, which appeared advantageous to them; some of the greater ones, however, refused, and as the pope likewise withheld his consent, Henry was obliged to defer the execution of his great projects to a more convenient time. Affairs now called him again to Sicily, and there he suddenly died in 1197, in the thirty-third year of his age, and at the moment when he contemplated the conquest of the Greek Empire, by which to prepare and secure a successful issue to the Crusades.¹

CIVIL WARS FOR THE CROWN (1197-1212 A.D.)

His son Frederick was but just eight years old, and the two parties in Germany, the Hohenstaufens and the Guelfs, became again so strongly divided that the one side chose as emperor Philip, Henry's brother, and the other Otto, the second son of Henry the Lion, a prince distinguished for his strength and valour, and thus Germany had again two sovereigns at once.

Through this unfortunate division of parties the empire became for the space of more than ten years the scene of devastation, robbery, and murder, and both princes, who were equally endowed with good qualities, could do nothing for the country; on the contrary, in the endeavours made by each to gain over the pope to himself, they yielded to the subtle Innocent III, under whom the papacy attained its highest grade of power, many of their privileges. Otto IV even acknowledged the pope's claim of authority to bestow the empire as he might appoint, and called himself in his letters to the pope a Roman king by the grace of God and the pope. For which concession, and because he was a Guelf, Innocent protected him with all his power; and when Philip, in 1208, was assassinated at Bamberg by Otto of Wittelsbach (a nephew of him to whom Frederick I had given the duchy of Bavaria), in revenge because he would not give him his daughter in marriage as he had promised, Otto IV was universally acknowledged as emperor and solemnly crowned at Rome.^b

But before the pope consented to bestow the imperial crown, he obtained from the emperor-elect his signature to a written capitulation, which shook his authority in ecclesiastical affairs to the foundation. Not content with extorting an oath of obedience to the holy see and the defence of its privileges, Innocent hereby bound the emperor to correct all abuses in the choice of the German prelates; to permit the elections to be conducted according to the ordinances of the church; and to throw no obstacle in the way of appeals to Rome. In this capitulation, the first of its kind, the greatest care was taken that all should be general and undefined; so that it was

¹ Henry's tomb, at Palermo, was opened after nearly six hundred years, and the body found well preserved.

[1209-1215 A.D.]

admirably adapted to assist the popes in their future encroachments on the imperial prerogative. Otto moreover undertook to resign to the church an important source of revenue, the property of deceased prelates and the income of the see during a vacancy, which had hitherto been claimed by the successors of Charlemagne.

OTTO EXCOMMUNICATED (1210 A.D.)

Immediately after the coronation, the long-cherished antipathy of the Romans to the Germans broke out into open conflict; and the new emperor, after the destruction of many of his followers, withdrew in dudgeon from Rome. Between the pope and emperor all oaths were forgotten; the disturbed state of Apulia invited Otto to its invasion; and he soon became master of the greater part of the southern provinces of Italy. But whilst the German monarch was lured to these distant conquests, his own ruin was in preparation at home. The south was sacred ground to Innocent; since the empress Constanza had, in her last moments, made him the guardian of her infant son, Frederick, the heir to the crown of Sicily. He had already experienced the greatest difficulties in tranquillising the Sicilian kingdom; and finding the emperor deaf to his admonitions, Innocent sent forth his thunders, by which Otto was declared to be deposed from the empire, and all his subjects absolved from their allegiance. Otto learned with dismay that the princes and prelates of Germany were rapidly falling off from a monarch whose brow was blasted by the thunderbolt of God's vicar; and he recognised his enemy Philip of France fanning the flame in his dominions.

Frederick, the son of the emperor Henry VI and of Constanza, princess of Sicily, had barely attained his eighteenth year when he was summoned to the throne of Germany. He was cordially welcomed by the German princes who had invited him; he soon afterwards, in a conference with the dauphin, established a league with France, and was crowned with great splendour at Aachen, in 1215.

Meanwhile the affairs of Otto were fast hastening to a crisis. Supported by John, king of England, the duke of Brabant, and the count of Flanders, he met and engaged with the French army at Bouvines, 1214; and after a desperate battle received a complete overthrow. Thus oppressed by the spiritual arms of Innocent and the superior fortune of Philip, he withdrew to his castle at Hartzburg in Brunswick; where not very long afterwards he peacefully terminated his life (1218).^c

FREDERICK II (1215 A.D.)

The emperor Frederick II, the grandson of Frederick I, by his heroism, firmness of will, and boldness of spirit, and combining with this majesty of character both mildness and grace, was worthy of his noble family, so that the impression of his personal greatness remained long after his demise. In addition to which, he was a friend of art and science, and was himself a poet, sentiment, animation, and euphony breathing in all his works. His bold and searching glance dwelt especially upon the follies of his age, and he frequently lashed them with bitter ridicule; whilst, on the contrary, he saw in everyone, whence or of whatsoever faith he might be, merely the man, and honoured him as such if he found him so worthy.

And yet this emperor executed but little that was great; his best powers were consumed in the renewed contest between the imperial and papal authority which never had more ruinous consequences than under his reign, and Germany in particular found but little reason to rejoice in its sovereign, for his views, even beyond all the other Hohenstaufens, were directed to Italy. By birth and education more an Italian than a German, he was particularly attached to his beautiful inheritance of the Two Sicilies, and in Germany, thus neglected, the irresponsible dominion of the vassals took still deeper root; whilst, on the other hand, in France the royal power, by withdrawing considerable fiefs, commenced preparing its victory over the feudal system.

There were also three grand causes which served to excite the popes against Frederick. In the first place, they could not endure that besides northern Italy he should possess Sicily and Naples, and was thus enabled to press upon their state from two sides; secondly, they were indignant because he would not yield to them unconditionally the great privileges which the weak Otto IV had ceded to them; but, thirdly, what most excited their anger was that, in the heat of their dispute, he frequently turned the sharpness of his sarcasm against them and endeavoured to make them both ridiculous and contemptible. The story of his rivalry with the popes is more fully told under the history of the papacy and of the crusades.

THE EMPEROR GAINS JERUSALEM (1230 A.D.)

The commencement of the schism, however, arose from a particular circumstance. Frederick, at his coronation in Aachen, had spontaneously engaged to undertake a crusade for the deliverance of Jerusalem, and this promise he renewed when he was crowned emperor at Rome in 1220.¹ But he now found in his Italian inheritance, as well as in the opposition shown by the Lombard cities, which, after the death of Frederick I had again become arrogant, so much to do that he was continually obliged to require from the pope renewed delays. The peaceful and just Honorius III granted them to him; and there existed between him and the emperor a friendly feeling, and even a mutual feeling of respect. But with the passionate Gregory IX the old dispute between the spiritual and temporal power soon again broke forth, and Gregory strongly urged the crusade. In the year 1227 Frederick actually sailed with a fleet, but returned after a few days, under the pretext of illness, and the whole expedition ending in nothing, Gregory became irritated, and without listening to or admitting even the emperor's excuses, excommunicated him, for he maintained his sickness was a fiction.

In order to contradict these charges by salient facts, the emperor actually went the ensuing year to Palestine. But upon this the pope censured him even more strongly than before, declaring anyone under excommunication to be an unfit instrument for the service of God. And in order that Frederick might accomplish nothing great in the Holy Land, he sent thither commands that neither the clergy there nor the orders of knight-hood should have community with him; nay, he himself even caused his troops to make an incursion into Frederick's Italian lands and conquered a portion of Apulia.

[¹ Two years later his son Henry was crowned king of the Romans at Aachen.]



DUKE LEOPOLD VI RETURNING TO VIENNA FROM THE CRUSADES, 1219 A.D.

[1228-1237 A.D.]

But Frederick, in the meantime, speedily brought the war in Palestine to a successful termination. The sultan of Egypt, Kameel, partly through the great fame which the imperial sovereignty enjoyed in the East, and partly from personal esteem for Frederick (but weakened principally by family dissensions), concluded with him a truce for ten years, and gave up Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. The emperor then entered the Holy City and visited the grave, but the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the priests, obedient to the commands of the pope, would celebrate no religious service in his presence. Notwithstanding this, he performed his devotions, and in the presence of his nobles crowned himself with the crown of the kings of Jerusalem: a right he had acquired by his marriage with Yolande, the daughter of King John of Jerusalem; after which he returned quickly to Italy. His presence speedily repaired all that was lost, and the pope saw himself obliged, in 1230, to conclude a peace and remove the ban of excommunication.

FREDERICK RETURNS TO EUROPE

A tranquil moment seemed now to present itself in Frederick's life, but fate attacked him from another side. His own son, Henry, whom he had left in Germany as imperial viceroy, rebelled against him, excited, probably, by ambition and evil counsellors. Frederick returned to Germany, and with a bleeding heart he was obliged to overpower his own son by force, take him prisoner, and place him in confinement in Apulia, where, seven years afterwards, he died.

Upon this occasion Frederick held, in 1235, a grand diet at Mainz, where sixty-four princes and about twelve thousand nobles and knights were present. Here written laws were made relative to the peace of the country, and other regulations adopted, which showed the empire the prudence of its emperor. Before the diet assembled, he celebrated at Worms his espousal with his second consort, the English princess Isabella. The imperial bride was received upon the frontiers by a splendid suite of nobles and knights; in all the cities through which she passed the clergy met her, accompanied by choirs of sacred music, and the cheerful peals of the church-bells; and in Cologne, the streets of which were superbly decorated, she was received by ten thousand citizens on horseback, in rich clothing and arms. Carriages with organs, their wheels and horses concealed by purple coverings, caused an harmonious music to resound, and throughout the whole night choirs of maidens serenaded beneath the windows of the emperor's bride. At the marriage in Worms, four kings, eleven dukes, and thirty counts and markgrafs were present. Frederick made the most costly presents to the English ambassador; and, among the rest, he sent rich gifts of curiosities from the East to the king of England, as well as three leopards, the leopards being included in the English coat of arms.^b

The sister of Frederick II, duke of Austria, had been married to Henry, the rebellious son of the emperor, and the young duke participated in the revolt of his brother. His delinquency had hitherto remained unpunished; but his rapacious disposition and odious excesses rendered him generally obnoxious to the German princes and to his own immediate subjects. The emperor was therefore induced to visit Germany; and having vainly summoned Duke Frederick to a diet held at Augsburg, declared his estates forfeited, and immediately took possession of Austria (1237). At Speier the

emperor caused his second son, Conrad, to be elected king of the Romans; and then again returned to the reduction of Lombardy.^c

Frederick speedily, with the assistance of his valiant leader, the knight Ezzelino da Romano, conquered several of the allied cities, and so beat the Milanese in 1237 at Cortenuova that they would willingly have humbled themselves if he had granted only moderate conditions. But, unwarned by the example of his grandfather, he required them to submit at discretion; whilst the citizens, remembering earlier times, preferred dying under their shields, rather, they said, than by the rope, famine, or fire, and from this period commenced in reality the misfortunes of Frederick's life. According to the statement made by one of our writers, "he lost the favour of many men by his implacable severity." His old enemy also, Gregory IX, again rose up against him, joined henceforth the confederation of the cities, and excommunicated him a second time. Indeed, the enmity of both parties went so far, and degenerated so much into personal animosity, that the pope, comparing the emperor, in a letter to the other princes, "to that apocalyptic

monster rising from the sea, which was full of blasphemous names, and in colour chequered like a leopard," Frederick immediately replied with another passage from Scripture: "Another red horse arose from the sea, and he who sat thereon took peace from the earth, so that the living should kill each other."

But in that age there existed one great authority which operated powerfully on the side of the pope, and fought against Frederick — this was the power of "public opinion." The pope now cast upon the emperor the heavy charge that he was a despiser of religion and of the holy church, and was inclined to the infidelity of the Saracens (the fact that Frederick had employed, in the war with the Lombards, ten thousand Saracens, appeared to justify this charge); and although the emperor several times, both verbally and in writing, solemnly declared that he was a true Christian, and as such wished to live and die: nay, although he



A KNIGHT IN THIRTEENTH CENTURY ARMOUR

was formally examined in religion by several bishops, and caused a testimony of his orthodoxy to be published, this accusation of the pope still found belief amongst most men. In addition to this, Frederick's rash and capricious wit had too often thoughtlessly attacked sacred subjects; whilst his life also was not pure and blameless, but stained with the excesses of sensuality. Accordingly he sank more and more in general estimation, and it was this that embittered

[1241-1249 A.D.]

tered the latter period of his life, and at length entirely consumed him with vexation.

Gregory IX, who died in 1241, at the age of nearly one hundred years, was succeeded by Innocent IV, who was a still more violent enemy of the emperor than even Gregory had been. As Frederick still continued to be powerful in Italy, and threatened him even in Rome itself, the pope retired to Genoa, and thence to Lyons, in France. There he renewed, in 1245, in a large council the ban against the emperor, although the latter offered himself in peace and friendship, and was willing to remove all points of complaint, whilst, in addition to all this, his ambassador, Thaddeus of Suessa, pleaded most powerfully for his lord. Indeed, the pope went so far as solemnly to pronounce the deposition of the emperor from all his states and dignities.

RIVAL MONARCHS: HENRY RASPE AND WILLIAM OF HOLLAND

When the excommunication was circulated in Germany, many of the spiritual princes took advantage of the excitement produced thereby and elected, in 1246, at Würzburg, the landgraf, Henry Raspe of Thuringia, as rival emperor. The latter, however, could gain no absolute authority and died the following year. As Frederick, however, still remained in Italy, entangled in constant wars, the ecclesiastical princes elected another sovereign, Count William of Holland, a youth twenty years of age, who, in order that he might become the head of the order of knighthood, was forthwith solemnly promoted from his inferior rank of squire to that of knight. The greatest confusion now existed in Germany as well as in Italy. "After the emperor Frederick was excommunicated," says an ancient historian, "the robbers congratulated themselves, and rejoiced at the opportunities for pillage now presented to them. The ploughshares were transformed into swords, and the scythes into lances. Everyone supplied himself with steel and flint in order to be able to produce fire and spread incendiarism instantly."

In Italy the war continued uninterruptedly and without any decisive result, especially with the Lombard cities. The imperial arms were often successful, but the spirit of the emperor was bowed down, and at last his good fortune occasionally deserted him. In the year 1249 his own son, Enzo, whom he had made king of Sardinia, and of all his sons the most chivalric and handsome, was taken prisoner by the Bolognese in an unsuccessful combat near Fossalta. The irritated citizens refused all offers of ransom for the emperor's son, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, in which he continued for two-and-twenty years, and survived all the sons and grandsons of Frederick, who perished every one by poison, the sword, or the axe of the executioner.

Exclusive of the bitter grief caused by his son's misfortune, the emperor, in his last years, was afflicted with the additional pain and mortification of finding his long-trying friend and chancellor, Petrus de Vineia, to whom he had confided the most important affairs of his empire, charged with the crime of attempting to take the life of his master by poison. Matthew of Paris,^d at least, relates as certain that the physician De Vineia handed to the emperor a poisonous beverage as a medicine, which the latter, having had his suspicions excited, did not drink. The chancellor was thrown into prison and deprived of his eyesight, when he committed suicide by dashing his head against the wall. Whether De Vineia was guilty, or whether appearances which he could not remove, were alone against him is not to be decided,

owing to the insufficiency of the information handed down to us. The emperor, however, did not long survive this painful event; he died in 1250, in the arms of his son Manfred, at the castle of Fiorentino, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

His death produced great confusion in Italy, and still greater dissension in Germany. In the latter country two emperors again stood opposed to each other, throne against throne; the Hohenstaufen party acknowledging and upholding Conrad, Frederick's son, in opposition to William of Holland, the former having already, during his father's life, been elected king of the Romans.

But before we relate the history of these two rival emperors, it will be useful and interesting to cast our glance at the countries in the east and northeastern parts of Germany.

MINOR WARS AND THE PRUSSIAN CRUSADE

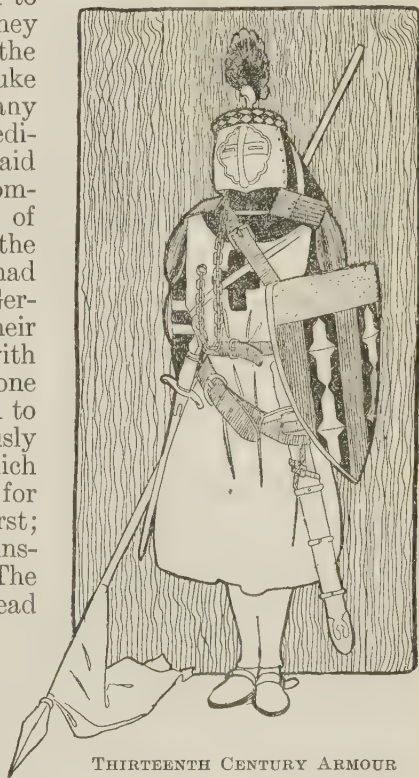
Europe was about this time threatened by a terrible enemy from the East, equally as dreadful as the Huns were in earlier times. This enemy consisted of the Mongolians, who ever since the year 1206, under Jenghiz Khan, had continued to ravage Asia, and led by him had advanced as far as Moravia and Silesia. In the year 1241 they gained a great battle near Liegnitz over the Silesians, under the command of Henry II of Liegnitz, who himself fell chivalrously fighting at the head of his troops; but by the valour with which he disputed the victory with the enemy, he destroyed the desire they had previously indulged in of penetrating further westward, as they now turned towards Hungary. Thus, by his own death, Henry the Pious saved Europe; and upon the same spot (Wahlstatt) where, on the 26th of August, 1813, the action called the battle of Katzbach was so victoriously fought.

In this emergency Frederick well felt what his duty was as first Christian prince, and very urgently pressed the other kings for their immediate assistance against the common enemy; but at this moment the general disorder was too great, and his appeal for aid remained without any effect. As regards Silesia and Hungary the incursion of the Mongolians produced this result, that many German peasants migrated to the deserted and depopulated districts, and henceforward lower Silesia became, indeed, more a German than a Slavonic country. Other neighbouring countries also were about this period occupied and populated by the Germans, consisting of the coasts of the Baltic, Prussia, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. As early as at the end of the twelfth century, Meinhard, a canon of the monastery of Legeberg, built a church at Exkälle (in the vicinity of the present Riga), where, shortly afterwards, Pope Clement III founded a bishopric, and from this central point the diffusion of Christianity extended in that district. But temporal force soon mixed itself in these spiritual and peaceful exertions; the resistance of the heathen Livonians induced Pope Celestine III to cause a crusade to be preached against them, and speedily a multitude of men from the north of Germany stormed towards these parts. A spiritual order of knighthood was formed under the name of the knights of the sword, and with the Christian doctrines the dominion of this order was by degrees extended over Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. The natives who remained after the sanguinary battles of this exterminating war were reduced to oppressive slavery, which was for the first time moderated in our own age by the emperor Alexander.

[1208-1273 A.D.]

In Prussia also the sword established at the same time with Christianity the German dominion and superiority. About the year 1208 a monk of the monastery of Kolwitz, in Pomerania, of the name of Christian, crossed the Vistula, and preached Christianity to the heathen Prussians. But when the pope made him a bishop, and wished to establish a formal hierarchal government, they rose in contest against him, in which the knights of the sword, together with Duke Henry the Bearded of Breslau and many warriors of the neighbouring lands, immediately marched forth and gave warlike aid to the new bishop. But little was accomplished until the latter, upon the advice of Duke Henry, summoned to his assistance the knights of the Teutonic order, which had originated in an institution of north Germany. Accordingly, in the year 1229, their first grand master, Hermann von Salza, with not more than twenty-eight knights and one hundred squires and attendants, advanced to Prussia; he proceeded in his work cautiously by establishing fortified places, among which Thorn, on the Vistula, serving, as it were, for the entrance gate of the country, was the first; and Kulm, Marienwerder, Elbing, Braunschweig, and others speedily followed. The dominion of the Teutonic order was spread even in Livonia, as the knights of the sword, after a severe defeat by the Livonians, in 1273, were received in it; and in 1255, upon the advice of Ottocar of Bohemia, who had made a crusade against the Prussians, in which Rudolf of Habsburg joined, the present metropolis of the country was founded, and in honour of him was called Königsberg. The cities around soon flourished again, and the peasants found themselves in a happier situation than their Livonian neighbours, for their services and imposts were rendered more moderate, and absolute slavery was only experienced by a few individuals as a punishment for their defection.

When we add to this the various emigrations which had commenced much earlier, populating the Vandal countries as well as Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and take into consideration the many flourishing cities which were built there by German citizens, we may be inclined to style the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the epoch of the migration of the Germans towards the northeast, the same as that of the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ is called the period of migration towards the west and south. Indeed, if we reckon the hundreds of thousands which Germany at the same period sent with the Crusades to the East, together with those sent with the Hohenstaufen emperors to Italy, we must really feel astonished at the population which that vast country produced, and assuredly cannot join with many other historians in calling a period presenting, like this, so much vigour and activity of life an epoch of absolute misery, servitude, and desolation.



THIRTEENTH CENTURY ARMOUR

Had the emperor Frederick rightly known the strength of Germany, and had he understood how to avail himself of the means to render it still more powerful by union, the whole of the east and north of Europe might then have become annexed to that country. But his eyes were turned exclusively upon Italy, and there he fruitlessly sacrificed all his strength.

FREDERICK'S EXTRAORDINARY MIND

If after contemplating the stormy phases which convulsed this emperor's life, we turn our observation to his noble qualities, his acute and sensitive feeling for all that was beautiful and grand, and, above all, to what he did for science and enlightenment generally in Naples, his hereditary land, we feel penetrated with profound regret when we find that all this, like a transitory apparition, passed away without any lasting trace; but more especially are we pained to witness how he neglected to reign with affection and devotion over his German subjects. Since Charlemagne and Alfred of England no potentate had existed who loved and promoted civilisation in its broadest sense so much as Frederick II. At his court, the same as at that of Charlemagne, were assembled the noblest and most intellectual minds of that age; through them he caused a multitude of Greek works, and in particular those of Aristotle, to be translated from the Arabic into Latin.

He collected for that period a very considerable library, partly by researches made in his own states, partly during his stay in Syria, and through his alliance with the Arab princes. Besides, he did not retain these treasures jealously and covetously for himself, but imparted them to others; as, for instance, he presented the works of Aristotle to the University of Bologna, although that city was inimically disposed towards him, to which he added the following address: "Science must go hand in hand with government, legislation, and the pursuits of war, because these, otherwise subjected to the allurements of the world and to ignorance, either sink into indolence, or else, if unchecked, stray beyond all sanctioned limits. Wherefore, from youth upwards we have sought and loved science, whereby the soul of man becomes enlightened and strengthened, and without which his life is deprived of all regulation and innate freedom. Now that the noble possession of science is not diminished by being imparted, but, on the contrary, grows thereby still more fruitful, we accordingly will not conceal the produce of much exertion, but will only consider our own possessions as truly delightful when we shall have imparted so great a benefit to others. But none have a greater right to them than those great men who, from the original ancient and rich sources, have derived new streams, and thereby supply the thirsty with a sweet and healthy refreshment. Wherefore, receive these works as a present from your friend, the emperor."

A splendid monument of his noble mind and genius is presented in his code of laws for his hereditary kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and which he caused to be composed chiefly by Petrus de Vineia. According to the plan of a truly great legislator, he was not influenced by the idea of creating something entirely new, but he built upon the basis of what already existed, adapted whatsoever to him appeared good and necessary for his main object, and so formed a work which gave him as ruler the necessary power to establish a firm foundation for the welfare of his people. Unfortunately the convulsions of his later reign and the following periods never allowed this grand work fully to develop its results.

[1250 A.D.]

Frederick himself possessed a knowledge unusual, and acquired by few men of his time. He understood Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, and Arabic. Amongst the sciences he loved chiefly natural history, and proved himself a master in that science by a work he composed upon the art of hawking; for it not only displays the most perfect and thorough investigation into the mode of life, nourishment, diseases, and the whole nature of falcons, but dwells also upon their construction generally, both internally and externally. This desire after a fundamental knowledge in natural science had the happiest influence, especially upon the medical sciences. Physicians were obliged to study anatomy before everything else; they were referred to the enthusiastic application of Hippocrates and Galen, and not allowed to practise their profession until they had received from the faculty at Salerno or Naples a satisfactory and honourable certificate; besides which, they were obliged to pass an examination before the imperial chamber, formed of a committee of members competent in the science.

The emperor founded the University of Naples in 1224, and he considerably improved and enlarged the medical school at Salerno. At both places also, through his zeal, were formed the first collections of art, which, unfortunately, in the tumults of the following ages, were eventually destroyed.

Of Frederick II it is related, as was already stated of Charlemagne, that the eastern princes emulated each other in sending him artistic works as signs of friendship. Amongst the rest, the sultan of Egypt presented him with an extraordinary tent, in which a sun and moon revolved, moved by invisible agents, and showed the hours of the day and night in just and exact relation.

At the court of the emperor there were often contests in science and art, and victorious wreaths bestowed, in which scenes Frederick shone as a poet, and invented and practised many difficult measures of verse. His chief judge, Petrus de Vinca, the composer of the code of laws, wrote also the first sonnet extant in Italian. Minds, in fact, developed themselves, and were in full action in the vicinity and presence of the great emperor, and there they commanded full scope for all their powers.

His own personal merit was so distinguished and universally recognised, that he was enabled to collect around him the most celebrated men of the age without feeling any jealousy towards them — always a proof of true greatness. His most violent enemies even could not withhold from him their admiration of his great qualities. His exterior also was both commanding and prepossessing. Like his grandfather he was fair, but not so tall although well and strongly formed, and very skilful in all warlike and corporeal exercises. His forehead, nose, and mouth bore the impression of that delicate and yet firm character which we admire in the works of the Greeks, and name after them; and his eye generally expressed the most serene cheerfulness, but on important and serious occasions it indicated gravity and severity. Thus, in general, the happy conjunction of mildness with seriousness was, throughout his life, the distinguishing feature of this emperor.^b

ESTIMATES OF FREDERICK

James Bryce sums up Frederick as follows:

"Upon the events of that terrific strife, for which emperor and pope girded themselves up for the last time, the narrative of Frederick II's career, with its romantic adventures, its sad picture of marvellous powers lost on an

age not ripe for them, blasted as by a curse in the moment of victory, it is not necessary, were it even possible, here to enlarge. That conflict did indeed determine the fortunes of the German kingdom no less than of the republics of Italy, but it was upon Italian ground that it was fought out and it is to Italian history that its details belong. So too of Frederick himself. Out of the long array of the Germanic successors of Charles, he is, with Otto III, the only one who comes before us with a genius and a frame of character that are not those of a Northman or a Teuton. There dwelt in him, it is true, all the energy and knightly valour of his father Henry and his grandfather Barbarossa. But along with these, and changing their direction, were other gifts, inherited perhaps from his Italian mother and fostered by his education among the orange-groves of Palermo — a love of luxury and beauty, an intellect refined, subtle, philosophical.

“Through the mist of calumny and fable it is but dimly that the truth of the man can be discerned, and the outlines that appear, serve to quicken rather than appease the curiosity with which we regard one of the most extraordinary personages in history. A sensualist, yet also a warrior and a politician; a profound lawgiver and an impassioned poet; in his youth fired by crusading fervour, in latter life persecuting heretics while himself accused of blasphemy and unbelief; of winning manners and ardently beloved by his followers, but with the stain of more than one cruel deed upon his name, he was the marvel of his own generation, and succeeding ages looked back with awe, not unmingled with pity, upon the inscrutable figure of the last emperor who had braved all the terrors of the church and died beneath her ban, the last who had ruled from the sands of the ocean to the shores of the Sicilian Sea. But while they pitied they condemned. The undying hatred of the papacy threw round his memory a lurid light; him and him alone of all the imperial line, Dante, the worshipper of the empire, must perforce deliver to the flames of hell.”^{e1}

T. F. Henderson, who calls him “the most remarkable figure of the Middle Ages,” gives the following estimate of him:

The general contemporary opinion regarding Frederick II is expressed in the words *stupor mundi* [the amazement of the world]; and whatever amount either of approbation or censure may be bestowed upon his career, wonder and perplexity are the predominant sentiments which its contemplation even yet awakens. It was not merely that his mental endowments were exceptionally great, but that, owing to his mingled German and Italian blood, the various influences to which he was subjected in his early years, the strange times in which he lived, and the events with which destiny had connected him, his character was exhibited in such multiform aspects and in such an individual and peculiar light that in history we look in vain for his parallel. As to the nature of his religious faith, there are no data for arriving at a certain conclusion. The theory of M. Huillard-Bréholles^g that he wished to unite with the functions of emperor those of a spiritual pontiff, and aspired to be the founder of a new religion, is a conjecture insufficiently supported by the isolated facts and statements and the general consideration on which it is made to rest.

Indeed, the character of Frederick seems to have been widely removed from that of a religious enthusiast; and at every critical period of his life he was urged to daring and adventurous projects, rather by external circumstances than by either the promptings of ambition or the consciousness of

¹ *Quà dentro è lo secondo Federico.—Inferno, Canto X.*

[1250 A.D.]

divine commission. On any theory his enactments in reference to religion are, however, somewhat enigmatical. His persecution of heretics may not have been entirely due to a desire to vindicate his orthodoxy before his Christian subjects; but although his ideas regarding freedom of conscience were either inconsistent or hampered in their action by a regard to expediency, his toleration of the Jews equally with the Mohammedans prevents our ascribing his toleration of the latter either to secret sympathy with that form of faith or wholly to political considerations. He was in all probability a believer in astrology, and he shared in many of the other superstitious ideas of his time. But there is no indication that he dreaded any other than temporal consequences from the ban of the church; and if certain features of the Christian system had perhaps an attraction for him, yet both from his reported jests and serious conversation it is evident that his Christian belief, if he possessed one, bore little resemblance to that current in his age.

In the extravagant accusations of cruelty, perfidy, and licentiousness with which the church has assailed his memory there is some nucleus of truth; but a candid judgment will arrive at the conclusion that few exposed to such pernicious influences have shown such a decided preference for goodness and truth, and that there have been almost none who against such immense difficulties had wrought to such wise purpose in behalf of human progress and enlightenment, or have fought such a resolute and advantageous battle in behalf of spiritual freedom. In this contest he was not an immediate victor; and indeed the dissolution of the imperial power in Italy which followed his death must be chiefly traced to the fact that his policy was governed by principles too much in advance of his age. But although the beneficial results of his reign are not at a first glance so palpable and undeniable as some of its injurious results, yet so far was he from being a mere untimely precursor of the new era which dawned in Europe more than two centuries after his death, that, perhaps in a greater degree than any other, he was instrumental in hastening its arrival, both by sowing the first seeds of the Renaissance in Italy, and by giving to the old system of things a shock which was felt throughout Europe, and continued to work silently long after.

After the death of Frederick the followers of Abbot Joachim continued to assert that he was still alive, and even attempted to personate him. The



GERMAN WOMAN OF QUALITY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

superstition that the emperor continued to haunt the castle of Kyffhäuser, at one time thought to refer to Frederick Barbarossa, has now been shown to have its origin in the tradition that Frederick II still lived after he had ceased to exercise the functions of emperor.^f

The news of the emperor's death was received with exultation by the pontiff. "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." With insolent triumph he wrote to the city of Naples, declaring that he took her forthwith into his possession, and that she should never again be under the control of a temporal sovereign. He also declared the Hohenstaufens to have forfeited their right upon Apulia and Sicily, and even upon Swabia. [He offered the crown first to Richard, earl of Cornwall, then to Charles of Anjou, but both declined.] The Alemannic princes made a lavish use of the freedom from all restraint granted to them by the pope. The Alpine nobles became equally lawless.

The imperial cause was sustained in upper Italy by Ezzelino, in lower Italy by Manfred. This prince, Enzo's rival in talent, valour, and beauty, was a son of the emperor by his mistress Bianca Lancia, whom he afterwards married. Born and educated in Italy, he was the idol of his countrymen, and as prince of Tarentum was by no means a despicable antagonist to the pope.

CONRAD THE FOURTH (1250-1254 A.D.)

Conrad IV, Frederick's eldest son and successor, everywhere driven from the field in Germany, took refuge in Italy, and, trusting that his father's death had conciliated the pope, offered in his necessity to submit to any conditions he might impose, if he were recognised emperor by him. His advances were treated with silent contempt. Manfred, with a truly noble and fraternal spirit, ceded the sovereignty of Italy to his brother, whom he aided by both word and deed. In 1253 the royal brothers captured Capua and Naples, where Conrad placed a bridle in the mouth of an antique colossal horse's head, the emblem of the city.

The terrible fate that pursued the imperial family was not to be averted by success. Their younger brother, Henry, the son of Isabella of England, to whom the throne of Sicily had been destined by his father, suddenly expired, and in 1254 his fate was shared by Conrad in his twenty-sixth year. Their deaths were ascribed to poison, said by the Guelfs to have been administered by Conrad to Henry, and by Manfred to Conrad. The crime was, nevertheless, indubitably committed by the papal faction, the pope and the Guelfs being solely interested in the destruction of the Hohenstaufens.

MANFRED (1254-1266 A.D.)

Manfred's rule in Italy was certainly secured to him by the death of his legitimate brothers, but on the other hand it deprived him of all hope of aid from Germany; and his total inability unaided to oppose the pope was evident immediately after Conrad's death, when he made terms with the pontiff, to whom he ceded the whole of lower Italy, Tarentum alone excepted.

He was, nevertheless, speedily necessitated again to take up arms against the lieutenant of the pope, and was driven by suspicion of a design against his life to make a last and desperate defence. The German mercenaries at Nocera under the command of the markgraf von Hochberg, and the Moors who had served under the emperor Frederick, flocked beneath his banner, and on

[1254-1266 A.D.]

the death of the pontiff (1254), who expired on the anniversary of the death of Frederick II, affairs suddenly changed. The cardinals elected Alexander IV, who was powerless against Manfred's party; and the son of Conrad IV, the young duke Conradin of Swabia, whose minority was passed in obscurity at the court of his uncle of Bavaria, being unable to assert his claim to the crown of Apulia,¹ the hopes of the Ghibellines of lower Italy naturally centred in Manfred, who was unanimously proclaimed king by his faithful vassals, and crowned at Palermo (1258).

In upper Italy the affairs of the Ghibellines wore a contrary aspect. Ezzelino, after making a desperate defence at Cassano, was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner. He died of his wounds (1259), scornfully rejecting to the last all spiritual aid. His more gentle brother, Alberich, after seeing his wife and children cruelly butchered, was dragged to death at a horse's tail. The rest of the Ghibelline chiefs met with an equally wretched fate. These horrible scenes of bloodshed worked so forcibly upon the feelings of even the hardened Italians, that numbers arrayed themselves in sackcloth, and did penance at the grave of Alberich. This circumstance gave rise to the sect of the Flagellants, who ran through the streets lamenting, praying, preaching repentance, and wounding themselves and others with bloody stripes, in order to atone for the sins of the world.

It was in the course of this year that Manfred solemnised his second nuptials, with Helena, the daughter of Michael of Ætolia and Cyprus, who was then in her seventeenth year, and famed for her extraordinary loveliness. The uncommon beauty of the bridal pair, and the charms of their court, which, as in Frederick's time, was composed of the most distinguished bards and the most beautiful women, were such as to justify the expression used by a poet of the times, "Paradise has once more appeared upon earth." Manfred, like his father and his brother Enzo, was himself a minnesinger. His marriage with Helena had gained for him the alliance of Greece, and the union of Constanza, his daughter by a former marriage, with Pedro of Aragon, confirmed his amity with Spain. He was now enabled to send aid to the distressed Ghibellines in Lombardy (1260). They were again victorious at Montaperto, and the gallant Pallavicini became his lieutenant in upper Italy. The pope was compelled to flee from Rome to Viterbo. The city of Manfredonia, so named after its founder, Manfred, was built at this period.

The Guelfs, alarmed at Manfred's increasing power, now sought for foreign aid, and raised a Frenchman, Urban IV, to the pontifical throne. This pope induced Charles of Anjou, the brother of the French monarch, who had already "fished in troubled waters" in Flanders, to grasp at the crown of Apulia. On the death of Urban (1265), another Frenchman, Clement IV, succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, and greatly contributed to hasten the projected invasion. Charles was gloomy and priest-ridden; extremely unprepossessing in his person, and of an olive complexion; invariably cold, silent, and reserved in manner, impatient of gaiety or cheerfulness, and so cold-blooded and cruel as to be viewed with horror even by his bigoted brother, St. Louis. This ill-omened prince at first fixed his residence in the Arlat, where the emperor's rights were without a champion, and then sailed with a powerful fleet to Naples (1266). France, until now a listless spectator, for the first time opposed her influence to that of Germany in Italy, and henceforward pursued the policy of taking advantage of the

[¹ It was reported that he was dead, but when, after Manfred's coronation, his mother claimed the crown for the child, it was too late.]

disunited state of the German Empire in order to seize one province after another.

Manfred collected his whole strength to oppose the French invader, but the clergy tampered with his soldiery and sowed treason in his camp. Charles no sooner landed than Riccardo di Caseta abandoned the mountain pass intrusted to his defence, and allowed the French to advance unmolested as far as Benevento, where, on the 26th of February, 1266, a decisive battle was fought, in which Manfred, notwithstanding his gallant efforts, being worsted, threw himself in despair in the thickest of the fight, where he fell covered with wounds. Charles, on the score of heresy, refused him honourable burial, but the French soldiery, touched by his beauty and gallantry, cast each of them a stone upon his body, which was by this means buried beneath a hillock still known by the natives as the rock of roses.¹

Helena, accompanied by her daughter Beatrice and her three infant sons, Henry, Frederick, and Anselino, sought safety in flight, but was betrayed to Charles, who threw her and her children into a dungeon, where she shortly languished and died. Beatrice was saved from a similar fate by Pedro of Aragon, to whom she was delivered in exchange for a son of Charles of Anjou, who had fallen into his hands. The three boys were consigned to a narrow dungeon, where, loaded with chains, half-naked, ill-fed, and untaught, they remained in perfect seclusion for a space of thirty-one years; in 1297 they were released from their chains and allowed to be visited by a priest and a physician. The eldest, Henry, died in 1309. With fanatical rage Charles destroyed every vestige of the reign of the Hohenstaufens in lower Italy.

Italy was forever torn from the empire, from which Burgundy, too long neglected for the sake of her classic sister, was also severed. Her southern provinces, Provence, Vienne, and Toulouse were annexed to France, whilst her more northern ones, the countships of Burgundy and Savoy, became an almost independent state.

Whilst the name and power of the Hohenstaufen family were being thus annihilated in Italy, Germany seemed to have forgotten her ancient fame. The princes and vassals, who mainly owed their influence to the Hohenstaufens, had ungratefully deprived the orphaned Conradin of his inheritance. Swabia was his merely in name, and he would in all probability have shared the fate of his Italian relatives had he not found an asylum in the court of Ludwíg of Bavaria.

WILLIAM OF HOLLAND (1247-1256 A.D.)

William of Holland, with a view of increasing his popularity by an alliance with the Guelfs, espoused Elisabeth, the daughter of Otto of Brunswick. The faction of the Guelfs had, however, been too long broken ever to regain strength, and the circumstance of the destruction of his false crown (the genuine one being still in Italy) during a conflagration which burst out on the night of his nuptials, and almost proved fatal to him and his bride, rendered him an object of fresh ridicule. He disgraced the dignity he had assumed by his lavish sale or gift of the imperial prerogatives and lands to his adherents, whom he by these means bribed to uphold his cause, and by his

¹ *L'ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In co del ponte, presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.*

—DANTE, Canto III, *del Purgatorio*.

[1247-1256 A.D.]

complete subserviency to the pope. His despicable conduct received its fitting reward; no city, none of the temporal nor even of the spiritual lords throughout the empire, tolerated his residence within their demesnes. Conrad, archbishop of Cologne, ordered the roof of the house in which he resided at Neuss to be set on fire in order to enforce his departure. At Utrecht a stone was cast at him in the church. His wife was seduced by a count von Waldeck. This wretched emperor was at length compelled to retire into Holland, where he employed himself in attempting to reduce a petty nation, the West Frisians, beneath his yoke. This expedition terminated fatally to himself alone; when crossing a frozen morass on horseback, armed *cap-à-pie*, the ice gave way beneath the weight, and whilst in this helpless situation, unable either to extricate or defend himself, he was attacked and slain by some Frisian boors, to whom he was personally unknown. On discovering his rank, they were filled with terror at their own daring, and buried him with the utmost secrecy. The regency of Holland was committed to Adelheid, the wife of John d'Avesnes, during the minority of her nephew, Floris V, the son of William. She was expelled by the Dutch, who disdained a woman's control. Floris succeeded to the government on attaining his majority. On the death of the emperor, John d'Avesnes was induced by a political motive to conciliate his mother and step-brothers, who were supported by France. The departure of Charles of Anjou was purchased with large sums of money. Guy de Dampierre obtained Flanders; John d'Avesnes, merely Hainault. Namur passed from the hands of Philip, the brother of Baldwin of Constantinople, by intermarriage, into those of the French monarch, but was sold by Louis to Guy de Dampierre, who bestowed it on one of his sons. Artois remained annexed to France.

On the death of Conrad IV and of William of Holland, fresh competitors for the crown appeared, although undemanded by the German princes, each of whom strove to protract the confusion that reigned throughout the empire and utterly to annihilate the imperial power in order to increase their own. The crown was, in consequence, only claimed by two foreign princes, who rivalled each other in wealth; and the world beheld the extraordinary spectacle of the sale of the shadow crown of Germany to the highest bidder. The electoral princes were even base enough to work upon the vanity of the wealthy count Hermann von Henneberg, who coveted the imperial title, in order to extract from him large sums of money, without having the slightest intention to perform their promises. Alfonso of Castile sent twenty thousand silver marks from Spain, and was in return elected emperor by Treves, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg. Richard, duke of Cornwall, however,



GERMAN PIPER

sent thirty-two tons of gold from England, which purchased for him the votes of Cologne, Mainz, and Bavaria; and, to the scandal of all true Germans, both competitors, neither of whom was present, were simultaneously elected emperor — Alfonso in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Richard outside the walls of the same city (1257). Alfonso, buried in the study of astronomy, never visited Germany. Richard claimed the throne, without regarding the superior rights of Conradin, in right of his wife, the sister of Frederick II, as the heir of the Hohenstaufens, a claim which drew upon him the suspicions of the pontiff, who, notwithstanding Richard's apparent humility, delayed his recognition of him as emperor. In Germany, where he made his first appearance on the defeat of the citizens of Treves at Boppard by his rival Conrad of Cologne, he was merely held in consideration as long as his treasury was full. Necessity ere long compelled him to return to England. In 1269 he revisited Germany, where, during his short stay, he attempted to abolish the customs levied on the Rhine. It was during this visit that he became enamoured of Göde von Falkenstein, the most beautiful woman of the day, whom he persuaded to accompany him to England, where he died in 1272.ⁱ

"Two kings when nobody wanted one," is the motto for that sad time when no German prince wore the depreciated crown. Once hotly disputed, it now attracted only foreigners to its purchase.^k

CONRADIN (1267-1268 A.D.)

Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufens, resided sometimes in the court of Ludwig of Bavaria, at other times under his protection at the castle of Ravensburg on the Lake of Constance, an ancient allod of the Guelfs, which had formerly been bequeathed by Welf the elder to Barbarossa. In this retreat he associated with a young man of his own age, Frederick, the son of Hermann, markgraf of Baden. Frederick assumed the surname of "Austria," on account of his mother, who was a descendant of the house of Babenberg; he cherished, moreover, a hope of gaining possession of that duchy, on the restoration of the Hohenstaufens. Conrad and Frederick became inseparable companions; equally enthusiastic and imaginative, their ambitious aspirations found vent in song, and sportive fancy embellished the stern features of reality. One of Conradin's ballads is still extant.

The seclusion of Conradin's life and the neglect with which he was treated became daily more harassing to him as he grew up, and he gladly accepted a proposal on the part of the Italian Ghibellines, inviting him to place himself at their head. In the autumn of 1267 he crossed the Alps at the head of ten thousand men, and was welcomed at Verona by the Scala, the chiefs of the Ghibelline faction. The meanness of his German relatives and friends was here undisguisedly displayed. Ludwig, after persuading him to part with his remaining possessions at a low price, quitted him, and was followed by Meinhard and by the greater number of the Germans. This desertion reduced his army to three thousand men.

The Italian Ghibellines remained true to their word. Verona raised an army in Lombardy, Pisa equipped a large fleet, the Moors of Luceria took up arms, and Rome welcomed the youthful heir of the Hohenstaufens by forcing the pope once more to retreat to Viterbo. He was also joined by two brothers of Alfonso the phantom monarch, Henry and Frederick, and marched unopposed to Rome, at whose gates he was met and conducted to the capitol by

[1267-1273 A.D.]

a procession of beautiful girls bearing musical instruments and flowers. The Pisans meanwhile gained a signal victory off Messina over the French fleet, and burned a great number of the enemy's ships. Conradin entered lower Italy and encountered the French army under Charles, at Tagliacozzo, where his Germans, after beating the enemy back, deeming the victory their own, carelessly dispersed to seek for booty; some among them even refreshed themselves by bathing. In this condition they were suddenly attacked by the French, who had watched their movements, and were completely put to the rout, August 23rd, 1268. Conradin and Frederick owed their escape to the fleetness of their steeds, but were basely betrayed into Charles' hands at Astura when crossing the sea to Pisa by Giovanni Frangipani, whose family had been laden with benefits by the Hohenstaufens.

Conradin, whilst playing at chess with his friend in prison, calmly listened to the sentence of death pronounced upon him. On the 22nd of October, 1268, he was conducted, with Frederick and his other companions, to the scaffold erected in the market-place at Naples. The French were even roused to indignation at this spectacle, and Charles' son-in-law, Robert, count of Flanders, drawing his sword, cut down the officer commissioned to read the sentence of death in public, saying, as he dealt the blow, "Wretch! how darest thou condemn such a great and excellent knight?" Conradin, in his address to the people said, "I cite my judge before the highest tribunal. My blood, shed on this spot, shall cry to heaven for vengeance. Nor do I esteem my Swabians and Bavarians, my Germans, so low as not to trust that this stain on the honour of the German nation will be washed out by them in French blood." He then threw his glove on the ground, charging him who raised it to bear it to Pedro, king of Aragon, to whom, as his nearest relative, he bequeathed all his claims. The glove was raised by Henry, truchsess of Waldburg, who found within it the seal ring of the unfortunate prince, and henceforth bore in his arms the three black lions of the Hohenstaufens.

His last bequests thus made, Conradin knelt fearlessly before the block, and the head of the last of the Hohenstaufens rolled on the scaffold.¹ A cry of agony burst from the heart of his friend, whose head also fell; nor was Charles' revenge satiated until almost every Ghibelline had fallen by the hand of the executioner.

The Germans, nevertheless, looked on with indifference, and shortly afterwards elected an emperor, Rudolf von Habsburg, who married his daughter to the son of Charles of Anjou, and who was the tool of the pope and of the French monarch. The German muse alone mourned the fall of the great Swabian dynasty. Conradin and Frederick were buried side by side to the right of the altar, beneath the marble pavement of the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, in the market-place of Naples, where the execution took place. At the end of the seventeenth century the pavement of the church was renewed, and Conradin was found with his head resting on his folded hands. The remains were left in their original state. The (modern) inscription on the tomb runs thus: "*Qui giacciono Corradino di Stoeffen, ultimo de' duchi dell' imperiale casa di Suevia, e Federico d' Asburgh, ultimo de' duchi di' Austria, Anno 1269.*" The raiser of this monument must have possessed

¹ Malaspina,^h although a Guelf and a papal writer, sublimely describes Conrad's wretched fate, his courage and his beauty. "*Non voce querula, sed ad cælum jungebat palmas. Suum Domino spiritum commendabat, nec divertebat caput sed exhibebat se quasi victimam et casoris truces ictus in patientia expectabat. Madet terra pulchro cruore diffuso, tabetque juvenili sanguine cruentata. Jacet veluti flos purpureus improvida falce succisus.*"

more pious than knowledge when he made the luckless Frederick the last of the Habsburgs.

Conradin's unhappy mother, who had vainly offered a large ransom for his life, devoted the money to the erection of the monastery of Stams, in a wild valley of the Tyrol. Charles' next work was the destruction of Luceria, where every Moor was put to the sword. Conrad, a son of Frederick of Antioch, a natural descendant of Frederick II, alone escaped death. A contrary fate awaited Henry, the youthful son of the emperor Richard, the kinsman and heir of the Hohenstaufens, who, when tarried by chance at Viterbo on his way to the Holy Land, was, by Charles' command, assassinated (1274). The unfortunate king Enzo was also implicated in Conradin's fate.

Thus terminated the royal race of the Hohenstaufens, in which the highest earthly dignity and power, the most brilliant achievements in arms, extraordinary personal beauty, and rich poetical genius were combined, and beneath whose rule the Middle Age and its creations, the church, the empire, the states, religion, and art, attained a height whence they necessarily sank as the Hohenstaufens fell, like flowers that fade at parting day.

Charles of Anjou retained Apulia, but was deprived of Sicily. In the night of the 30th of March, 1282, a general conspiracy among the Ghibellines in this island broke out, and in this night, known as the Sicilian Vespers, all the French were assassinated, and Manfred's daughter, Constanza, and her husband, Pedro of Aragon, were proclaimed the sovereigns of Sicily.

It is remarkable that about this time the Crusades ended, and all the European conquests in the East were lost. Constantinople was delivered in 1261 by the Greeks from the bad government of the French Pullanes, and in 1262 Antioch was retaken by the Turks. The last crusade was undertaken in 1269 by Louis of France, Charles of Anjou, and Edward, prince of Wales, who were joined by a Frisian fleet which ought to have been equipped instead in Conrad's aid. After besieging Tunis and enforcing a tribute, the French returned home. The English reached the Holy Land (1272), but met with such ill success that Tripolis was lost in 1288, and Acre in 1291. On the reduction of these cities, the last strongholds of the Christians, Tyre voluntarily surrendered and Palestine was entirely deserted by the Franks.

DISINTEGRATION OF IMPERIAL POWER

The triumph of the pope over the emperor was complete; but the temporal power of which the emperor had been deprived, instead of falling wholly into the hands of his antagonist, was scattered among the princes and cities of the empire; and, although the loss of the emperor had deprived the empire of her head, vitality still remained in her different members.

The power of the Guelphs had ceased a century before the fall of the Hohenstaufens. The princes that remained possessed but mediocre authority, no ambition beyond the concentration of their petty states and the attainment of individual independence. The limited nature of this policy attracted little attention and ensured its success. Equally indifferent to the downfall of the Hohenstaufens and to the creation of the mock sovereigns placed over them by the pope, they merely sought the advancement of their petty interests by the usurpation of every prerogative hitherto enjoyed by the crown within their states, and thus transformed the empire, which had up to this period been an elective monarchy, into a ducal aristocracy. Unsatisfied with releasing themselves from their allegiance to their sovereign, they also

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strove, aided by their feudal vassals and by the clergy, to crush civil liberty by carrying on, as will hereafter be seen, a disastrous warfare against the cities, in which they were warmly supported by the pope, whom they had assisted in exterminating the imperial house. The power they individually possessed was, moreover, too insignificant to rouse the jealousy of the pontiff, whom they basely courted and implicitly obeyed. The people, meanwhile (at least those among the citizens and knights who still ventured freely to express their opinions), bitterly lamented the dissolution of the empire, its internal anarchy, the arbitrary rule of the princes, their utter disregard of order, public security, and national right, and loudly demanded the election of a successor to the imperial throne.ⁱ

Thus expired the Hohenstaufen family. In lordliness and grace, in personal greatness and renown, it stands, perhaps, alone in history. Even the Saxon and the Salic emperors fall short of it in these respects. But its ruin was only the more frightful; a fall without a parallel, in which this dynasty, and with it the glory of the empire, fell from the highest earthly greatness within a generation. In spite of all its splendour, the internal decomposition of the empire had become complete under this house. When the Saxon dynasty expired, the great fiefs or duchies were hereditary; when the Franconian dynasty expired, all fiefs, even the small ones, had become so; but at the end of the Hohenstaufens these fiefs had become independent principalities. The emperors had been diligent in splitting up the great duchies, which endangered the imperial supremacy, into small districts, under both clerical and lay lords. Now this disintegration was general, and as yet without immediate evil consequences. In extreme need, as at the Mongol invasion, the neighbour's likely to be next attacked freely rendered their aid; and the valour of its members still protected the union. But the collective strength of the German nation no longer existed; and six hundred years were to pass before it should again meditate common enterprises, and renew the ancient empire.^j





CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE

[1125-1273 A.D.]

THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION

THE period over which we have passed affords ample materials for tracing the progress of the Germanic constitution. The first peculiarity regards the alarming decline of the imperial authority. (1) From the time of Frederick II, the crown no longer possessed the right of deciding even in litigated ecclesiastical elections. The popes had found that this privilege, exacted from them by the concordat of 1122, had uniformly led to abuse; that it enabled the sovereign to exercise his influence as effectually as if he possessed the undisputed right of nomination. But to remonstrate with princes so powerful as those of the Hohenstaufen dynasty was vain, and they were compelled to await a more favourable opportunity of vindicating the independence of elections. It was presented by the fall of the second Frederick; they refused to favour any candidate who hesitated to surrender the obnoxious privilege; and they accordingly succeeded in transferring from the crown to themselves the right of deciding whenever there was a division among the electors. (2) Again, even Frederick II was compelled to publish two pragmatic sanctions, by one of which he renounced, for himself and successors, the right of inheriting the movable effects of deceased ecclesiastics, and of demanding other subsidies than those fixed by feudal custom; by another he extended a similar indulgence to the secular princes, in renouncing all claim to purveyance. (3) The imperial jurisdiction was still further circumscribed for the aggrandisement of the states. By the ancient laws of Germany, the sovereign was forbidden to revoke any cause to a tribunal held beyond the confines of the province where the defendant resided. If, therefore, he would exercise his judicial prerogative, he was compelled to travel from province to province to hear and decide causes. So long as the institution of counts palatine was in its full vigour, much of this laborious duty devolved on these deputies; but these offices gradually fell into insignificance, probably because they were too dependent on the local dukes to have any power of their own. It is certain that they ceased to be the slightest check on those great feudatories; so that in 1231, when Frederick abolished

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the jurisdiction of the royal judges over the vassals of those princes, he merely abolished a vain formality.

Owing to the anarchy of the times, however, it was found that, if the public tranquillity were to be maintained, there must be some tribunal to take cognisance of the endless private wars and other disorders which rendered individual and even social security a mere name. Hence, in 1235, the same emperor was authorised to create a new judge, who should sit daily, but who, however, should hold no tribunal beyond the precincts of the court, and in no degree interfere with the local jurisdiction of the dukes. Yet he took cognisance throughout the empire of all cases which, by the Roman law, now spreading its roots widely in the Teutonic soil, were the peculiar province of the monarch. Still a vast majority of cases lay within the competency of the ducal tribunals, who thus exercised a jurisdiction in other countries inherent in the crown, or delegated to royal judges. (4) The imperial revenues were diminished. Of these, the reception of mortuary and purveyance fines, considerable in amount, ceased; but the loss was small in comparison with the usurpations of most fiscal and regalian rights by the states. The exercise of the judicial functions placed at the disposal of the dukes all such fines as were levied by their courts. During three centuries they had possessed the privilege — originally a concession from the crown, — of coining and fixing the value of money; now, by means which no contemporary historian condescends to explain, they obtained two thirds of the returns from all gold and silver mines. Anciently the Jews were the exclusive serfs of the emperor; and as the price of protection they paid him a capitation tax: now, though on the imperial domain they still stood in the same relation to him, within the jurisdiction of the dukes they began to be regarded as subject to the local treasury.

Again, several of the imperial cities, which had hitherto paid some annual revenue to the emperor, procured, probably in consequence of express stipulations to that effect — as the express condition of joining the imperial cause — exemptions from the obligation, and were henceforth styled free as well as imperial. We may add that the Germanic domain, which extended on both banks of the Rhine from Cologne to Bâle, was invaded by the four electors of Franconia, *viz.*, by the three archbishops and the count palatine of the Rhine. It is, indeed, manifest that, had not the late emperors possessed immense patrimonial domains, they could not have sustained the dignity of the station. William of Holland had little patrimony: he was consequently so poor as to be compelled to borrow money for his ordinary expenses; a necessity which virtually annihilated what little influence the constitution had left him.

At this period, however, neither the jurisdiction nor the revenues of the crown were well defined. There was evidently a struggle between it and the great dukes — the former to retain, the latter to usurp the rights which had hitherto been inherent in the sovereignty. In some cases, too, there appears to have been a compromise between the two parties. Thus, though the civil and criminal jurisdiction was engrossed and valued by the states, on account of the advantage they derived from pecuniary compositions or fines, there were some cases in which appeals to him were permitted, and some of which he took cognisance even in the first instance. These cases, however, were generally decided by the new judge of the court; when the parties implicated were of high dignity, the sovereign was expected to preside; but even then he was compelled to act with seven assessors of equal or higher rank than the parties themselves. It has been contended by some

writers that the Swabian emperors conferred vacant duchies and other princely fiefs on their own authority. To us this appears a rash assertion; for though the chroniclers intimate the mere fact, unaccompanied by any observation, the instruments which remain of that period distinctly express the consent of the nobles, or of the states.

In some other respects the dignity rather than the authority of the sovereign remained unimpaired. He convoked and presided over the diets; he rendered bastards legitimate; he conferred nobility by letters patent. It has been also asserted that he could declare war or make peace at his own pleasure. This is very partially true. As king of Lombardy, which was his *regnum proprium*, he could certainly commence hostilities against any potentate; but he could not force his ducal and princely vassals to take part in them. On such occasions he could summon to his standard the vassals who immediately held of him, those who were dispersed over his still considerable domains; but he could undertake no war for the general interests of the empire without the consent of his states. Thus, though Frederick I urged them to join him in declaring war against the Hungarians, they refused, and no campaign took place. The wars which that monarch undertook were conducted at his own expense. Frederick II had the gold of the two Sicilies to assist him.

Nothing, indeed, was so difficult as to prevail on the states to sanction any war: they often regarded the irruptions of the Danes with an apathy which seems irreconcilable with patriotism; they left all to the frontier markgrafs, and the military authorities of the particular district invaded; they saw Poland gradually emancipate itself from fealty to the empire, Arles become virtually independent, Friesland choose, as its sovereign head, William of Holland, the imperial dignity decline so as to become degraded in the eyes even of second-rate princes, and the house of Hohenstaufen gradually perish in attempting to preserve the connection of Italy with the empire. All were eager to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their chief. So jealous were they of imperial influence, that the duke whom they elected to that dignity they always forced to surrender his hereditary fief to some member of his family. In this there was good policy; for had such powerful princes as the dukes of Saxony or Bavaria been allowed to retain those provinces, in time despotism would assuredly have been established.

Yet still there was a family interest which was sometimes dangerous, always umbrageous, to the states. Thus the Swabian emperors, through their connections and their personal qualities, obtained a preponderance which we should not have expected to find under such a constitution. To guard against the possible consequences of the system, the electors began to select as candidates such princes only as, having no considerable domains — at least in Germany — could not give rise to apprehension; but yet who should have gold enough to pay dearly for so sterile an honour. Hence the landgraf of Thuringia, William of Holland, Richard of Cornwall, and Alfonso of Castile allowed themselves to become the tools of their contemporaries, the pity of posterity.

One privilege, however, the emperors had, which we should not omit. In the imperial cities they could marry the children of the chief citizens according to their pleasure. When the parties were provided, a herald paraded the public places of the city, proclaiming that the kaiser had betrothed the daughter of such a citizen to the son of such a one; and the marriage always followed that day twelve months. In 1232, however, the citizens of Frankfurt obtained an exemption from it.

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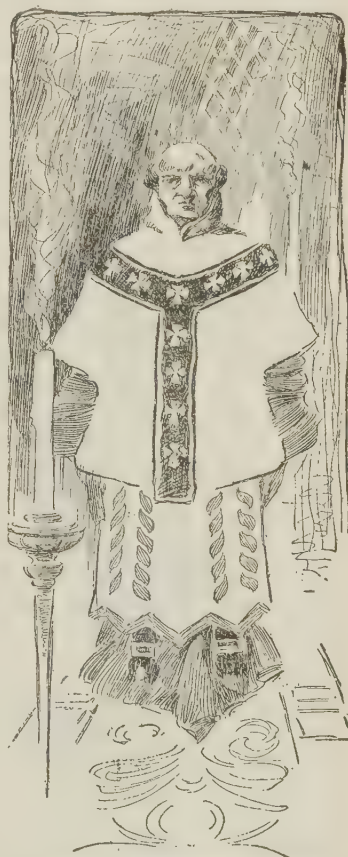
THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The most remarkable peculiarity during the period before us is the conversion of the privilege of pretaxation into the right of election. That privilege had existed for many reigns; this right does not appear to have been fully established before the reign of Frederick.

From this right of pretaxation, or of deciding which of the candidates should be proposed for the crown, the transition to that of absolute nomination was natural and easy; hence we now find them denominated the electoral college. Soon after the time of Lothair II these great dignitaries were seven, three ecclesiastical and four secular princes: the former being the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves; the latter, the dukes of Franconia, Bavaria, Saxony and Swabia. It is certain that Conrad IV was elected by these dignitaries, and that the rest of the princes had no other privilege than that of consenting — of suffrage not one word is said. A fifth secular prince is said to have been added to the electoral college. Other changes followed, the knowledge of which is necessary towards a clear conception of the Franconian constitution. The count palatine soon succeeded to the duchy of Bavaria; but as in these days no elector was allowed to possess two votes, the suffragan privilege of Bavaria was transferred to the crown of Bohemia. Again, when one of the great dukes was elected to the throne of Germany, he was compelled to confide the right of voting inherent in his duchy to some markgraf not already an elector. Thus, when Frederick of Hohenstaufen assumed the reins of empire, he entrusted the suffragan right of Swabia to the markgraf of Brandenburg, the only markgraf not an elector who was not dependent on some one of the four duchies.

By this arrangement, which appears to have been the growth of accident, Bavaria and Swabia lost the electoral right — the former being united with the palatinate; the latter being lent, never to be revoked, to the aspiring house of Brandenburg. The former, indeed, might be consoled with the reflection that its suffrage was virtually retained, since it continued to rest in its hereditary duke, as count palatine; but the latter was unjustly deprived of it, if the term injustice can be applied in a case where the original privilege was an usurpation. There is reason enough for this exclusion of the Hohenstaufens: they were at once obnoxious to the church and the empire; and by both it was agreed that they should never again be permitted to obtain their ancient preponderance.

Nor is this period much less remarkable for another college — that of princes. Its formation and history is one of the most interesting circumstances relating to Germany during the Middle Ages. The result of the



GERMAN PRIEST OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

proscription of Henry the Lion was the dismemberment of the great duchies of Saxony and Bavaria. This called into existence a number of feudatories, who, with domains from portions of those great fiefs, assumed the designation of princes of the empire, and obtained jurisdictions independent of the electors and of each other. Among these were the dukes of Austria, Styria, and Pomerania; the markgraf of Meissen; the landgraf of Meiningen; and the counts of Mecklenburg and Holstein. The political existence of the duchy of Swabia expired on the execution of Conradin, the last male of the Hohenstaufen dynasty; and the counts of Würtemberg, Fürstenberg, Hohenzollern, with several others, made their appearance on the scene of German history. By this deprivation of one man of the power of withstanding the emperor or diet, the dissolution of these great duchies was certainly a good. But not content with the divisions of territory already made, these newly created princes, at their deaths, subdivided their dominions among their sons, by which means the number of the order was much increased.

The college of princes, thus called into existence, made a thorough revolution in the territorial jurisdiction of the country. Before the dismemberment of the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, and the annihilation of the imperial influence, the chief princes, though next in rank to the sovereign dukes, had exercised a very limited feudal jurisdiction. They were themselves vassals of the emperor; and they had no authority over either the allodial proprietors, or the inferior vassals who held immediately from the same source. But now that the only bulwark which could defend the great body of the untitled nobility was thrown down; now that the number of princes was augmented so as to form an imposing body in the state, they began to usurp the privileges formerly possessed by the dukes, and aim at more. We must not forget that the ancient duchies were dissolved, some wholly, others, if not nominally, virtually. With the Hohenstaufen dynasty, both Swabia and Franconia fell as ducal states; never afterwards could they boast of a single chief; they were divided among many princes, who aimed at the jurisdiction formerly held by the dukes.

It might, indeed, be expected that the great body of the nobles in each of the new states, whether by the disruption of the ties which formerly bound them to the dukes, transferred from vassals to allodial proprietors, or allodial proprietors as many were from time immemorial, would resist the efforts of the princes for their subjugation. In many cases, no doubt, such resistance was offered and was successful; but in more the degradation was complete. The nobles and abbots not invested with the princely dignity now constituted an equestrian body, ranking among the provincial orders, which were retained by the princes as a sort of shadow of the ancient local states. This subjection of a numerous class to the will of the princes confirmed, in process of time, a maxim exceedingly useful to their views — that whatever lands are situated in a territory, belong to that territory; that whatever lies within a given boundary of jurisdiction, is necessarily subject to that jurisdiction. The consolidation of the territorial government in each state caused the princes soon to regard it almost as patrimonial; and in their last dispositions, acting on an ancient maxim of Germanic law, they divided it equally among their sons, and the sons themselves, in the order of things, effected similar partitions among their heirs: thus prodigiously increasing the number of territorial lords; for we must bear in mind that the individual who succeeded to the smallest portion of domain, succeeded also to all the rights attached to that domain. He sat in the provincial diets, and

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exercised all the feudal privileges of his caste. Nor was this custom confined to the inferior princes and nobles: it was adopted by the most powerful of the reigning houses.

In time, however, the sovereign houses themselves took the alarm, and agreed that principalities should no longer be divided, whatever appanage might be awarded to the younger sons. Still the good was to a certain extent effected; the great duchies and principalities were considerably lessened in magnitude, and were no longer dangerous to the rest. In all cases, this policy of partition had been approved by the emperors; and though it was soon disused in reference to the greater states, it continued to flourish among the secondary and still inferior houses. It inevitably reduced the greatest families to insignificance; for insignificant and powerless every one became, whose members by interminable subdivision were thus reduced to poverty. Had the agnates of each family combined in aid of individual interests, they would still have been numerically strong; but the separate views and the passions of human nature rendered such combination impossible — and well for Germany that it was so.

But in tracing the progress of territorial usurpation, we have omitted to mention one important fact, which facilitated the success of the princes more than the anarchy of the times or the feebleness of the emperors — on the dismemberment of the duchies, the domains which those princes acquired were held by the feudal tenure, subject to the usual obligations towards the empire and its head; but many of them had also patrimonial lands, over which their influence was not circumscribed by law or custom. Their object was eventually to place the two descriptions of land on the same footing. In fact, a few generations, perhaps even a few years, in such times of anarchy, sufficed utterly to confound the distinction between feudal and patrimonial possessions. Of the unbounded power which was usurped over all, we need no other proof than the fact that, when there was a family in danger of extinction, females were allowed to inherit. a custom derived from France and Italy, and foreign to Germanic jurisprudence. We know that the Palatinate of the Rhine passed successively by marriage into the house of Saxony and into that of Wittelsbach.

The condition of the nobles immediately inferior to the princes no less deserves attention. On the extinction of the great duchies of Swabia and



GERMAN NOBLE, THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Franconia, the nobles of those duchies who had hitherto been vassals of the house of Hohenstaufen became allodial proprietors, and succeeded to a territorial jurisdiction within their respective domains. But the ascendancy of the princes in Bavaria, Austria, Saxony, Brandenburg, Meissen, and other provinces was the grave of freedom to the vast body of nobles.

THE CITIES

Equally interesting is the progress of the Germanic municipalities, the existence of which we have noticed from their origin under Henry the Fowler to the extinction of the Franconian dynasty. While the electors and the princes not electors were extending and consolidating their power under the shade of anarchy, the cities were not idle.

Originally, in each city there was a wide distinction in the condition of the inhabitants. The nobles were those to defend the walls, the free citizens to assist them, and the slaves to supply the wants of both. By the first two classes all the offices of magistracy were filled, even after the enfranchisement of the last by Henry V. But as the last class was by far the most numerous; as their establishment into corporations, subject to their heads, gave them organisation, union, and strength, they began to complain of the wall of separation between them. That wall was demolished, not, indeed, at once, but by degrees; the burgesses gained privilege after privilege, access to the highest municipal dignities, until marriages between their daughters and the nobles were no longer stigmatised as ill-assorted or unequal. The number of imperial cities — of those which, in accordance with imperial charters, were governed either by a lieutenant of the emperor or by their own chief magistrate — was greatly augmented after the death of Conradin; those in the two escheated duchies of Franconia and Swabia lost no time in securing their exemption from feudal jurisdiction. The next step in the progress of these imperial cities was confederation, which was formed, not only for the protection of each other's rights against either feudal or imperial encroachments, but for the attainment of other privileges, which they considered necessary to their prosperity. The league of the Rhine, which was inspired by William of Holland, appears to have been the first; it was soon followed by that of the Hanse towns. The latter confederation, which ultimately consisted of above fourscore cities, the most flourishing in Germany, had no other object beyond the enjoyment of a commercial monopoly — of their own advantage, to the prejudice of all Europe.

Of this confederation, or copartnership, Lübeck set the example before the middle of the thirteenth century: her first allies were the towns on the Baltic, then infested by pirates; and to trade without fear of these pirates was the chief motive to the association. So rapidly did the example succeed that, on the death of Richard of Cornwall, all the cities between the Rhine and the Vistula were thus connected. The association had four chief emporia — London, Bruges, Novgorod, and Bergen; and the direction of its affairs was entrusted to four great cities, Lübeck, Cologne, Dantzic, and Brunswick. The consequence was, not only a degree of commercial glory unrivalled in the annals of the world, but a height of power which no commercial emporium, not even Tyre, ever reached. The Hanse towns were able, on emergency, not only to equip a considerable number of ships, but to hire mercenaries, who, added to their own troops, constituted a

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formidable army. They were powerful enough to place their royal allies — and their alliance might well be sought by kings — on the thrones of Sweden and Denmark.

By degrees many of these communities not merely refused to undertake any war for their superior's sake, but openly struck off his authority, expelled his deputies, and elected magistrates of their own. Even in the imperial cities which were situated on the domains of the crown, and during the glory of the Swabian dynasty, one magistrate only, the *advocatus* or *bailli*, was nominated by the crown; the rest were chosen by the people; and without their concurrence he could undertake nothing of moment. In the other cities, those submitted to the bishops appear first to have won their enfranchisement. Gradually they withheld all the feudal obligations, and annihilated all the vassalitic rights to which they had been subject. In vain did the ecclesiastics apply to Frederick II for the suppression of all the magistracies created by the people; that emperor knew his own interests too well to transform his best friends into enemies. In many cases, however, perhaps even in a majority, these municipalities, whether subject to temporal or ecclesiastical princes, procured their exemption from feudal obligations by purchase rather than by open force. Innumerable are the charters in the archives of the German cities, placing this fact beyond dispute.

The increasing dignity of these places, and the encouragement they held out to military adventurers, naturally allured the more indigent rural nobles within the walls. The members thus admitted knew that the confraternity contained names as noble as their own; and the prospect of civic dignities, those which regarded the administration of the law and the police, was always a powerful inducement. Others, again, instead of entering the municipality, were contented with obtaining the privileges of citizenship, still remaining on their former lands, and connected with their former lords. But this custom of the noble vassals of princes, dukes, or counts, so eagerly claiming the privileges in question, would have been fatal to those magnates, had not authority intervened to limit it. The men thus received as members of the municipalities contended that they were no longer subject to the jurisdiction of their lords; and if the latter chose to enforce it, the former speedily summoned the aid of their brethren. If one single member was in peril, or insulted, it was the duty of the rest to fly to his assistance; and formidable bands might often be seen issuing from the gates to resist some local baron. On the other hand, these *Pfahlbürger*, or external burgesses, were bound to lend their service to the municipality whenever it was at war with another power. The territorial lords themselves were compelled to combine for the maintenance of their rights, frequently defeated their municipal enemies, intercepted their merchandise, and laid waste their domains to the very gates of the city.

Yet, on the whole, the progress of events was exceedingly favourable to the corporations. If the nobles could combine, so could they; and leagues were formed capable of bidding defiance not merely to an elector, but to the whole empire. Thus, in 1256, about seventy cities, great and small, entered into a league to resist the newly enfranchised nobles of Franconia and Swabia, who were so many banditti, and whose attacks were peculiarly directed against the carriers of merchandise. As, in a degree almost equal, the rural churches suffered, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots were induced to join the confederation. After the death of Richard, king of the Romans, another was formed, for supporting the electors in the choice of an emperor.

CONDITION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Descending in the social chain we come to the cultivators of the ground, the serfs or peasantry, whose condition, though sufficiently onerous, was yet considerably ameliorated. Corporeal servitude had ceased throughout a great part of the empire. This was, doubtless, owing to a variety of causes, of which many are apt to elude our observation. Assuredly one of these was not the increased humanity of the lords: the German mind has not been favourable to abstract notions of right, whenever that right has opposed aristocratic preponderancy.

In the view of a German noble, liberty meant no more than an emancipation from the despotism of the territorial princes; in that of citizen, exemption from the jurisdiction of emperor or prince; in that of a prince, perfect independence of the emperor. The grades of society below the rank of freemen were not thought worth the trouble of legislation; or if their condition was noticed, it was only to secure their continued dependence on their superiors. But human circumstances are more powerful than conventional forms, or the pride of man. Policy and interest demanded that the relation of the serfs should undergo considerable modification; that they should be placed in situations where their industry should be most productive



GERMAN PEASANTS

to their masters. But the same industry benefited themselves: it could not be provoked without some allurements; for the galley-slave will drop the oar when his taskmaster is not present. The encouragement thus afforded completely answered its purpose; and as the serfs gained property of their own, they became half enfranchised, not by conventional formalities, but by tacit consent, and by the influence of custom.

The inevitable effect of this system was the rapid increase of the population; and this increase, in its turn, tended to the support and prosperity of the whole order. To such consideration indeed did they arrive, that they were sometimes furnished with arms to defend the cause of their master. This innovation tended more than all other causes to the enfranchisement of the rural population; for whoever is taught to use, and allowed to possess, weapons, will soon make himself respected. The class thus favoured was certainly not that of the mere cultivators of the ground; but of the mechanics, the tradesmen, the manufacturers, and the chief villeins, who, holding land on the condition of a certain return in produce as rental, were little below free tenants. The agricultural districts had many gradations of society; and in respect to those over whom the generic appellation was the same, much would depend on the disposition of the proprietor,—on the nature of the obligations which he introduced into the verbal contract between him and his vassal. Nor must it be forgotten that, though the great aristocratic body,

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whether ecclesiastic or secular, were, as a body, indifferent to the welfare of their dependents, though they preferred slaves to tenants half free, or peasants, or *liberti*, the benign influence of Christianity on individuals was not wholly without effect. The doctrine, that by nature all men are equal, and equally entitled to the expectations of another world; that the only distinction in a future state will be between those who have exercised, and those who have neglected, works of mercy and other social duties — could not fail to influence the hearts of some, and dispose them to ameliorate the evils of their dependents. We must not, however, omit to state that in certain provinces there was no amelioration whatever in the condition of the serfs.

The progress of the territorial jurisdiction in Germany is one of the most remarkable features of its history. Much of the supreme jurisdiction was wrested from the emperors; their frequent decease enabled the princes, with some show of reason, to arrogate to themselves the cognisance of causes within their respective domains; the royal assizes gradually declined in proportion as the imperial domains were circumscribed by grant or usurpation; the abolition of the provincial palatinian authority left these princes undisturbed chiefs of the tribunals within their territorial boundaries; and, of all his ancient authority in this respect, the emperor retained only a court judge to take cognisance of certain defined cases in the first instance.

This transfer of the judicial power from the emperor to the princes was attended with two evils — the one necessary and invariable, the other accidental. In the first place, the prince might be tyrannical or corrupt, without much fear of punishment; virtually he was subject to no responsibility; and we know that the best men, to say nothing of the lawless, will transgress the bounds of their authority. But even if the reigning prince were disposed to enforce the laws against the everlasting turbulence, the bloody strife of the nobles, where was the power by which he was to affect the formidable territorial nobles, who, having once been vassals of the emperor, were now transferred into allodial proprietors, and who scorned submission to the mandates of the dukes and markgrafs? And there were many nobles whose possessions, lying beyond the range of the electoral or even princely domination, were as much sovereigns as any monarch in Europe. These men recognised no authority beyond the general diets; and even from them little good was to be expected.

Violence took the place of order; arms were used both to commit injustice and to revenge it; one crime produced retaliation, and retaliation, which in reality was seldom, and, in the excited feelings of men, never, confined to the due measure, gave birth to new aggressions, until the original subject of offence was lost under a mass of injuries. Private wars, which were regarded as justifiable in theory, were thus sanctioned by practice, until, in certain districts, there was no such thing as social security.

BARBARISM OF THE PERIOD

The condition of society, indeed, was so horrible, that states were obliged to confederate — to form a league for mutual aid in repressing domestic disturbances. Where two states were at variance, the rest were constituted arbiters; and if the award were disregarded, an armed force from the different states of the confederation was ordered to enforce it. This conventional tribunal must, one would suppose, have fallen with the cessation of the circumstances which created it; but though it was merely intended to meet the

anarchy of the period following the death of Frederick II, it continued to modern times. The interruption to the ordinary course of justice, involved in the irresponsibility of so many princes and nobles, produced another innovation well worthy of our attention, since it casts so clear a light on the barbarism of the times — we mean that of hostages.

The word "hostage" seems, for want of a more precise term, to designate two usages essentially distinct from each other. The first usage was founded on the right of reprisals; it consisted in arresting, whenever there were the right and the power to arrest, any countrymen, or subjects of the adverse party, and of retaining them in prison until satisfaction was received. Hence, by this whimsical species of jurisprudence, a Swabian — a citizen of Ulm, for instance — who had an action against a citizen of Liège, did not give himself the trouble to prosecute the cause before the tribunals of Liège; he summarily laid his hands on the first citizen he could find, and led him away captive to Ulm: in Ulm the cause was tried; nor was the hostage, thus involuntarily made, released until the sentence was executed. What strikes us as more singular is, that the man who in everything else would have derided his own promises, never failed to surrender himself as a hostage; nor would he, on any consideration, have quitted the place designed him for a prison.

Much as the Swabian emperors were occupied in the affairs of Italy, in the Crusades, and other chimerical projects, we must not be so unjust to their memory as to leave on the reader's mind an impression that they were wholly negligent of their imperial duties. In regard to private war, for instance, they, as well as their predecessors of the Franconian and Saxon dynasties, endeavoured to extirpate the abuse. Thus Frederick I renewed, against all disturbances of the public peace, the ancient penalty of the *harnessar* — by which any one convicted was compelled to carry in public some badge of ignominy for a few hours or miles; generally in the very place where his crime had been committed. Sometimes the badge was a saddle, sometimes a dog. Thus, in 1156, the count palatine, with eleven other counts and many other nobles, were condemned to the same punishment: he and they were compelled to carry, the distance of two leagues, in presence of the assembled princes and nobles, a dog on their shoulders; but, through consideration for his age and character, the archbishop of Mainz, who was equally implicated, escaped the ignominy of the exposure.

Unfortunately, Frederick did not persevere in this salutary severity; for so engrossed was he by other objects, that the internal tranquillity was perpetually disturbed. In a subsequent instrument, he himself so far recognises duels, as to decree that no man should make war on another without a previous warning, and defiance of three days. To circumscribe, however, the distractions that prevailed on every side, he published another decree, in which all incendiaries were placed under the ban of the empire; and the power of imposing that ban he delegated to the territorial princes. Thus if, in conformity with ancient custom, blood might be shed with impunity, as stone houses were yet uncommon, incendiarism, which might prove fatal to a whole district, was a capital offence. These provisions were perfectly in accordance with the spirit of ancient Germanic jurisprudence; which, while it was satisfied with a pecuniary composition for homicide, exacted the last penalty for wilful burning. The same punishment was decreed against all who laid waste orchards and vineyards; but not against the destroyers of corn; because, in the latter case, the damage could be repaired in a few months; in the former, not for years.

Under Frederick II, another decree was passed which gives us the most

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unfavourable impression of the times. It establishes penalties against the son who made war on his father, who wasted that father's lands, or put him in prison. But what, indeed, could be hoped in an age when all restraint was removed? The chronicle of Bishop Conrad^b informs us that, after the excommunication of Frederick by Gregory IX, the bandits rejoiced; that ploughshares were turned into swords, and pruning-hooks into lances; that everybody carried flint and steel about him for the purpose of setting fire to the property of his enemy. Under William of Holland and Richard of Cornwall the public safety was not likely to be much regarded. In the expressive language of the chronicle of Thuringia,^c everybody wished to domineer over his followers. During this melancholy period, fortresses arose on every side — some for the habitation of bandits, others for resistance; the former, however, in greater proportion. And, as in former times, though undoubtedly in a degree more fatal, the fortresses which had been erected for the defence of the country were converted to its desolation. Frederick II had promulgated severe penalties against all who, whether advocates or others, should, on any pretext, build fortresses on the domain of any church or community; and had ordered the demolition of such as were already standing. This is a remarkable illustration of a fact which meets us in almost every page — that no estimate whatever is to be formed from the imperial edicts, concerning the administration of law, though such edicts afford the most incontestable evidence of the state of society.

The number of castellated ruins which now frown from the summits of the German mountains, and the construction of which may be satisfactorily referred to the former half of the thirteenth century, prove how little the decrees of Frederick were regarded. Nor were the towns themselves without such fortresses. Ostensibly to guard against the turbulence of the inhabitants, but really to plunder them with impunity, the princes and counts fortified their own houses within the walls. Nothing, at this day, can seem more extraordinary than the eagerness with which the bishops, for instance, erected such castles. But though many of them were wolves instead of shepherds, we have evidence enough to show that the flocks were often to be feared. In fact, no authority, temporal or spiritual, moral or religious, was respected, unless it had the means necessary to enforce respect. Simple knights often united their means for the same purpose, and rendered the structure their common abode: they became co-partners in the honourable profession of bandits. Such a state of society as that just exhibited could scarcely be expected from the institutions of chivalry.^d



COSTUME OF A GERMAN EMPEROR, THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE ART AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

The climax of the empire coincided with the greatest age of German literature until the time of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe. The splendid display of Barbarossa's knightly assemblies, or the magnificence of Frederick II's solemn entry into Mainz are but examples of a growing love of pageantry and artistic awakening that permeated every princely court. The spirit of the Renaissance was already touching the perception of men, and chivalry replaced monastic ideals with the worship not of women but of love. Then, too, the narrow confines of feudal society were broken up, and the courts of the north were thrilled with stories of the far-off sunny land of their emperor. Cosmopolitanism shows itself in architecture as well as in the subjects of song. The influence of the crusades and of that strange court of Frederick II, where Moslem culture was favoured to a suspicious degree, and the verses of Provençal or Italian poets beguiled the hours that were stolen from affairs — these worked to open up a new era in German culture.^a

The architecture of the time abandons the Roman and the Byzantine style of the period of the Ottos and the Franconian emperors, to borrow from the Norman, the French, the oriental, and sometimes from the Moorish. The round arch gives way to the ogive; and, in place of solid columns or heavy square pillars, there are clusters of slender columns which, with their interlacing branches, sustain the arches and galleries. The church of St. Gereon at Cologne, with its great ten-sided hall, opening by a stairway into the elongated rectangular chancel, terminated by a Romanesque apse, flanked by two square towers and its dome where the Byzantine, the Moorish, and the Gothic mingle, was almost finished in 1227. About that time (1238-1264), in the same town, arose the basilica of Saint Kunibert, whose enormous square belfry surmounts the façade and whose choir shows a gallery of raised arcades after the Saracen manner. At Treves was built the Liebfrauenkirche (about 1227-1242), where a Moorish decoration adorns a Byzantine dome. A conflagration destroyed the old cathedral of Cologne in 1248, with its Romanesque and Byzantine treasures, and the church was replaced by the prodigious Gothic monument whose choir was not consecrated until 1322, and whose towers with their spires were not finished until the present day.

The subjects and the rhythm, brought by the poets who flocked from every part of Germany — even from Italy, Provence, and England — to take part in that solemnisation of marriage and the imperial diet under the eyes of Frederick II and Isabella, bore witness to quite another sort of inspiration and temperament. He who in Italy made amorous verses in the Italian idiom, the *favola volgare*, which soon became the *lingua cortigiana* of Dante, had brought from England a copy of the romance of *Palamedes*, or even more certainly that of *Giron le Courtois*. Although he took pains that his son should speak Latin and German equally well, he preferred, like the Frederick II of the eighteenth century, the poetry of the Italians, of the French, and even of the English to that of his own country.

It is at this period that various poetical themes of foreigners, of the poets of the north and south of France or the bards of England, crossed the German frontier. Hartmann von Aue and Wirnt von Grafenberg retold in the German tongue the tales of the Round Table — *Erec and Ivain*, *Wigamur and Wigalois*, the knights of the Lion and the Eagle — echoes of Breton poetry which passed with the English alliance from Guelfs to Ghibellines. The translator

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of the *Erec* of Chrétien de Troyes, Hartmann von Aue, shows more originality and lightness in the poem of *Ivain*, that knight of the Round Table, escaped from the forest of Brochelande, who condemns himself to the most romantic adventures and the most terrible trials for having merely forgotten, not broken, his promise to the lady of the fountain of Baranton. German inspiration in its imitations must be given its due, although it is everywhere exaggerated, contradictory, and sometimes even mocked by poetry itself.

The singer of the *War of Troy*, Konrad von Würzburg, had already held, according to his original way of expressing himself, "a forge of gold and diamonds from which issued thousands of joyous and precious poesies in honour of the Virgin Mary," who had never been so highly honoured as in that country where, since the time of Tacitus, men had recognised in women a kind of prophetic and divine quality.

Meanwhile appears the legend of *Alexis*, who abandons his earthly bride Adriatica to woo the bride of Heaven by his pilgrimages, his austerities, his sorrows, and who, bent by age and weariness, and without making himself known beneath the rags of the mendicant, comes back to die at the door of the nuptial chamber which he had quitted young and filled with hope. The story which Hartmann von Aue makes of the Poor Henry, that Job of German poetry, in his misery and patience, who was abandoned, afflicted with leprosy, until a young girl sacrificed herself to marry him and bring him back to health, is worthy of a place beside the religious jewel casket of Mary. However, in the face of all this poetry of adoration and renunciation, satire, already spreading in Germany through the verse of Prêtre Amis, showed forcibly the influence of the metrical tales of the earliest poetry, and of the neighbourhood of those heretics, the patarins of Italy, whom Frederick occasionally burned at the stake, without, however, particularly detesting them; and of those satirical poems which Frederick and his friends readily composed. The same struggle went on between the lyric and erotic poetry of the minnesingers.

Walther von der Vogelweide (Walter of the Bird Meadow) has still the naïve love of nature and discreet adoration for his lady. He is interested in spring, which adorns the earth with verdure; he dares only once to name his Hildegonde: his last thought is for the nightingales in whose rhythm he has sung. He orders that four cavities shall be cut in his tombstone in the convent of St. Laurence in Würzburg, and he leaves to the monks a bequest providing that nourishment for the winged singers, his friends, may always be placed therein; a request which was not long carried out and which has given him his sobriquet. But after him the knightly poet Ulrich von Liechtenstein, while putting into verse his warlike and gallant adventures, in his poem on the *Service of Ladies* [*Frauendienst*], already mocks the theme of gallantry. It is not a completely disinterested love which he bears for his duchess of Austria, wife of Frederick; and she, by no means an ideal personage, plays singular tricks upon her knight: one day she punishes him for his timidity by cutting off a lock of his hair; another, chastises him for his boldness by letting him drop from a rope hanging from her window. It is true that the knightly poet gives her a singular proof of his devotion by having a painful operation performed on his mouth, in order that this feature may please her better.

FAMOUS TALES

In the heroic style and in narrative Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Strasburg have left the most notable works — the first with his *Titurel* and his *Parzival*, the second with his *Tristan und Isolde*. But despite

an original bias each worked on themes borrowed from French poems. It is thanks to the good knight of Thuringia, Wolfram, the trusty servant of the landgraf, that the poem of the *Holy Grail*, born in the monasteries of Wales, treating of that sacred chalice made of most precious stones, in which Joseph of Arimathea caught the blood of the Saviour, received in Germany its entirely mystical and sacerdotal form. Wolfram tells us himself that he has borrowed it from a Provençal poet. But he certainly accentuates the religious inspiration and the sentiment of nature. He could say with reason: "He who reads it, or hears it, or copies it — his soul will be raised heavenward." He almost rivals the originals in his picturing of this mystic temple of Montsalvat, with its seventy chapels, its thirty-six openwork belfries, and its dome spangled with emeralds, carbuncles, and sapphires, symbolising as many virtues, but whose splendour pales before the carved stone of the Holy Grail — before perfection itself. As for Parzival, the pure knight who, without having sought for it, becomes the king of the Holy Grail — his is a heart of the German Middle Ages beating beneath the breast-plate, and it is a kindred spirit that dreams under his helmet, although he was born in the forest of Brochelande and put on his spurs at the Round Table of King Arthur. Introduced for the first time into the symbolic temple, for the conquest of which he abandons his mother and his lady, he forgets to pronounce the sacred words which might relieve the king Amfortas of his protracted vigil. He now doubts; he wanders with that painful wound in his heart, until a hermit cures him and replaces him on the road to the infinite.

Let us not forget that the poem of the Holy Grail arrived at its perfection in Germany when the enthusiasm of the crusade, at least for the Orient, had died out. The gay and wayward Gottfried von Strasburg, a former scholar, who takes us from the epic to the romantic tale, from the ideal to the sensual, gave animation to the poem which he borrowed from Thomas of Brittany. It tells of Tristan and of Isolde the blonde, those two culpable lovers, whose peculiar humour, half tender, half playful, half weeping and half jesting, corresponded with the manners of those who read of them. These two lovers, buried in the solitudes, neither ate nor drank; love, preserved with sweet spices, was their food in the depths of the forest. In their lovers' grotto, hollowed out of the mountain-side, whence flowed a pure and limpid stream, where no wind but the balmy breath of the zephyrs penetrated, they listened to the songs of the birds, they told long tales of the unfortunates slain by love; for the benefit of prying eyes, when they slept upon their couch of green boughs, the blade of a sword lay between them, as when the valiant Siegfried and the chaste Grimilda dwelt in the enchanted castle of the Niebelungen.

Germany has, moreover, interpreters of her poetry as well as of her national sentiment. A minnesinger of the period — paying for German faith and poetry a veritable heart-debt to the landgraf of Thuringia, Louis, and to his holy wife Elizabeth — established at that enlightened and loyal court of the fortress of Wartburg, ornamented with brave knights and fair ladies, a sort of fantastic concourse of poetry, where figured all the German poets of the different epochs and various countries; and he gave the victory to the most pious among them over the devil himself, who had entered in the lists. The cosmopolitan and politic Frederick II, the friend of the Arabs and the enemy of the popes, who himself presided at the removal of the remains of the canonised St. Elizabeth, would not have contradicted this judgment at Mainz, if he had not had a reward to bestow in the midst of

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these diverse tendencies. He laid the first stone of that exquisite little funeral monument whose harmonious whole, whose graceful columns, and whose imposing arches seemed to uplift the faithful to the love of God.

But it is Walther von der Vogelweide — who had seen so many changes, before whom had passed in review Henry VI, Otto IV, Philip of Swabia, the young Henry, Frederick II — who best represents his period when he draws his inspiration from the spectacle of disorders which, in the mask of a false greatness, testify to the peril of the country and announce that decadence of the holy empire, against which the mighty Frederick II waged a losing battle. In the midst of the quarrels of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, he stigmatised the corruption of the clergy and the avarice of those princes who, while at the service of the highest bidder, remained faithful to themselves through their hatred for the pope and for Rome, whom they accused of being the cause of all these wars.

He often repeated that “justice, honour, and the fear of God no longer reign over their hearts,” and regretted the sight of “felony behind the walls of the fortresses, violence stalking the highways — war everywhere.” He lifted his feeble poet voice against the strife of sovereigns and of popes, who compromised the empire and the house of God, “because a pope had crowned two Cæsars with the same crown to the ruin of the empire. All nature is at war,” said he — “the wild beasts of the forest, the fowls of the air, the human beings upon the earth. What wretchedness is thine, O Germany — what wild disorder!”

During his latter days, seeing all changed about him, he fell a prey to melancholy religious reveries: “Where are they fled,” sang this last of the minnesingers, “whither have they vanished — those beautiful departed years? Has my life been a dream or a reality? Was it a slumber or an awakening? That which yesterday was as familiar as my own right hand is to-day become a world unknown. Were ye then but lies — people and fatherland of my infancy? The companions of my youth are old and bent, the sands of the desert have overflowed the fields, and scattered clumps alone remain where stood the splendid forest. Only the streams flow on forever; and my life will leave no more trace than an oar-stroke in the great sea.”

This poet, however, did not live to witness the greatest event of the period — the downfall of Frederick II and of the German empire, which did not long survive the brilliant diet of the most powerful among the German emperors at Mainz in 1235.^e In the anarchy which followed the fall of the great Hohenstaufen, the imperial power was all but extinguished.^a





CHAPTER IV

THE READJUSTMENT OF GERMANY

[1273-1347 A.D.]

The inner history of Germany during the next two centuries is essentially a struggle of the greater nobility among themselves for power, and of the lesser nobility and dependents against them, for what they called their freedom. — LEWIS.⁹

THE fall of the Hohenstaufens marks the end of the mediæval empire. The Alps again become the frontier of Germany, and, amid the uncertainty of a disputed sovereignty at home, the German monarchs turn from the high dream of world empire to the more substantial practice of using the emperor's office for personal and territorial aggrandisement. Opposed in this by their brother princes, to whom their elections were due, they spent the energies of the country in countless petty wars, and upon the misfortunes of a land of anarchy, laid the basis for their hereditary states. The story is not only intricate but it is dreary, and yields no contribution to the history of Europe beyond the tumult of its wars and the development of one or two great princely houses. For a while there was a veritable interregnum, when neither the presence of Richard of Cornwall nor the distant schemes of Alfonso of Spain could win for the rival claimants even the shadow of power. But this cheerless period past, we come upon more national and direct lines of history. Two houses especially rose to prominence above the rest and established themselves as natural leaders. If, after the interregnum, one keeps an eye upon the two houses of Habsburg and Luxemburg, a line of history can be traced through the tangled web of civil wars and feuds of rival claimants. With but a slight exception, after the great interregnum the imperial dignity alternated between the house of Habsburg and the party of Luxemburg.¹ The first Habsburg was scarcely more than owner of a single castle, but he gave his family the splendid duchy of Austria and the surrounding states. The first Luxemburg came from old Lorraine by the borders of France, but through him Bohemia became his family's hereditary possession, and while the Habsburgs took in the lands to the south — Styria and Carniola — the Luxemburgs extended their power in the north by the addition of the Mark of Brandenburg. Thus, almost from

¹ Ludwig of Bavaria, although a Wittelsbach, owed his throne to the Luxemburgs, who had no strong candidate of their own at the time.

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the Baltic to the Adriatic, the eastern frontier of the empire lay in the hands of these two imperial families.

It will be for us now to trace the details of this territorial development, and in some measure show its effect upon the empire.^a

RUDOLF OF HABSBURG

In that corner of the kingdom of Burgundy comprehended between the rivers Aar and Reuss, stood the castle of Habsburg, built early in the eleventh century by Werner, bishop of Strasburg; which imparted a domicile and a title to the ancient counts of Upper Alsace. Here Rudolf, destined to become the founder of the greatness of the Habsburg house, was born on the first of May, 1218, and was presented at the baptismal font by the emperor Frederick II. On the death of his father Albert in 1240, Rudolf succeeded to his estates; but the greater portion of these were in the hands of his paternal uncle, Rudolf of Laufenburg; and all he could call his own lay within sight of the great hall of his castle.

The early youth of Rudolf of Habsburg was devoted to martial and athletic exercises; he was distinguished by his skill in horsemanship, and his great strength and activity; and was knighted by Frederick II, whose train he joined, and who admired his gallantry and dexterity. But his disposition was wayward and restless and drew him into repeated contests with his neighbours and relations. After his father's death he attacked his uncle Rudolf of Laufenburg, under colour of his having appropriated an undue share of the family estates; but his attack was vigorously resisted by Godfrey, son of the old count, who carried the war into Rudolf's own possessions, and burnt his principal town of Brugg. A similar aggression upon his maternal uncle Hartmann, count of Kyburg, induced that nobleman to disinherit his refractory nephew, and to make a grant of his possessions to the bishop of Strasburg. He then entered the service of Ottocar II, king of Bohemia, under whom he served in company with the Teutonic Knights, in his wars against the Prussian pagans; and afterwards against Bela IV, king of Hungary. He next turned his arms against the bishop of Strasburg, who refused to surrender the grant of the Kyburg estates; and after the bishop's death, so intimidated his successor that he purchased peace from Rudolf by surrendering the disputed lands. The deaths of his cousin Hartmann, son of Werner, and of his uncle Hartmann, soon afterwards, put him in possession of the county of Kyburg; and he received the homage of many nobles and cities who admired his valour and courted his protection. Even the confederate mountaineers of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden chose him as their advocate; and the imperial citizens of Zurich elected him their prefect.

The count of Habsburg had extended his power and spread wide the fame of his valour by these and other exploits, which belong rather to his biography



BUFFOON OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

than to the imperial history. But now the greatest of all his successes awaited him. At the urgent request of the newly elected Pope Gregory X, an electoral diet was convened at Frankfort for the election of a Roman king. The names of Alfonso X, king of Castile, and Ottocar II, king of Bohemia, stood foremost as competitors for the imperial crown. But a new and unexpected candidate was proposed by Werner, elector of Mainz. In the year 1259 Werner had been invested with that archbishopric, and on his way to Rome to receive the pallium was escorted across the Alps by Rudolf of Habsburg, and under his protection secured from the robbers who beset the passes. Charmed with the affability and frankness of his protector, the archbishop conceived a strong regard for Rudolf, and now proposed him as a person eminently fitted for the great office in debate. The electors are described by a contemporary as desiring an emperor but detesting his power. The comparative lowliness of the count of Habsburg recommended him as one from whom their authority stood in little jeopardy; but the claims of the king of Bohemia were vigorously urged; and it was at length agreed to decide the election by the voice of the duke of Bavaria. Ludwig without hesitation nominated Rudolf.

At the moment of his election Rudolf was encamped before Bâle, whither he had returned to punish the refractory bishop and citizens. The good tidings were announced to him by his nephew Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, but were at first indignantly received by the incredulous Rudolf. Being at length satisfied of the reality of his good fortune, he made peace with his enemies of Bâle, who readily yielded that submission to the sovereign of Germany which they had denied to the count of Habsburg. He proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where, with his countess, he received the royal crown; and his two daughters Matilda and Agnes were immediately afterwards married, the first to Ludwig II, duke of Bavaria, and the other to Albert II, duke of Saxony.^b But his coronation did not secure for Rudolf the undisputed control. His disappointed competitor was still far more powerful than he. Ottocar of Bohemia had built up a realm alone in the east of the empire which was threatening the integrity of the empire itself. To Bohemia he had added by marriage Austria, Styria, and Carniola — the very possessions destined to be associated through modern history with the name of the Habsburgs. Ottocar was a restless and vigorous ruler. The chronicler describes him as “a fine youth, dark in colour, of middle stature, strong-hearted, of comely countenance; brave, wise, superior to wise men and philosophers in eloquence.” He had been oppressive, however, to the German element and especially to the lesser nobility, and the jealousy of the German princes soon found in Ottocar’s seizure of Austria pretext for the war which Rudolf was anxious to wage upon this defiant vassal. It was this war which gave Austria to the Habsburgs. Let the naïve chronicle of the monks of Kolmar tell the story in detail.^a

THE CHRONICLE OF KOLMAR

In the year of the Lord 1273, Count Rudolf called “of Habsburg” was chosen Roman emperor. The cities accepted him immediately and peace spread over all German lands. When the nobles who lived under the sovereignty, or tyranny, of the Bohemian king heard this they were much rejoiced, for they hoped now to get free of the sovereignty of the Bohemian king. Therefore they sent messengers and letters to the Roman king with the humble petition that he would come into their territory; they would submit to his

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sovereignty those lands pertaining to the empire which the king of Bohemia had acquired by violence.

When the king of Bohemia heard this he was sore troubled and called together an assembly of the learned powers, that is of the archbishops, the bishops, the provosts, the abbots and friars. When they had come into his presence he spake as follows: "We have just heard that the count Rudolf of Habsburg calls himself a Roman king, and says he will bring under his own

dominion our lands which we hold according to manifold legal titles. As we are not willing to suffer this, for we hold these lands on a variety of legal grounds, moreover the thing would involve us in most grievous damage, I ask of your loving favour that you will strengthen your allegiance to us by an oath and that you will drive all my enemies forcibly from the land." Then all spoke with one accord: "Whatever is the pleasure of the lord king — that we will do." Then the king said: "Swear allegiance to me." And they all swore it. Moreover the burghers of all his cities swore allegiance to him and furthermore gave their children as hostages. When King Rudolf had seen the letters of the Bohemian nobles he would fain at once have come to their aid, if he had been able to leave the neighbourhood of the Rhine.

But as at the moment it was impossible for him to betake himself in person to Bohemia, certain of the nobility came themselves into Alsace to urge their request to the king that he would waste no time before hastening into the lands of the king of Bohemia. Moved by the requests of these lords the Roman king Rudolf at last summoned in person all the knights whom he could approach and commanded all his peoples not to tarry but to put on their armour and go with him, for that he must suddenly hasten to another quarter. Many promised him good support but were unable to fulfil their promises.

So the king left his country with few followers, yet from day to day he gathered about him more and more knights. But when he came to Mainz the lord of Klingen spake to him, "Sire, who is your treasurer?" To whom the king replied, "I have no treasures, and no money except five shillings in small coin." Then answered the lord of Klingen, "How then will you

·RVDOLFVS·I·



RUDOLF I OF HABSBURG (1218-1291)

(From the probably unauthentic woodcut by Burgkmair in the *Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I.* 1512-1515)

provide for your army?" And the king answered him back, "As the army has always provided for me, so will it be able to provide for me on this campaign also." Then the king moved forward with a light heart though with the greatest lack of money. He advanced unresisted, and everything pertaining to the empire gave itself up to him freely and fairly. Castles, fortresses, lands — it mattered not to whom they belonged — surrendered of their own free will, for they could not defend themselves.

But the king of Bohemia did not think that King Rudolf would seek or would be able to devastate the lands of Austria without opposition. For had he truly feared the approach of the Roman king he might very easily have barricaded the bridges across the rivers and the narrow passes with a few people and so have impeded for long, the advance of the king. But when the Roman king came to his son-in-law the king of Bavaria, he was received by him with reverence, and his followers as well as himself were abundantly and willingly supplied with all that was necessary. The king also made agreements with different lords that they would suffer him to pass through their territories unmolested. When this reached the ears of the king of Bohemia he was sore vexed; he collected an army and confronted the German king in the neighbourhood of Rennes to force him out of his territory. But this he was unable to do because the people of the king of Bohemia were encamped on one side of the Danube and the army of the Roman king on the other. The king of Bohemia had placed all his hopes in the city of Klosterneuburg, which seemed to him impregnable. This city is situate on a mountain and is surrounded with a strong wall and many towers. As a garrison he had placed in it a powerful contingent of Bohemians whom he had furnished on the most liberal scale with provisions. At the same time he had arranged that in case Vienna was attacked by the Roman king, the city of Klosterneuburg should lend its close support with everything necessary: in the event of the citizens of Vienna surrendering to the Roman king he would harry them mercilessly from Klosterneuburg. For the king of Bohemia had hoped by this fortress to be able to hold all Austria in check.

The king of Bohemia had occupied the countries of Bavaria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria for many years in undisputed possession. When now Count Rudolf of Habsburg was elected king of the Romans, the king of Bohemia made most diligent inquiries of the Dominican friars, the Minorites, and others, of whom it was believed that they were informed of his circumstances. A brother of the order of the Dominican friars by the name of Ruediger, a pleasant preacher, who knew Count Rudolf intimately, said what follows to the Bohemian king: "My lord the king, if you will grant me freedom and will not be angry I will indeed inform you of the condition of his country and of his person." Then said the king of Bohemia: "Say what thou wilt; never from me shalt thou suffer enmity on account of thy speech." Brother Ruediger then observed: "My lord the king, Count Rudolf of Habsburg is a lean, tall man, with long aquiline nose, moderate in eating, already in years, but not yet sixty. He has many, that is to say nine, children; exposed to the direst need from his youth upwards, he has yet been faithful to all his own; from his boyhood he has passed a life of agitation in arms, wars, feuds, endless labours and needs. By cleverness more frequently than by force he has been victorious and in all he is favoured by good fortune. They say of him that in his awe for the holy Virgin Mary he has never done evil on a Saturday nor suffered it to be done by his people." Then the king of Bavaria said: "Good and evil hast thou told me of this count, but above all every enemy of his must fear his good fortune."

[1276 A.D.]

Then the king of Bohemia began to strengthen by further protections the four works which were round the walls of the city. Also he forced the burgher-knights, nobles, and barons to give him their children as hostages and to deliver up to him their strongest castles besides their arms. Moreover he sent many Bohemian knights armed into the cities of Austria and sent them provisions in rich abundance, so that in case the Roman king Rudolf should attack separate cities, the burghers might have no excuse but could if they were willing defend their cities against the attackers. But above all he furnished the city of Klosterneuburg with rich stores, because he wanted to supply Vienna and the other cities from this centre. Also he forbade anyone in his supreme presence to speak of the Roman king Rudolf as sovereign or king. And he ordered the Dominican friars not to keep their provincial capital in his territory.

But in the year of the Lord 1276 the Roman king Rudolf with two thousand armed horse betook himself to Bavaria and allied himself with the duke of Bavaria on condition that the son of the duke should marry a daughter of the king. When this had taken place the vast district was given over to the king, and a thousand knights on caparisoned horses joined his side. From this time his army began to increase in knights. Then the Roman king advanced with the said army against Vienna and laid siege to it. So narrowly is he supposed to have shut it in that on one side of the city no one without his permission could come in or go out without damage.

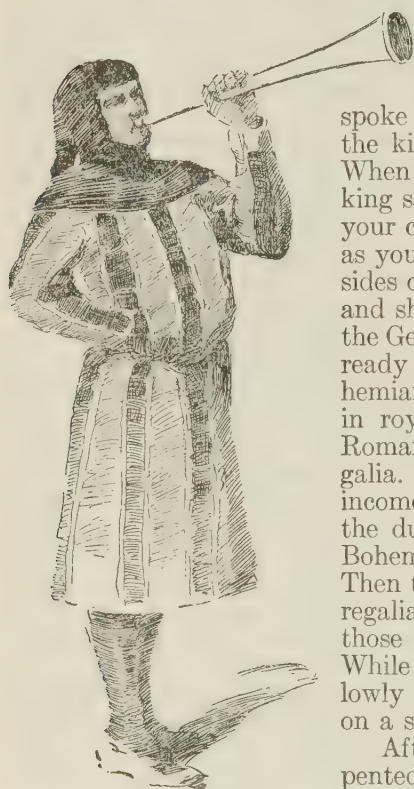
But the king of Bohemia collected twenty thousand knights and sent his army on the other side of the Danube to confront the Roman king's and forcibly eject the latter from the country. The knights of the king of Bohemia, however, would not follow a single command of their king, unduly alarmed as they were at the prospect of the battle with the Germans. And the king of Bohemia too, did not dare to trust his own men, because for a long time he had partly murdered and partly exiled from the land fathers, brothers, blood relations and relatives by marriage among the nobility, sometimes by mere force, sometimes by cunning. The army of the Roman king on the other hand would have been very glad to have fought with the army of the Bohemian king if it could have engaged it upon a suitable battle-field.^c

The Bavarians, by a ruse, succeeded in getting possession of Klosterneuburg.^a After its capture King Rudolf betook himself thither with his army, divided the booty, and for fourteen days gave abundant sustenance to his army out of what the king of Bohemia had introduced into the city.

Through this town the city of Vienna was so held in check that neither could the burghers well come to the help of the king of Bohemia nor could the latter liberate the Viennese from their circumvention by the king of the Romans. In their despair the Viennese knew not what to do. So they held a council, concluded a treaty with the king of the Romans and handed over the city to his dominion; also he was honoured by them with large and splendid presents. When the Viennese then had abandoned their old sovereign and recognised as sovereign the king of the Romans, they at once requested the king of Bohemia to restore their children whom they had placed with him as hostages. But the king refused to restore the children. Then the Viennese collected an army, fell upon the territory of the king of Bohemia, overcame several castles and cities, and so returned home. When, however, the king of the Bohemians saw that he could not withstand the king of the Romans, he humbled himself, and surrendered himself to his mercy. Under the following conditions peace was restored between the kingly sovereigns by the princes. The Bohemian king was to give his daughter in marriage to

King Rudolf's son, was to receive the regalia from King Rudolf as was befitting, and was to place three hundred knights with caparisoned horses at the disposition of the army of the king if it should so please the latter.

The king of Bohemia, with a numerous company of knights and horses, glittering in robes decked out with gold and precious stones, prepared at once to receive the regalia from the Roman king. When the princes of King Rudolf heard of this they told the king of it with joy, saying: "My lord, make yourself ready with precious vestments as becomes a king."



GERMAN TRUMPETER OF THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Then the king spoke, "The king of Bohemia has more than once made merry over my grey jerkin; but now shall my grey jerkin make merry over him." Then he spoke to his notary: "Give me thy cloak, so that the king of Bohemia may deride my poverty." When the king of Bohemia arrived, the Roman king said to his knights, "Don your armour, arm your chargers, and, thus prepared for war as well as you may be, place yourselves in order on both sides of the way along which the king is coming, and show the barbarian peoples the splendour of the German arms." When all this had been made ready according to the will of the king, the Bohemian king appeared with gold-decked robes and in royal splendour; he fell at the feet of the Roman king and prayed him humbly for his regalia. Moreover he renounced a hundred marks income, as well as forty thousand marks which the duke had had from Austria, and the king of Bohemia had owned through the queen Margareta. Then the Roman king gave the kingdom and the regalia to the king of Bohemia, and before all those present declared him his worthy friend. While the Roman king did thus he appeared lowly and ordinary in his grey jerkin and he sat on a stool.

After a few weeks the king of Bohemia repented of having submitted to the Roman king. The king of Bohemia saw that King Rudolf had many possessions, it was true, but for all that, was always in the greatest need. On these and other grounds he made a nun of his daughter whom he had given in marriage to King Rudolf's son, and caused her solemnly to take the veil in a convent of the order of the Minorites.^c

The external appearances of reconciliation and friendship had been preserved between the rival sovereigns during their residence in Vienna. But Rudolf must have been strangely unacquainted with mankind, if he expected a peace thus dictated at the head of an army to be of long duration. The degraded Ottocar withdrew to Prague, and strained every nerve to gather such a force as might retrieve his late losses of honour and territory. Henry of Bavaria again joined his standard; and he was soon provided with an army drawn from Bohemia, Moravia, Thuringia, and Poland, which promised him complete success over the king of the Romans. Meanwhile the levies of Rudolf were slow and scanty; he attempted a new negotiation with his

[1278 A.D.]

antagonist, but Ottocar resumed his haughty tone, and threw the adherents of Rudolf into the utmost consternation by a rapid march upon Vienna. Nothing, therefore, was left but to hazard a conflict; and Rudolf, being joined by a timely reinforcement from Alsace and Swabia, marched out to meet the enemy. A desperate battle took place on the Austrian frontier.^b

THE BATTLE OF MARCHFELD (1278 A.D.)

Now when the king of Bohemia saw King Rudolf advance towards him [says the Chronicle of Kolmar] he plunged recklessly all alone into the enemy's ranks, and wounded many men with his mighty strokes. Thirty knights, however, his body-guard, helped him with all their might. At last however the king of Bohemia grew weary; he was captured by a man of low origin and robbed of his arms. Thus he was led forth without his armour. But a knight followed him crying out: "There is the king who foully murdered my brother; now shall he atone for the deed." So he spake, and drawing his sword, gave the king a violent thrust in the face. But another knight who followed this one, pierced the king's body with his sword. But the man who had captured the king of Bohemia was sore vexed and would fain have protected him if his strength had availed for the purpose.

So fought King Rudolf against his enemies in the bravest fashion. At last came a strong man and harried the king with his blows and as he could not overcome him, he pierced the king's charger with his lance. The king and the charger fell together; the king lay on the ground destitute of help; he placed his shield over himself so as not to meet with a terrible death without further ado beneath the hoofs of the horses. When the horses had passed by, a man who wished to relieve him of his mortal danger raised him from the ground as well as he might. Then said the king: "Quick! equip me a horse!" As soon as this was done, he mounted and shouted to his men with lusty voice. About fifty of them gathered about him. With these the king fell on the Bohemian army in its flank, cut it almost in two, and threw himself vigorously upon the rear. The advance section of the Bohemian army cried "They flee, they flee" in order thus to mislead King Rudolf. But the more they shouted, the more the Germans bore down on them with their blows. But King Rudolf fought the rear of the host of the king of Bohemia with stubborn audacity, and urged by fear they took to flight. No sooner had they turned their backs than the Hungarians pursued them; they fought, these still resisting, pursued the fugitives, brought in prisoners, did murder and slew. It is generally said that in this battle fourteen thousand men sacrificed their lives.

King Rudolf remained with his men on the battle-field until all had hailed him an undoubted victor. The king of Bohemia died on the same day; after the bowels had been removed, his body was salted and brought into a monastery of the Minorite brothers. He had, to say truth, died under the ban of the pope; therefore he could not be buried in the churchyard. In the army of the king of the Romans there were a few people feckless in battle, clerks, monks, lay brothers of different orders. These had withdrawn to a hillock to await the end of the battle and to intercede with the Lord for their people. These men observed that over the army of the Bohemian king lay a glittering brilliance and unmitigated heat, while the army of King Rudolf, wherever it turned, was always covered by a cooling cloud. Therefore they concluded that the army of King Rudolf with God's help must be victorious. This battle was fought over against the city of Vienna on the plain called Gänser-

feld in the year of the Lord 1278, about the sixth hour on the day before St. Bartholomew, the apostle's day.^c

THE ADMINISTRATION OF RUDOLF

In the first moments of his triumph, Rudolf designed to appropriate the dominions of his deceased enemy. But his avidity was restrained by the princes of the empire, who interposed on behalf of the son of Ottocar; and Wenceslaus was permitted to retain Bohemia and Moravia. The projected union of the two families was now renewed: Judith of Habsburg was affianced to the young king of Bohemia, whose sister Agnes was married to Rudolf, youngest son of the king of the Romans. For Albert and Rudolf, his eldest and youngest surviving sons, he designed the duchies of Austria and Styria; but his second son Hartmann was his best-beloved, and for this darling youth a richer dominion was to be provided. It was the design of the king to revive the ancient kingdom of Burgundy in favour of Hartmann, whom he had already affianced to a daughter of Edward I king of England; and to bestow upon him that rich territory, which comprehended the possessions of his ancestors. A melancholy catastrophe frustrated the fond father's design: the best-beloved, whose valour and goodness justified all his father's affection, embarked upon the Rhine at Breisach, with a train of noble dependents; but darkness overtaking them, their bark became entangled amidst shoals and islets; and being overset, its precious freight were all consigned to an untimely death. The lifeless body of Hartmann was discovered near the abbey of Rhinau, and buried at Bâle beside his mother, Anna of Hohenberg.

Rudolf was more fortunate in the realisation of his views with respect to his Austrian conquests. After satisfying the several claimants to those territories by various cessions of lands, he obtained the consent of a diet held at Augsburg to the settlement of Austria, Styria, and Carniola upon his two surviving sons, who were accordingly jointly invested with those duchies with great pomp and solemnity; they are at this hour enjoyed by the descendants of Rudolf of Habsburg.

The remaining exploits of this celebrated prince are comparatively insignificant. [He was uniformly successful in a series of petty wars and kept in check the arrogant nobility. In this he was at least unhampered by the distraction of foreign affairs. Italy did not draw him, even for the splendour of a coronation.] He had now attained the age of seventy-three, and as his increasing infirmities admonished him of the approach of death, he grew anxious to secure to his son Albert the succession to the throne, and his nomination by the electors ere the grave closed upon himself. The example of Charlemagne, the Ottos, the Henrys, and of most of his predecessors, warranted his expectations of compliance; and as no less than four of the electors were his sons-in-law, a rejection of his desire was scarcely to be anticipated. Accordingly he assembled a diet at Frankfort, and proposed to the electors with the utmost earnestness the election of his son as king of the Romans. But all his entreaties were unavailing; he was coldly reminded that he himself was still the king, and that the empire was too poor to support two kings. Rudolf might now repent his neglect to assume the imperial crown; but the character of Albert seems to have been the real obstacle to his elevation. With many of the great qualities of his father, this prince was deficient in his milder virtues; and his personal bravery and perseverance were tainted with pride, haughtiness, and avarice. This last disappointment hastened the operations of nature; and Rudolf, perceiving the hand of death

[1291 A.D.]

upon him, desired to be carried to Speier, that he might visit the kings his predecessors. But his increasing weakness compelled him to halt at Germersheim on the Rhine, where he expired on the 15th of July, 1291, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His corpse was conveyed to Speier, and deposited amidst the mouldering remains of the kings of the Romans.

PERSONAL TRAITS OF RUDOLF

That the character of a prince, who from a petty count of a narrow territory became the sovereign of a mighty empire, should have been the subject of lofty panegyrics by historians, who wrote whilst his descendants reigned, is not wonderful; yet his elevation appears rather the result of a combination of fortunate events than of any overwhelming merit of his own. That he possessed many good and great qualities we may be assured, not merely by the voice of his contemporaries, but by the more certain proof of the good order which he restored in Germany, and the submission which he enforced from the haughty and refractory nobles. He was brave, frank, and affable; temperate in his enjoyments, and sincere in his piety. But his eagerness for conquest may create a doubt as to his strict love of justice and moderation; and his failure in obtaining the dearest object of his desire is at variance with the report of his irresistible powers of persuasion. Bred up amidst war and tumult, he affected no literary propensities; but he supplied the defect of his education by strong practical sense and a vigorous understanding; nor does the rustic romance of his life lose any of its charm by his want of scholastic learning. "He was glorious," says Muratori, "for his many virtues; but still more glorious for the many emperors who have descended from him"; — a shrewd distinction, which may furnish a palliative to the excessive encomiums lavished upon him. He must, however, be esteemed a wise and politic prince; unshaken by adversity, and bearing his good fortune without insolence; and perhaps no man of his age was so well qualified to organise the distracted empire he was called to govern.

In stature Rudolf was tall and slender, his head small, his hair scanty, his nose long and aquiline, his countenance pale, his expression animated, his temper gay, his manner simple, his dress homely.^b This last trait is shown in the well-known story of the baker's wife, which we may let the monks of Kolmar tell in their own words:^a

When King Rudolf was in Mainz, on a day came a frost at sunrise and the cold did outrageously hurt him. Then he looked across from the house in which he lay, and saw a bakery which had a superabundance of glowing coals. The king now donned his clothing and quickly ran to the glowing coals. But the housewife, who knew not the king, rebuked him roundly in strong language; it was not right that knights should invade the homes of poor women. Then the king spoke humbly to the woman: "Dear lady, be not disturbed by my presence; I am an old soldier who has devoted all he has to the service of the miserable king Rudolf; in spite of all his fair promises, he now lets me starve." Then spoke the woman: "So you follow King Rudolf — the miserable, blind old man, who has made the country desert and has swallowed up all the poor? Rightly do these and other ills befall you." Then the king said to the woman, "What evil then has he done you?" But she answered him with great bitterness, blaming and ridiculing the king with high abuse: "I and all the bakers of the city, with the exception of two, have been made poor by him, so that we can no longer

enjoy our former well-being in these days." Then the woman proceeded. "Sir, get you gone, you disturb us here in our business." But the king refused to go at the bidding of the woman. Then the woman lost her temper and raising a glass of water poured it over the coals and did woefully spoil the dress of the old soldier — or rather of the king. Then the king got him gone, betaking himself in all haste to his quarters.

When now the king was seated at his table, the high steward placed before him a pig'shead. Then the king thought of the kindness that the baker woman had shown him and wished to pay her his thanks. So he called his house-keeper and said to her: "Take this dish with meat and a quart of wine, and bear it to your neighbour from the 'old soldier.' He sends his thanks for the warmth which he had from her coals this morning." This done, the king told how the baker woman had abused and cursed him and provoked in all great merriment. But the baker woman perceived that it was the king whom she had abused. Then she was sore troubled, came to the king, and earnestly besought him to forgive her for the injury she had done him. But the king refused to forgive her except on one condition — that she should now publicly repeat to him the abuse which she had uttered upon him in private. This the woman did: she obeyed the will of the sovereign and thus provoked laughter from many.^c

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU

Two consequences of the policy of Rudolf I in Germany remained in operation for centuries and continued substantially to affect the destinies of that country. The first was the founding of a great Habsburg dominion; the second, the supremacy of the prince electors in the affairs of the empire. Rudolf did not venture upon the laborious and hazardous attempt to restore the splendours of the ancient empire; he set himself the easier and more profitable task of keeping the kingdom of Germany on the hither side of the Alps and making use of it to increase the power of his dynasty. In return he let other local sovereigns do as they pleased; and the empire broke up more and more into isolated segments, which developed an independent existence, and bore many a fair flower of strength and culture.

So it remained thenceforward. Moreover, at Rudolf's death his house and the prince electors were on a hostile footing. The prince electors would not have the too powerful Habsburger for their lord. They elected in preference (on May 5th, 1292) a prince of inconsiderable fortune, Count Adolphus of Nassau, a valiant knight of noble descent, but scantily supplied with this world's goods, and a vassal of the elector of Treves and of the Rhenish count palatine into the bargain. The insignificance of his private property was the strongest point in his favour in the eyes of the prince electors, as it relieved them of all apprehension that the new king might become formidable to them. For the rest, he was elected chiefly at the instigation of Gerhard von Eppenstein, archbishop of Mainz, who was his uncle. The chosen candidate was compelled to purchase the crown by the sacrifice of certain important prerogatives.

Thus Adolphus of Nassau was invested with the royal dignity; the authority of a king he had yet to win for himself. To achieve this end he chose the same course that his predecessors had taken; he too was minded to exploit the kingship for the aggrandisement of his own house. To procure money for his immediate needs he concluded an alliance with King Edward I of England against Philip the Fair, king of France, who had seized upon many

[1292-1298 A.D.]

districts in imperial territory on the western frontier of Germany. For the sum of £100,000 Adolphus undertook to furnish the king of England with soldiers for the war against France. He did actually levy a large army of mercenaries with the money from England, but used it — as he used another large sum which he took from Matteo Visconti, as payment for appointing him imperial governor of Milan and several other cities in Lombardy — for the conquest of Thuringia. The wretched quarrel between Albert, the unjust landgraf of that province, and his two sons, Frederick and Dietzmann, had broken out again, and Landgraf Albert, enraged at the success of his sons, was ready to sell Meissen and Thuringia to King Adolphus (reserving the usufruct of the latter for himself during his lifetime) for 12,000 silver marks, rather than let them enjoy their good fortune.

King Adolphus closed with this dishonourable bargain. He added wrong to wrong, for when the two young princes gallantly defended their dominions he invaded Thuringia with the brutal mercenary soldiery he had enlisted from the lowest of the people. By this means he added fuel to the civil war that was raging there, while his soldiers perpetrated such outrages as had hardly been laid to the charges of the barbarous Mongols. Most of the Thuringian vassals fought with unswerving loyalty for their rightful sovereigns, but Adolphus succeeded nevertheless in subduing Osterland and the fortified town of Freiburg. There he put to death forty vassals of rank, who had shown themselves bravest in the defence, although he had pledged his word as a king to spare them.

By this violent and unjust method of increasing his territory, the king incurred the vehement displeasure of the German princes. They were also angry that Adolphus entered into close relations with the cities, hoping by their assistance to strengthen himself against the higher aristocracy. A conspiracy was formed among the princes with the archbishop of Mainz and the duke of Austria at its head. The former had raised his nephew to the throne that he might use him as an instrument for the increase of his own power, and it was with great displeasure that he presently became aware of his aspirations after independence. Duke Albert had dissembled but never laid aside the grudge he bore against the king, and had zealously laboured to augment his own power both by forcible means and by alliances. So greatly did he covet the crown of Germany that after the death of Rudolf, his father, he had believed that it could not elude his grasp, and had confidently awaited at Hanau the news of his election.

Gerhard of Mainz and Albert now joined hands for Adolphus' overthrow, and won over the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, as well as King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, Albert's brother-in-law, to their side. Albert was lavish of promises, which he had no intention of keeping. He then raised the standard of rebellion (1298) and marched at the head of a splendid army to the Rhine, while the electors of Mainz, Cologne, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bohemia assembled at Frankfurt and summoned the king to appear before them and answer for his misgovernment and for crimes of all sorts, of which they accused him. When he did not appear, they formally deposed him and elected Albert of Austria king, under the false and worthless pretext that the pope had empowered them to do so. Soon afterwards (on July 2nd, 1298) Adolphus and Albert met for the decisive battle at the Hasenbühl near Göllheim, not far from Worms. Adolphus had only his knights with him, but, eager for the fray, he would not wait for the arrival of his troops from the Rhenish cities, which strongly supported him. Splendid in his royal armour (Albert meanwhile being unrecognisable under a shield not his

own) he dashed upon the foe and fought in knightly fashion for his crown. In falling from his saddle he lost his helmet, but promptly sprang on a fresh charger, recognised his enemy, and dashed forward to meet him. He sank to the ground, however, severely wounded, and was slain under Albert's eyes, many say by Albert's own hand. His death gave his rival the victory and the crown, and his mournful end atoned for many evil deeds into which, as king, he had allowed himself to be hurried by the force of circumstances.¹

ALBERT I

To secure a semblance of right for his claim, Albert now referred the question of the succession to a fresh election, and he was in fact unanimously elected king of Germany, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) on the 24th of August, 1298. To gain his end he had bestowed great privileges on the king of Bohemia, to the prejudice of the crown, and no less upon the three spiritual electors, especially the archbishop of Mainz, who thereby became an almost independent sovereign. The other electors also obtained great concessions from him; in particular, he confirmed their exclusive jurisdiction over their subjects, and thus strengthened their sovereign power in their own dominions.

Having achieved his purpose, however, he desired to wrest from the electors the prerogatives which imposed restrictions on his own authority; for he was passionately ambitious of being an absolute ruler. His will was more to him than justice or law, and it was his pride to be feared. At first he concealed his designs, fearing the opposition of Pope Boniface VIII, a dauntless man who was trying to restore the world-dominion of the papacy. Boniface refused to acknowledge Albert as king and summoned him to Rome to answer for himself. For Albert was unworthy of the throne because through his wife, who was Conradin's step-sister, he was akin to the accursed race of Hohenstaufen. When the king's ambassadors, who had been sent to request the pope to confirm the election, brought this message back, Albert flew into a violent rage, and forthwith allied himself with King Philip of France, ratifying the alliance by the marriage of his son Rudolf with Philip's daughter Blanche, and by lavish promises made to the French king at the expense of the German frontier.

As in this case, so in others, he proceeded remorselessly to violate the law, in the interest of his dynastic power. When the count of Holland and Zealand died, he tried to seize upon these provinces as a fief that had reverted to the empire, although according to Flemish feudal law they devolved upon the female line of Hainault. But Count John of Hainault resisted the king, and Count Reinhold of Gelderland, to whom Albert had behaved with perfidy

¹ Johann von Victring¹ gives the following dramatic account of the death of Adolphus: "In tempestuous course the chief banners were borne before the armies, that of Albert by the count of Leningen, that of Adolphus by the lord of Rechberg, a man of good but not free lineage. Everywhere you could see brave men making good their strength and their skill as warriors and swinging sword and lance in the heat of battle. Adolphus' progress is brave but reckless; his helmet is torn from his head, he hacks about him like a mad she-bear in the mountain forest, who has been robbed of her young. His swift charger brings him into the neighbourhood of Albert and he challenges him to the fray; but Albert, seeing his adversary's uncovered head from which the helmet has gone, wounds him straightway at the first blow of the sword above the eyebrows. The blood gushes forth and the wounded man's eyes grow dim; he plunges from his battle-horse to earth. Meanwhile both armies show the bravest fight as if a whirlwind agitated one against the other. But when Duke Otto of Bavaria and the count palatine Rudolf saw the evil fate that had overtaken their king, then they turned and fled."

[1299-1302 A.D.]

even attempted to assassinate him. Albert narrowly escaped and was finally constrained to bestow Holland in fief upon John of Hainault.

He had better fortune in another feud with the princes. The Rhenish archbishops, who since the Interregnum had directed the election to the throne to their own great profit and held it almost entirely in their own hands, insisted upon maintaining the elective character of the German monarchy, while Albert was desirous of making the crown hereditary in his own house. Hence enmity arose between the two parties. Gerhard of Mainz, who had made both Adolphus and Albert king, is said one day while he was hunting, to have exclaimed in haughty menace, "I can blow other kings out of my hunting horn."

But Albert knew how to deal with this enemy. He entered into alliance with the cities on the Rhine against the archbishops and demanded that the latter should give up the Rhine tolls, which he had promised them in order to secure the crown, and which he had afterwards granted to them. By this demand he won over to his side all the Rhenish cities, whose trade was grievously hampered by these tolls, and to gain and cement their affection he pretended that he was joining issue with the princes from no selfish motives but merely for the protection of the cities, of the lesser nobles, and of all others who were oppressed by them. The exasperated electors summoned him before the tribunal of the count palatine, and prepared to institute a second inquiry into the legality of his election, but Albert, the man of violence, promptly took up the sword, to decide the question by force. The citizens and lesser nobles of the Rhine joyfully flocked to his standard to fight against their oppressors, and presently the strong castles on the Rhine and the cities of the count palatine and the electors of Cologne and Treves were compelled to surrender. Navigation and commerce became free, and the haughty princes were obliged to suppress their rage and submit (1302).

At the same time Pope Boniface VIII found himself so hard pressed by the might of King Philip of France that he resolved to reconcile himself with Albert and acknowledge him as king; and having done this he called upon him to protect the church from Philip of France. Albert's demeanour towards the pope now underwent a sudden change; he humbled himself before him and sacrificed to the church of Rome nearly all the real and presumptive rights which the empire had hitherto claimed in opposition to the papacy.

ALBERTVS I.



ALBERT I (1250-1308)

(After the sixteenth-century woodcut by Burgkmair)

This he did to induce the pope to lend the support of the church's blessing to his arbitrary measures for the extension of the power of the Habsburgs: But the hopes which he built on Rome were not fulfilled. Boniface VIII was taken prisoner by order of the king of France, and died of rage at his fall (1303). His successor in the highest of ecclesiastical offices was under French influence, and even transferred the papal court from Rome to Avignon.

Imperial Aggressions

Albert was at that time at feud with his brother-in-law, Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, who had received many promises and scant performance from him, and who being deeply incensed on that account, had allied himself with the king's enemies. But this was not the only motive for the war. Albert, always greedy of territory, was wroth that the young son of Wenceslaus, who bore his father's name, had been chosen king of Hungary by a party in that country; he could not endure that the race of Ottocar should flourish and enlarge its borders side by side with that of Habsburg. There was another party in Hungary which desired to have Prince Charles Robert of Naples, Albert's nephew, for their king, and to this candidature Albert gave active support, commanded the king of Bohemia to abandon his pretensions to Hungary, and, when he refused to do so, pronounced the sentence of outlawry upon him and invaded his dominions. Wenceslaus died in the following year (1305), and his youthful son, Wenceslaus III, renounced his claim to the Hungarian crown. He was murdered at Olmutz in 1306, and by his death the male line of Ottocar became extinct. Albert then seized upon Bohemia as a fief, lapsed to the crown, in order to bestow it upon his son Rudolf; and as the Bohemian estates asserted their right of election he contrived by force and fraud to get Rudolf elected king, though in the teeth of a strong opposition.

Albert was also desirous of gaining possession of Thuringia and Meissen on the pretext that King Adolphus had not conquered those provinces for himself but for the empire. To preserve the semblance of impartiality he invited all those who put forward claims to them to appear before him at Fulda and have them decided (1306). The two brothers, Frederick and Dietzmann, did not come thither, and Albert therefore laid them under the ban of the empire and sent a large body of soldiers into Thuringia from Swabia and the Rhine. But at Lucka (in Altenburg) his forces were so thoroughly beaten (1307) as to give rise to the Thuringian saying: "You will prosper like the Swabians at Lucka." This took place in May. Soon afterwards Albert's son, King Rudolf of Bohemia, died (July, 1307), and the crown of that confederacy was lost to the Habsburgs. The Bohemians would not have Rudolf's brother for their king, and for a money consideration he abandoned his claims in favour of Duke Henry of Carinthia, brother-in-law to Wenceslaus III, who was preferred by the Bohemian estates. Thus both here and in Thuringia Albert's endeavours to aggrandise the power of his house had come to naught, but in another quarter his greed was destined to redound to his own perdition.

When he reconciled himself with Pope Boniface the latter had absolved him from all engagements into which he had entered with other princes. Thus confirmed in his disregard of the obligations he had undertaken, the king soon proceeded to violate those which he owed to his own kindred. His nephew John, who had grown to manhood at his court, begged him in vain to give him the portion of the Habsburg hereditary possessions in Swabia that had belonged to his father Rudolf, or at least the county of Kyburg which his

[1308 A.D.]

mother had bequeathed to him. To all the entreaties of the young man, who was by this time nineteen years of age, Albert returned evasive answers; at one time — he was still too young; at another — let him wait until Meissen was conquered, then he should have that.

Hence John conceived a feeling of sullen resentment against his greedy uncle. He conspired with his friends, Walter von Eschenbach, Ulrich von Palm, Rudolf von der Wart, and Conrad von Tegernfeld, and watched for an opportunity of wreaking sanguinary vengeance for the wrong that had been done him. It was soon found.

Cherishing thoughts of his revenge upon the Bohemians and Thuringians who had so stubbornly resisted his greed of territory, King Albert departed in the spring of 1308 for Swabia and Switzerland. He had considerably augmented the dominions of his family, he had acquired the patronage of many churches and abbeys for his house — not without great wrong done to the rights and liberties of others. Only the three valleys of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, which he would gladly have incorporated with his dominions in Aargau, manfully defended their ancient freedom and would not become subject to the house of Austria. Albert was now preparing to compass the downfall of their liberty by force. But vengeance was already dogging his own footsteps.^d

The Chronicle concerning John the Parricide

John, the son of the king's brother, whom he kept with his own sons at his court, maintained that the strongholds of the lordship of Kyburg belonged to him, for that in the past King Rudolf had given them as a dowry to his mother, and as it was a matter of much import with him to possess them, he begged with much insistence that at least some of them should be yielded up to him. But because the king was not moved to this, and furthermore curtailed many barons in their properties and privileges, while the queen often and often besought him to provide well for her children, accusing John of wastefulness, therefore the latter finally decided with the barons Rudolf von der Wart, Walter von Eschenbach, and Ulrich von Palm to murder the king.

But when the queen drove to Rheinfelden and had reached Little Bâle, the bishop went out to her, and, stepping near her carriage, implored her favour and that she would reconcile him with the king. Conrad Mönch, however, a knight of Bâle, said to the drivers that they would do well to urge forward their horses; and when they did so, the bishop was bespattered with mud. Another day the bishop of Strasburg begged the king, who happened to be in his palace at Baden, to yield one of his castles to the aforementioned duke, but the king replied that he would entrust the duke with a hundred helmeted men on the expedition of the king of Bohemia, and on his return he would give him one of the castles. This was told by the bishop to the duke, whereupon the latter observed that he was a poor man and that the commission to equip the men would be a heavy charge on him; death and deprivation of what was his seemed a hard lot to him.

Also Walter von Eschenbach demanded of the king to have back what was taken from him, saying he was a blood relation of the king, that his father had fallen in the royal service, and it would do the king no benefit to oppress him also. Now when they were taking a meal with the king, he placed a crown of roses on the heads of the sons of each and all, including Duke John. But with tears in his eyes the duke set his down upon the table and refused to remain with his people any longer at the board.

Now when the king after his meal decided to ride to the queen at Rheinfelden and had come to the river Reuss, John and his men were the first to sail over in the sole ship that was there. Thereupon the king also crossed over and rode through the meadows as was his wont in parley with Walter von Castelen; the duke and his men drew nigh to him. First of all Rudolf von der Wart cried out: "How much longer shall we suffer this carrion crow to ride on?" His servant Rulassingen caught the king's bridle, Duke John plunged a knife into his neck, Rudolf von der Wart pierced him with a sword, and Ulrich von Palm cleft his head open; but Walter von Eschenbach, though he stood by while the deed was done, did him no despite. Thus was murdered in his own land the mighty Roman king Albert, the son of King Rudolf, after a reign of ten years, in the year of the Lord 1308 on the 1st of May at noon. On the spot was built the monastery of Königsfelden of the order of the Minorites, and at first the king was placed in it, but was afterwards transported to Speier. In the same monastery several of his sons also were buried; here, too, later on, the daughter of the king, the former queen of Hungary, spent a holy life of forty years' duration.

The murderers escaped and came first to the castle of Fribourg; but, betrayed by the count of Nidau the lord of the castle, with whom they had taken refuge, they dispersed. Von Palm, a brave knight, was for long at Bâle, concealed in the house of the lay sisters, where he died. While he was still living, his castle Altbüren was taken by Duke Leopold, the king's son, and fifty of the castellans were beheaded. The castle of Schnabelburg and other possessions of Walter von Eschenbach were destroyed; he himself became a herdsman in the territory of the graf of Württemberg. Thirty-five years later he revealed his identity on his deathbed and was honourably buried. Von der Wart was fain to make a pilgrimage to the apostolic chair after that he had for some while lain perdu in his castle of Falkenstein. When he came to Yla, a city of the count Theobald de Blamont, the court fool betrayed him to the count and his lady, who was of the house of Veringen; and with tears in her eyes she said: "Far be it from my thoughts that he should escape who murdered my sovereign, and blood relation." Together with his servant Rulassingen he was taken captive by the count and ransomed for gold to Duke Leopold. Hence this count is called "the bargainer."

Rulassingen was broken on the wheel at Ensisheim, but Von der Wart was conducted to the scene of the king's murder to be there awarded judgment. As he was given no legal support, he made his own defence, denied at first that he had murdered the king, and offered a challenge to single combat; then he added, no crime had been committed against the man who himself had incurred the guilt of high treason by killing his sovereign, the Roman king.¹ But after the murder had been condemned by the proclamation of the emperor Henry, it was decided that a further verdict was no longer necessary. So he was bound to a horse's tail, dragged to the place of execution, and here, after his limbs had been broken, tied to a wheel. His wife, a Von Palm before her marriage, came in the night and threw herself upon the ground under the wheel, like the crucified man, and remained fixed in prayer. But when he was asked if he desired the presence of his wife, he replied that he did not want this, for that her compassion was as painful to him as his own suffering. As a widow this woman passed a holy life for many years at Bâle. But Duke John, after he had concealed himself in many places, came at last to Pisa disguised as a Beguin, was taken prisoner by the emperor Henry, and remained many

[¹ The Stras-burg manuscript adds: "Since Albert himself had undone Adolphus, his sovereign."]

[1308 A.D.]

years after the emperor's death in prison; at last he too died and was honourably buried.¹

But after the death of the king there came a messenger in the twilight, when the besieged on the Fürstenstein were fain to surrender and he cried up to the summit of the mountain: "Lord of Raperg, the king is murdered."^e

KING HENRY VII, THE LUXEMBURGER

After the murder of King Albert some time elapsed before the crown of Germany again fell to his line, for the memory of his imperious rule and the dread of the overpowering might of the Habsburgs held the princes in fear; moreover many of them aspired to the same splendid position. Least of all were the spiritual electors disposed to let the monarchy become hereditary in one family; for, as matters stood, every fresh election was a chance of bargaining for fresh prizes for themselves.

Among the candidates who now came forward, Philip the Fair, king of France, appeared to urge the claims of his brother, Charles of Valois. The danger that Germany would thus fall under the dominion of a foreign ruler was by no means chimerical, for two German princes, the archbishop of Cologne and the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, were prepared to vote for Charles, and the German nation had no voice in the choice of its king. Fortunately for Germany, the pope realised that the dignity and independence of the church would be hopelessly forfeited if he unconditionally obeyed the king of France in this matter, and that his best protection against French omnipotence would be a German king.

He therefore secretly and urgently admonished the electors of Mainz and Treves to hurry on the election, and their country profited by the self-interested motives of the two prelates. They both proposed Count Henry of Luxemburg; the elector Baldwin of Treves urged his candidature because he was his brother, and the elector of Mainz, whose name was Peter Aichspalter, because such a choice would exclude the Habsburgs he hated, and because, having been intimately connected with the Luxemburgers in earlier days, he hoped for great future benefits from Henry. In fact Henry had to promise him the confirmation of all the privileges and liberties of the archiepiscopal see of Mainz, together with continual support and large sums of money. Peter Aichspalter then put forth all his craft and restless energy, and so contrived to have his protégé elected king of Germany under the title of Henry VII, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, on November 27th, 1308. The votes were given by ballot, and were therefore secret, a complete departure from previous usage. This method of election was due to the influence of the archbishop of Mainz, because by its means he could be more certain of the successful issue of his wiles.

King Henry VII's private dominions were small, but his reputation for

¹ This corresponds with the account given by Heinrich the Deaf. "The wandering fugitive, Duke John, murderer of King Albert, wrapped in the robes of an Augustine monk, threw himself before his (the emperor's) feet and begged for mercy. He explained that he was sent by the pope who had decided that his crime must be punished according to civil law, but not according to the regulations of the church. The emperor was no little moved and knew not what to do. He felt it hard to refuse to listen to the weeping man, but to permit a crime so unheard of to go unpunished seemed to him unjust and godless. Struggling between mercy and uprightness he at last found a third way out of his difficulty: the criminal should not lose his life, but should be severely punished. So the emperor gave orders to put him in a tower and keep him in strict confinement there till his death, so that thus he might at least repent and obtain God's pardon." [The account of Ferreto di Vicenza is very similar to this; only he makes Genoa the scene of the interview between the emperor and John.]

courage, wisdom, and justice stood high — and for good reason. To be saved from a French king was unquestionably a boon for Germany; if only Henry VII had not been infected with so many un-German qualities! In education and tastes he was half French, he loved splendour and pomp, there was something of the adventurer in his temperament, which was chivalrous but over-fantastic. His first appearance as king was both gorgeous and significant, for he caused pompous funeral rites to be celebrated at the first great diet which he held at Speier. He had the bodies of his two predecessors, Adolphus and Albert, carried thither and interred with great honour beside the empress, in the cathedral. There those two enemies lay side by side in the peace of the grave, while he comforted their sorrowing widows (1309). At the same time he laid Albert's murderers under the ban of the empire and abandoned them to the vengeance of the Habsburgs. Thus he secured the gratitude of that great princely house.

On the other hand, he intimidated them by confirming the immediacy of the free communes of Switzerland and postponing the enfeoffment of Frederick the Handsome of Austria, the eldest son of Albert I. Thus he succeeded in procuring the assent of the Habsburgs to a project which greatly augmented the family dominions of the new king.

Bohemia, which King Albert had taken much trouble to procure for his own house, and for his eldest son Rudolf, had been given up after the death of the latter, as has already been mentioned, to Duke Henry of Carinthia. He, however, had made himself so unpopular among the Bohemians by the preference he exhibited for his countrymen the Carinthians, that one party in the country determined to offer the crown to John, son of Henry VII, on condition that he should marry Elizabeth, the youngest sister of their former king, Wenceslaus III. In return for many concessions, made in part at the expense of the empire, the Habsburgs consented that Bohemia should not revert to them but pass in the manner aforesaid to the house of Luxemburg. The princes of the empire then deposed Henry of Carinthia on the ground that he had neglected to do homage for Bohemia as a fief of the German Empire, and declared that the country had lapsed to the crown. Thereupon Henry bestowed it on his son John and married him to Elizabeth. This took place at a general diet of the empire (*parlamentum generale*, as the assembly was styled), held at Frankfort in 1310. Here the king's peace was once more enjoined; for it had been disturbed by many unruly nobles, and especially by Eberhard, the haughty count of Würtemberg, who had driven the Swabian cities of the empire into revolt by his oppressions. The king laid him under the ban. On the other hand, Landgraf Frederick (who was nicknamed Frederick with the Bitten Cheek¹) was once more acknowledged sovereign of Meissen and Thuringia, where his rights had been contested by Albert I.

Henry is Crowned Emperor, and Dies in Italy (1312-1313 A.D.)

The most urgent affairs of state were hardly disposed of, and Henry had only just succeeded in acquiring a considerable extent of territory for his

[¹ In Meissen and Thuringia, Albert the Degenerate had persecuted his wife, Margarete, of the noble house of Hohenstaufen, and his children, with the most rancorous hatred, on account of the disappointment of the hopes of aggrandisement which had formed the sole motive of his alliance with that family. He even despatched one of his servants to the Wartburg for the purpose of assassinating her; but the countess, warned by him of his lord's intention, fled secretly (after biting her eldest son, Frederick, in the cheek, in token of the vengeance she intended to take) to Frankfort, where she shortly afterwards died of grief.—MENZEL.]

[1312-1313 A.D.]

house (a matter which all kings felt imperative, and with good reason, in view of the power of other princely families), before he brought forward the idea which most strongly stirred his ambitious spirit. He longed to set the imperial crown upon his head, to revive the ancient greatness and glory of the shattered empire, to add Rome and Italy once more to the imperial dominions; and so he turned into the abandoned paths which the Hohenstaufens had trodden, and which had led them, in spite of power far greater than his, to such an unfortunate end.

It is true that things in Italy seemed at that time extremely favourable to the restoration of the ancient empire. It had been conquered by the papacy, but the credit of the papacy itself had suffered a severe shock in the struggle, and had soon afterwards succumbed before the French king, who had brought it under his own ascendancy in the Babylonian Captivity.^d

The story of Henry's triumphal entry into Italy has already been told in volume IX of our history. It will be recalled that Henry received the imperial crown at Rome on the 29th of June, 1312, and that he died suddenly at the convent of Buon Convento on August 24th of the following year.^a The circumstance that he received the sacrament shortly before his death gave rise to the [probably unfounded] assertion that a Dominican friar had administered poison to him in the consecrated elements.

Thus speedily perished this chivalrous emperor and his high-flown projects. Rapid and splendid as a meteor, he pursued his course over the ruins of the past, and like a meteor vanished suddenly into the night of time, leaving no trace behind. He pursued a phantom; therefore he lived and strove in vain. That which he had founded in Germany — the power of the house of Luxemburg — survived him for a while; but it brought no blessing to the nation and kingdom of Germany.

CIVIL BROILS

Henry VII, unmindful of his nearest duties and interests, had gone to Italy to restore the ancient glories of the empire. And yet Germany was in dire need of a zealous defender, a careful organiser. The empire was filled with tumults and feuds waged by the greedy princes, sometimes against their own kin, more often against their weaker neighbours. Ever since the Interregnum the various members of the empire had looked in vain for effective and lasting support from the king; they had been driven to learn how to protect themselves, and among the weak the expedient of confederacy had proved its value. The cities, above all, had become effective guardians of the public peace by means of firm alliances; and it was mainly to their aid that the kings owed the victories they sometimes gained over the great troublers of the peace.

Thus it was mainly by the substantial assistance of the Swabian cities of the empire that the sentence of outlawry which Henry VII had pronounced upon Count Eberhard of Württemberg before his expedition to Rome could be carried into effect.

It was a harder task to impose tranquillity upon the great princes, whose self-interested ambition was perpetually fanning the flame of war to a blaze. The families of Anhalt and Wettin in the north, and of Wittelsbach and Habsburg in the south were seldom at peace among themselves or with their neighbours.

In Brandenburg the conquests and institutions of Albert the Bear had been continued with skill and success by his descendants, the Anhalt princes.

During the thirteenth century they had greatly extended their territory up the Havel and Spree and across the Oder, had acquired Barnim, Teltow, Lebus, Uckermark, and Neumark by purchase or conquest, and made the country German by colonisation. The settlements were usually made in the following way: The markgraf sold a *Mark*, or district, to a German who cleared the land and planted a village on it, and then gave it back to the markgraf, the lord of the country, receiving in return certain privileges, such as a share of the proceeds of the law-courts, toll from millers and gardeners, four hides of land and the office of village-magistrate (*Schulz*), which remained attached to his farm as a feudal privilege (*Lehensschulzen*). Besides the *Lehensschulz* the village was inhabited by peasant settlers, who paid moderate dues to the lord of the manor and followed the markgraf in war; the local jurisdiction was exercised by the markgraf's bailiff, who was assisted by the *Schulz* in the capacity of sheriff. The cottars (*Kossäten*) held a lower position than the land-owning peasants. The larger landowners in the new marks soon constituted a kind of aristocracy (consisting largely of the military vassals of the markgraf) which imitated the character of the German knightly class. Cities were likewise founded in the new marks by the Anhalt line, one of them being Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Like the villages, they came into being by German colonisation, all the citizens (*Ackerbürger* — an inhabitant of a town who practises agriculture) were German, and were divided into four principal guilds (shoemakers, tailors, butchers, and bakers) and applied themselves to husbandry as well as to their trades. The Slavonic aborigines had no citizen rights and lived outside the walls in the *vici slavicales* (*Kietzen*); they were for the most part fishermen and gardeners. The older cities of the mark, especially Stendal, drove a brisk trade, and some of them joined the Hanseatic League.

Thus fresh German blood was poured into the marks, and its vigour enhanced the consequence of the markgraf. He was the military over-lord and ruled his marks as his private property, as to the government of which the nobles and clergy had little to say, and the king hardly anything at all. Good fighters and good managers all, the Anhalt princes created a considerable domain in these parts, and strove to augment it by every means in their power. They divided their territory in 1266 between the two branches of Stendal and Salzwedel, but they nevertheless continued to live together in harmony. Markgraf Otto with the Arrow was famous among them as a knight and minnesinger (died 1309); but the most famous of them all was Markgraf Waldemar, who was the head of the family at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was the bravest and most powerful prince of his day in north Germany, a successful conqueror and a sagacious statesman. He divided Pomerellen (the country between the Stolpe and Vistula) with the knights of the Teutonic order, and won large portions of Lusatia and Meissen to the south of his dominions. This brought him into conflict with the Wettin princes, whose chief representative, Landgraf Frederick of Thuringia was as warlike as he himself. Waldemar defeated him at Grossenhain in 1312 and took him prisoner.

In the north Waldemar's reputation steadily rose; all the princes in those parts looked on him with envy, and when he presently went to war with Witzlaf, prince of Rügen, who had attempted to bring Stralsund under his authority, most of the princes of north Germany, together with Poland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, entered into a league against him. Waldemar, however, made head against his enemies valiantly at the battle of Gransee in 1316, and the league was dissolved. He died in the year 1319,

[1314 A.D.]

leaving no issue, and was soon followed to the grave by Landgraf Frederick with the Bitten Cheek, whose long life had been an uninterrupted series of conflicts and adventures.

RIVALRY OF HABSBURG AND WITTELSBACH (1314 A.D.)

Meanwhile in south Germany the two great families of Habsburg and Wittelsbach were vying with one another in importance, the one strongly established in the Austrian provinces and Switzerland, and ever covetous of fresh possessions; the other in Bavaria and the palatinate. The strength of the Habsburgs was their unity; five brothers, sons of King Albert, ruled the hereditary dominions of their house conjointly, under the superintendence of Frederick the Handsome and Leopold — the eldest two. Wittelsbach, on the contrary, exhausted its own strength by territorial divisions and family quarrels.^d

Nevertheless Duke Ludwig of Upper Bavaria, of the house of Wittelsbach, was able to make headway against Frederick the Handsome of Austria, in a petty war which had resulted from a domestic quarrel, and at the death of Henry VII he already stood out as the most likely leader of the party that opposed the Habsburgs.^a

The choice of the electoral princes was certain not to fall upon Henry VII's son, the young king John of Bohemia, because they were anxious, from motives of self-interest, that the monarchy should not become hereditary. Some of them favoured Frederick the Handsome: he himself cherished confident hopes of obtaining the crown; the Habsburg power was great; he had friends in high places, such as the archbishop of Cologne, Rudolf the count palatine, and the dukes of Saxe-Wittenberg and Carinthia; above all he had strong support in his able brother, Duke Leopold.¹

The latter, "the flower of chivalry" as he was styled, laboured indefatigably and with passionate zeal to procure his brother's elevation. But the Luxemburgers, with John of Bohemia and the elector of Treves at their head, were firmly resolved that the crown should not fall to the Habsburgs. They turned their eyes to Ludwig the Bavarian, who had just defeated Frederick the Handsome at Gammelsdorf, and made him an offer of the crown. He had scruples about accepting it at first, but ultimately did so, when the Luxemburgers gave him assurances of the strongest support against Frederick. They brought some other princes over to their side, mainly by the exertions of Peter Aichspalter, archbishop of Mainz, the chief of whom were the electors of Brandenburg and Saxe-Lauenburg. Like his immediate predecessors, Ludwig the Bavarian was obliged to promise the electors great privileges and large sums of money in return for their votes.

LUDWIG OF BAVARIA AND FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA

When the day of election was at length come the two parties of Habsburg and Luxemburg encamped on the Main outside Frankfort. On the 19th of October the first named elected Frederick the Handsome by four votes,

[¹ This Leopold, the son of Albert I, supported the Habsburg party, and his brother, Frederick the Handsome, against Ludwig. He should be remembered in connection with the Swiss victory of Morgarten in 1315, at which he was beaten in the endeavour to punish the Waldstätte for siding with Ludwig. He is to be distinguished from his nephew Leopold; who attacked the Swiss with equal violence and with an effect even more disastrous to Austria later on at Sempach in 1386.^a]

and the following day their opponents elected Ludwig the Bavarian by five. The city of Frankfort readily opened its gates to the latter and did him homage as the rightful sovereign of the empire, while it refused to admit Frederick the Handsome. The latter tried to get to Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) with all speed and be crowned there; but Ludwig the Bavarian was the first to arrive, and Frederick consequently had himself crowned at Bonn by the archbishop of Cologne on November 25th. Ludwig received the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle on the following day from the hands of the archbishop of Mainz. Thus each of the rivals had something of traditional usage in his favour — Frederick that he had been crowned by the archbishop who had been wont to perform the ceremony from ancient times, Ludwig that his coronation had taken place on the spot which tradition had assigned for it. Moreover the elections had hitherto been made by a unanimous vote, and the law of election did not provide for the case of a mere majority.

Thus each of the two adduced precedent for the lawfulness of his election, and the decision was referred to the judgment of God in battle. Germany was divided into hostile camps, and a civil war broke out which lasted for years. All noble families and cities took sides, the latter holding mainly with Ludwig the Bavarian, the friend of the people. The four cantons likewise declared for him. They had been at feud with the abbot of Einsiedeln, who was protected by the house of Habsburg, and having attacked the abbey had been interdicted and laid under the ban of the empire in consequence; Ludwig released them from the ban, and caused the archbishop of Mainz to absolve them from the interdict also.

Meanwhile the contest between the two rival kings lasted for eight years without coming to a decisive issue, for the might of the Habsburgs was great enough to counterbalance that of any other German prince, and as Ludwig the Bavarian gained little substantial support from the Luxemburgers, who had elevated him to the throne, he was unable to make himself master of the empire. The worst of the suffering fell upon the country itself. The electors were not sorry to witness the general confusion, as it left them freer to rule as they pleased within their own dominions.

To the pope, John XXII, the chaotic state of the empire was even more welcome. Instead of taking the side of either of the disputants in the name of the church, he called them both "his beloved sons and chosen kings of Rome," at the same time making the quarrel a pretext for declaring himself the rightful regent (vicar) of the empire. His motive for this step was self-interest, for under this title he purposed to win upper Italy for himself. With the same object he used his revenues (which he had enormously increased by the institution of a fresh ecclesiastical tax, the *annates*, i.e. the first year's income of every vacant benefice) to keep an army in his pay, and commanded the chiefs of the Lombard cities to resign the imperial governorships conferred upon them by the emperor Henry VII.

On this point his will was most stubbornly withstood by Milan, where the family of the Visconti had acquired the supreme power. In vain did the papal mercenaries besiege the city; it appealed for aid to King Ludwig, and obtained from him a body of auxiliaries who put the papal troops to flight. John XXII now openly took his stand against Ludwig, who in the meantime had grown too strong for him in Germany. Thus the decision between the two rival kings was at length brought about. To put an end to the uncertain strife Frederick the Handsome, in the autumn of 1322, made an incursion into Bavaria, where his soldiers wrought frightful havoc, while his brother Leopold invaded the country from Swabia.

[1322 A.D.]

The Battle of Mühldorf (1322 A.D.)

Frederick, with a large and well-equipped army, reinforced by auxiliary troops from Hungary, was camped at Mühldorf on the Inn, and from thence sent couriers to his brother Leopold to join him with all speed. If the brothers succeeded in effecting a junction Ludwig was lost, but Leopold inopportunately lingered by the way, and, to Ludwig's great good fortune, the messengers who went to and fro between the brothers were caught by the Bavarian peasants, so that neither learned anything of the other's movements. Ludwig advanced rapidly to meet the enemy and ranged his army in order of battle on Ampfing Heath (not far from Mühldorf). The men of the cities formed the main body of his force (as the nobles, of Frederick's), and he had with him the troops supplied by the elector of Treves and King John of Bohemia. He placed the burgraff of Nuremberg, Frederick III of Zollern, in ambush with four hundred knights who assumed Austrian colours and carried Austrian banners to delude the enemy. King Ludwig, probably for prudential reasons, wore a plain coat of mail; Frederick, on the contrary, rode proudly in the van of his host in royal armour, the imperial eagle on his glittering golden mail, the crown upon his helmet — never had he been handsomer than on that day.

The battle began in the early morning of the 22nd of September, 1322. The trumpets blared, the drums rattled, and with wild outcries Frederick's Hungarian auxiliaries, the savage Cumanians and Bulgarians, charged the left wing of Ludwig's line. That position was held by the Bohemians under King John, and they gave ground before the onslaught; the Bavarian horsemen were presently driven back in places. Ludwig himself was in danger of being taken prisoner, but the bakers of Munich forced their way to him through the press and cut him a way out with sturdy blows; the rest of the citizen foot-soldiers also bore themselves bravely. For hours the fight surged to and fro. The Bohemians rallied again, and then the burgraff of Nuremberg decided the fortune of the day.

From a wooded valley on the river Isen the Austrians suddenly saw fresh troops advancing with their own banners and colours, and thought Duke Leopold had come. The new arrivals pressed close upon the flanks and rear of the Austrians, they were eye to eye before the stratagem was discovered; this was no Duke Leopold, but their enemy the burgraff of Nuremberg with fresh succours. Terror ran through the Austrian ranks. Surrounded on all sides, they took flight to the Isen and across it; Frederick with three noble comrades still fought madly in a meadow. At length his horse fell and he was taken prisoner. Ludwig greeted him kindly, but profound grief kept Frederick silent. According to one legend Schweppermann's brother-in-law, Ritter Albrecht von Rindsmaul, was the man to whom Frederick yielded himself prisoner. Schweppermann himself, so the story goes, had greatly distinguished himself that day, and at the meal on the evening of the battle, where the scanty fare consisted of a number of eggs, one for each and one over, King Ludwig honoured him by giving him the last, with the words: "One egg to every man, two to honest Schweppermann" (*Jedem ein Ei, dem frommen Schweppermann zwei*). The old hero had these words inscribed upon his tombstone. In the days immediately following, Ludwig sent his captive rival in honourable custody to the castle of Trausnitz on the Pfreimd, near Nabburg.

By this great victory Ludwig the Bavarian set the crown securely on his head and gained power and prestige enough to come forward openly as

sovereign of the whole empire. He used his good fortune with prudence and courage. The first thing he did was to try and increase his hereditary dominions. In the same year, 1323, he held a diet at Nuremberg, commanded that the king's peace should be maintained, and put an end to a long quarrel about the mark of Brandenburg, the sovereignty of which had fallen vacant by the death of the elector Waldemar (1319) and of his sole heir, Henry of Landsberg (1320). He adjudged it to be a fief that had lapsed to the empire, and bestowed it upon his son Ludwig, then eighteen years of age. Thus the rule of the Wittelsbach line followed upon that of the Anhalts in the mark.

New Dissensions

But in spite of the momentary advantage he had gained, King Ludwig had by no means entered into peaceful possession of the throne. Duke Leopold of Austria had not given up his brother's cause as lost, but was moving heaven and earth to oppose his victorious enemy. Moreover two fresh and mighty adversaries arose, the Luxemburgs and the pope; the former because they feared and envied the overweening might of the Wittelsbach prince and thought their own services insufficiently rewarded; the latter because Ludwig had kept him from conquering Lombardy and had not conferred the imperial governorship of that province upon him. The pope had a document affixed to the doors of the cathedral at Avignon, the purport of which was that Ludwig should refrain from all government functions and cancel all that he had hitherto done as king, because he had not applied for the pope's sanction to his election. No man was to acknowledge him king on pain of excommunication.

When Ludwig heard of this proceeding he wrote at Nuremberg a solemn and indignant defence of the rights of the empire and of the independence of the German crown, and appealed to a general council of the church. The pope carried his arrogant pretensions a step farther, and made secret preparations for depriving Ludwig of the crown and procuring it for King Charles IV of France. He excommunicated Ludwig (1324) for failing to obey his commands, and laid Germany under an interdict. Substantial weight was added to these curses by the fact that King Ludwig's numerous political opponents, especially the Luxemburgs and the Habsburgs, made common cause with the pope.

Ludwig and Germany, however, found weighty supporters in an unexpected quarter — the order of Minorites (Franciscans). This brotherhood stubbornly upheld the vow of unconditional poverty, according to which they might not possess the slenderest share of this world's goods, and because the pope repudiated this doctrine they boldly opposed him and impugned his authority. By sermons and in the confessional they strove zealously to open the eyes of the populace to the usurpations of the Roman see, to the abuses and vices of the Roman court, and thus tore asunder the veil of illusion behind which, in the minds of the people, the pope had appeared not merely as the vice regent of God upon earth but almost as divine omnipotence itself, in the glory of inconceivable holiness and majesty. By this means the dreaded weapon of the interdict was shorn of much of its terror even amongst the lower classes of the population.

The burgher class likewise remained loyal to the king and was no less wroth than he at the arrogant pretensions of the papacy, and hence the superior clergy, the Dominicans; and many of the bishops gained little by their attempts to stir up rebellion against the excommunicated sovereign.

[1325 A.D.]

The pope endeavoured all the more fiercely to compass his overthrow by temporal means. He induced the king of Poland to invade Brandenburg (1325) and prompted Duke Leopold of Austria to offer the crown of Germany to King Charles IV of France. This the Habsburg prince did, and received from the French king in return a promise of the gift of many free German cities and counties in the event of the business coming to a successful issue. But the other German princes were more conscientious, and the election of Charles came to nothing. Count Berthold von Bucheck, commander of the order of Teutonic knights at Coblenz, distinguished himself by his manful protest against such an ignominious act.

None the less King Ludwig's position was insecure enough, in view of the enmity or lukewarm friendship of all the electors. Moreover (in 1325) he was defeated in the field by Duke Leopold. With a heavy heart he reviewed the perils which were gathering about him on every side, and ultimately resolved to propose a friendly agreement to his captive rival. He rode secretly from Munich to the castle of Trausnitz, and offered Frederick the Handsome his liberty. Frederick's confessor Gottfried, the pious prior of the Carthusian monastery of Mauerbach, lent his aid in the work of reconciliation. Frederick was willing to come to terms; he abdicated the crown and promised on his own behalf and on that of his brother to do homage to the king and to aid him against all his enemies, undertaking that, if he could not accomplish this reconciliation, he would surrender himself prisoner again at the solstice on the feast of St. John. The reconciled friends devoutly heard mass and received the holy sacrament together. They then embraced and kissed one another with profound emotion. This took place on the 13th of March, 1325.

Frederick returned to Vienna and did his utmost to induce his family to recognise the compact. He even tried to bring about a reconciliation between Ludwig and the pope. But John XXII would not hear of peace; he declared that the oath which Frederick had sworn to the king was void and that he was liable to excommunication if he kept it. Even his brother Leopold was not to be moved by his arguments, but loaded him with taunts for his weak complaisance and would have nothing to say to the agreement. The pope encouraged Leopold in his vehement opposition; he went so far as to call upon the kings of France and Poland to take up arms against Germany, and absolved the people of Brandenburg from the oath they had sworn to Ludwig's son.

When Frederick found that he could not keep the compact he resolved nevertheless to keep his word. At the solstice he came back to Munich and voluntarily gave himself into custody. Ludwig clasped him to his heart with profound emotion and received him as a friend. For a long while the pope could not believe that such loyalty was possible to German nature, but Ludwig placed firm reliance upon it. When he was forced to go to his son's assistance in Brandenburg he left Bavaria under the faithful guardianship of Frederick. On the 5th of September, 1325, they entered into a compact to rule the empire conjointly, which was opposed by the pope and the electors as soon as it became known to them, but was maintained by the two kings in spite of opposition. Fortunately Duke Leopold died soon after at Strasburg; and Frederick, full of grief and yearning for repose, retired into the Carthusian monastery of Mauerbach. He did not long survive his brother, but died in 1330.

THE REIGN OF LUDWIG THE BAVARIAN

After the death of Leopold, Ludwig's irreconcilable foe, the energy of his opponents in Germany began to flag; the pope alone did not cease from setting

snare and difficulties in his way. Ludwig, for his part, resolved to clutch at his adversary's crown, to put an end to the scandal of Avignon, and, as defender of the church, to set up a pope at Rome once more. With this object he went to Italy in the year 1327, there to assume the imperial crown, and so acquire a higher and more authoritative standing in ecclesiastical matters. He met with a favourable reception at Milan, and also at Rome, where the Ghibelline party was for the time in the ascendant; in the former place he had himself crowned with the iron crown of Lombardy, in the latter with the crown of the empire (1328). The imperial coronation ceremony was not performed in the name of the pope as heretofore, but in that of the city of Rome, the ancient mistress of the world. A Roman noble of the great house of the Colonna opened the gates of the city to the king and handed over the diadem to him in St. Peter's. Ludwig then deposed the pope, on the charge of having profaned his high office by simony and heresy, and caused the Romans to elect a Minorite monk, who assumed the name of Nicholas V, to be pope in his stead. The emperor himself invested him with the papal mantle and placed on his finger the ring which was the symbol of papal authority.

For the moment it seemed as though, after its long struggle, the empire had won a final victory over the papacy; but the victory was a mere illusion and this journey to Rome proved no less futile than many before it. For the German princes who had accompanied Ludwig returned home soon after the coronation, and his powerful supporter Castruccio, a Ghibelline soldier who had risen to be master of the city of Lucca, and whom Ludwig had elevated to the rank of duke of Lucca, likewise left Rome.

The soldiers of King Robert of Naples made raids right up to the gates of the city; Ludwig could no longer pay his own men, and he was compelled by sheer need of money to impose taxes on the Romans. His popularity rapidly declined; rebellion and treason grew rife about him; John XXII summoned all Italy to arms against him. Ludwig was obliged to leave Rome on the 6th of August; the fickle Romans followed him with shouts of "Long live the holy church!" "Death to the heretics!" and made their peace with Pope John. Dogged at every step by want and danger, the emperor marched through Italy back to Germany, after having brought about a family compact at Pavia to ensure the hereditary dominions of the house of Wittelsbach against partition.

It was the king's constant endeavour to increase and consolidate the power of his house by every possible means, and in this matter he went prudently and zealously to work. The fear of the Luxemburgs, who were perpetually striving to forestall the Wittelsbachs in the race for territory, withheld him from arbitrary measures, for which, indeed, he had neither sufficient audacity nor substantial might. For although the death of Frederick the Handsome, in 1330, left him sole king of Germany, he gained little by it in the way of revenue or property; and other great princely families, such as the Luxemburgs and Habsburgs, matched, if they did not surpass him in the extent of their dynastic possessions. In fact, these two houses soon afterwards enriched themselves by a great heritage which they snatched from the king's grasp. The latter would gladly have seized upon at least a portion of the lands of old Duke Henry of Carinthia, but was outwitted by King John of Bohemia, who married his younger son, John Henry, to the duke's daughter Margarete Maultasch (so called from her birth-place, the castle of Maultasch in the Tyrol), and then came to an agreement with the Habsburgs, who were collateral relations of the duke of Carinthia, by which he took the Tyrol and they Carinthia and Carniola after the death of the reigning sovereign (1335).

Meanwhile the pope continued ceaselessly to stir up strife against the

[1336-1338 A.D.]

emperor until, for the sake of peace, the latter made a great effort to come to terms with the adversary he had failed to conquer. The pope demanded that he should sacrifice the hated Minorites, and Ludwig was weak enough to profess his willingness to do so. The pope then went a step farther in his demands and required the emperor to abdicate. Ludwig, weary of perpetual commotions, was almost inclined to accede even to this, when the murmurs of the patriotic party in Germany, and of the cities in particular, gave him courage to assume a more dignified attitude. He continued to negotiate with the papal court at Avignon, all the more readily since John XXII was dead and had been succeeded by Benedict XII. But the new pope, an upright but weak man, was completely under the influence of Philip, king of France, who hoped to win the imperial crown for himself.

The Electoral League

At length the emperor and all the princes of Germany arrived at the conclusion that the honour and independence of the whole German nation were at stake, and combined to safeguard their native land for evermore from the arrogant pretensions of foreigners in general and of the pope in particular. Learned men came forward as champions in the great struggle. Bonagratia, a Minorite friar, addressed a letter upon the unlawfulness of the interdicts of John XXII to all cathedral chapters and seminaries of learning; William of Occam, another Minorite, and an Englishman, wrote upon the limits of the temporal and spiritual power, adducing proofs from Roman and canon law; and a German, Canon Leopold von Babenberg, deduced from history the rights of the Roman Empire and the imperial prerogative.¹ They all loudly asserted the principle, which had unhappily been forgotten for so long, "that in Germany the sovereignty of a king comes of the election of the people, whose rights are delegated to the prince-electors, and that the validity of the election depends upon the assent of the people alone and not upon the pope; that the coronation has fallen into the hands of the pope by accident, and gives him no right to examine, still less to reject the kings and emperors; and that, moreover, the authority of the papacy is not superior to that of the empire, for God hath committed the supreme power in temporal affairs to the emperor alone, and in spiritual affairs to all bishops; that, consequently, the pope is not superior, but inferior to a general council of the church: and hence it is an abuse that he should excommunicate those who do not recognise his authority in all things as supreme and infallible."

The emperor proceeded to act in conformity with these principles. In July of the year 1338 he held a great diet at Frankfort-on-the-Main, to which he summoned the nobles and freemen of the empire, the cathedral chapters, and delegates from the cities, as well as the temporal and spiritual princes and lords, so that the greater part of the nation was represented by deputies. Ludwig first gave proof of his orthodoxy and rebutted the false charge of heresy, and then showed how he had employed every imaginable means consistent with the honour of Germany to make his peace with the church. Hereupon the estates of the empire declared that "the unjust interdict of John XXII is null and void and is to be abrogated by the emperor." On the 15th

[¹ Greater than these, one of the greatest thinkers of all time, was Marsiglio of Padua, whose *Defensor Pacis* had perhaps less direct effect in its day because it was so far beyond it. Marsiglio laid down in this work a theory of the state which is distinctly modern. He foresaw democracy and analysed the basis of sovereignty with the keenness of one of the greatest and most prophetic men of genius in the history of human thought. But centuries were to elapse before his greatness was discovered.]

of July, Ludwig, accompanied by all the electors, except King John of Bohemia, proceeded to Rhense on the Rhine, where the "king's chair" stood. There they bound themselves by oath that they would protect and maintain the Holy Roman Empire with all its rights and liberties against all foreign domination or usurpation, by unanimous resolution, or, should discord arise, by the votes of the majority; and that he whom they all, or the majority of them, should elect king or emperor should so remain, in virtue of that election without the sanction of the pope. Ludwig caused this resolution of the confederation of electors at Rhense to be openly promulgated as a fundamental law of the empire. Thus the majesty of the empire was solemnly restored.

The arrogant claims of the papacy to the disposal of the German crown were in this way finally decided and rejected for all time. They had struck upon a two-fold obstacle, the national sentiment of the German nation, which would endure no foreign interference in German affairs, and the pride of the electors, who regarded the choice of a king and the highest affairs of state in general as their peculiar province, and did, as a matter of fact, govern them thenceforward. They were the first to profit by the defeat of the papacy. Their claims to be the pillars of the empire, to have the sole choice of the emperor and to be his associates in the government, were incontrovertibly established by the confederation of electors (*Kurverein*) as against the pope or any other authority. But the assurance of its independence abroad at least, and the barrier now erected against the baneful influence of a foreign pope upon the government of the empire, was a boon to Germany. Papal aggression was by no means at an end, however, and Ludwig had only a brief season to enjoy his victory and the advantage which his successful appeal to the nation had given him. The princes had taken his part from self-interested motives, and the same motives soon led them to side with his enemy. They were incited to do so by the emperor's successful pursuit of his plans for increasing the Wittelsbach possessions. He not only united the whole of Bavaria under his sway on the extinction of the lower Bavarian branch of the family, but gained considerable accessions of territory by dissolving, in virtue of his imperial authority, the marriage of the heiress of the Tyrol, Margarete Maulfassch, who had repudiated her impotent husband, and marrying her to his son, Ludwig of Brandenburg.

The acquisition of the Tyrol was of vast importance to him on account of its situation between Bavaria and Italy; but by this proceeding he not only enraged the new pope, Clement VI, who was inspired by the spirit of John XXII, but lowered himself in general esteem, since popular opinion still assigned the jurisdiction in matrimonial causes to the papal authority. Worse still, he roused afresh the opposition of the whole Luxemburg party. And when, after the death of his brother-in-law, Count William of Holland (1346), he further took possession of the counties of Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Hainault for his own family, by declaring them lapsed fiefs and bestowing them upon his wife, the German princes, envious and apprehensive of this expansion of the Wittelsbach dominions, rose in open revolt against him. The king of France, greedy to gain possession of the west German frontier, the pope, instigated by the king and wroth with Ludwig, and the Luxemburgs, all combined to compass the emperor's overthrow.

On the 13th of April, 1346, Clement VI pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon him in the following words: "Smite him to the dust, Lord God Almighty! Hurl thy lightnings upon his head that the earth may open beneath his feet and the abyss swallow him up! Cursed be he in this world and the next and cursed be all his race!" Thereupon he absolved the people

[1347 A.D.]

from all their oaths of fealty to the king, deposed Ludwig's steadfast old friend Archbishop Henry of Mainz, directed the electors to proceed to a new election without delay, and designated the markgraf of Moravia (a son of King John of Bohemia and therefore a Luxemburger), who had made him the most disgraceful promises, as the worthiest candidate. Several of the princes stooped to be won over by gifts of money, and on July 11th the electors — with the exception of Brandenburg and the count palatine — met at Rhense, where, eight years before, they had sworn to maintain their freedom of election against the pope; there in all haste they elected Markgraf Charles king of Germany. When the banner of the empire was waved at that election it fell into the Rhine and sank, a symbol of the honour and loyalty of the princes. But the cities held manfully with the emperor Ludwig in spite of the pope's curse and the princes' desertion, and neither Frankfort nor Aachen would open their gates to Charles.

THE DEATH OF LUDWIG; HIS CHARACTER AND POLICY

When Ludwig hastened to the spot with an army, Charles timorously evaded him and went to France with his blind father John. There the latter fought against the English at Crécy and met his death in the fray. Charles escaped, went to Bonn, had himself crowned, and then fled into Bohemia, where he armed against the emperor. Ludwig presently found himself menaced and attacked on three sides. Nevertheless he would probably have held his own against all comers by the help of the cities and the resources of the Wittelsbach hereditary dominions; but he died suddenly on a bear hunt at no great distance from the monastery of Fürstenfeld in Bavaria (October 11th, 1347). The Augustinians at Munich would not admit his body within their walls because he died excommunicate, and it was buried in the church of Our Lady (*Liebfrauenkirche*) in that city.

Ludwig the Bavarian, or Ludwig IV, as he was styled during his reign as emperor, displayed both prudence and courage in many of his public actions, and magnanimity in some of the details of his private life, but in spite of that he was among the least able of German emperors. His was not a strong character, his actions were dictated by the needs of the moment, his policy was deficient in large views and lofty purposes; it was petty and wavering, often to the point of pusillanimity. Thus he was as much to blame as the great nobles for the fact that under him the dissolution of the empire into separate principalities proceeded apace and the royal authority steadily lost ground. The crown revenues and lands, which had come down from better days, were all but lost in his reign; he sold or pawned them without scruple whenever he was short of money; and that was very often the case, for he needed mercenaries for his protracted feuds. In earlier wars the king had summoned his vassals to the service of the empire, but now that they had risen to the rank of powerful hereditary sovereigns they rendered to the crown only such duty as they pleased, and the election capitulations deprived the king of the right of demanding more. Nor was the spirit of adventure strong enough among the knights to rally many warriors to the royal standard of their own free will; and, on the other hand, the love of money had waxed stronger. Mercenary armies consequently took the place of the old armies of the empire. For money, princes and courts led their own or hireling troops to the aid of the king, or of anyone else who would pay them.

Under these circumstances the king had no choice but to acquire considerable private dominions if he hoped to count for anything. But this was not

the only expedient at his command; Ludwig himself resorted to another. He allied himself with the cities, and to them he mainly owed his successes. It is true that he was driven by necessity to do so; he was far from rightly appreciating their importance or from giving the citizen class the solid and legitimate foothold in the councils of the nation which was its due. In his extremity only, as in the Frankfort Diet of 1338, did he bring the people into the foreground. But the population of the cities — the mainstay of the nation — made an enormous advance in honour and importance in his reign because he let them do as they pleased so long as their action served his ends.^d





CHAPTER V

CHARLES IV TO SIGISMUND III

[1346-1437 A.D.]

THE reign of Charles IV introduces us to a new chapter in the history of Germany. Charles, it is true, simply followed out the now familiar policy of using the empire for the aggrandisement of his hereditary estates. But those estates were not Germanic; and the resources of Germany were drained, German commerce and industry were made to suffer, that the Slavonic kingdom of Bohemia might prosper. It is a saying as old as Maximilian that Charles was the father of Bohemia, but only step-father to the empire.

He aimed at the consolidation of the property of his house into a vast Bohemian empire; in the pursuit of this end he confused the administration of imperial affairs with the territorial administration of Bohemia, and, as Lamprecht^p has so well said, "To Charles the empire was but an annex of his Czech property." Prague was to be the capital of this great consolidation before which the Roman Empire itself was to sink to a position of inferior splendour; and to this day the city bears traces of the greatness of the design.

The death of Ludwig, however, did not secure the submission of the whole empire to Charles. The party of Bavaria still made headway against him, and it determined upon another election.^a Three of the electors met at Lahmstein and, declaring the former election of Charles a nullity, fixed upon Edward III, king of England, as a monarch worthy their choice. The character of Edward had been advantageously displayed whilst vicar-general of the empire; and his renown was recently augmented by the splendid victory of Crécy and the famous siege of Calais. He was, however, too intent upon the conquest of France to hazard a division of his forces: the example of Richard of Cornwall was before his eyes; and he had the wisdom to decline the offer. He merely availed himself of the occasion to detach Charles from the French cause; and in consideration of Edward's refusal the king of Bohemia engaged to remain neutral in the contest between England and France.

The four electors next fixed their choice upon Frederick II, landgraf of Thuringia, who had married a daughter of the late emperor. But that nobleman preferred a bribe to the imperial crown, and received from Charles 10,000 marks as the price of his refusal. Not disheartened by this second rejection, the electors addressed themselves to Gontram, or Günther, count of Schwarzburg, one of the ablest generals of the age, and of no less wisdom than valour. Günther readily accepted an offer which promised him some warlike pastime; and, having taken possession of Frankfort, he was there solemnly enthroned. But his death immediately delivered Charles from a formidable rival, though it threw upon him the serious charge of having poisoned Günther.

Thus relieved from competition, Charles succeeded in gaining over the other electors; and having by his diplomacy secured all the votes, he was content to be chosen a second time, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the elector of Cologne.^b At last unquestioned sovereign, Charles set about making the most of his office. But the entire country was in a most pitiable condition.^a

In the beginning of his reign Germany was visited by dire afflictions — the Jewish massacres, the processions of Flagellants, the plague or Black Death. The long-continued political insecurity, the strife for the crown, and the civil war were consequently doubly hard to bear. As far as any human interference which might have stemmed these disturbances was concerned, Charles remained rather indifferent. A self-contained, prosaic nature opposed to all daring schemes whose consequences could not with certainty be foretold, he, like his predecessors since the Interregnum, refrained from giving the German kingdom a true significance, either by the overthrow or by the peaceable reorganisation of existing conditions. Like all his forerunners, with the exception of the chivalrous and fantastic Henry VII, he saw that strict home rule alone could lend prestige to the German kings. But he, more than they, had consistently followed this policy with unceasing activity, and with a diplomatic skill which rarely missed its aim, avoided all entanglements with the German princes and all conflict with the papal curia or any of his powerful neighbours. Thus he reached a position such as not one of his predecessors had attained — a position which enabled him to make his royal prestige successfully felt in the majority of cases, and to secure the right of inheritance to his son Wenceslaus. The loose conglomeration of political powers, which then constituted the realm, now found a central point in the well-established possession of the Luxemburg dynasty.

THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF CHARLES IV

Charles did not receive all the territories belonging to his father and bequeathed to him by the latter's will. The principal realm of Bohemia, the duchy of Breslau, and the tenure of most of the other principalities of Silesia were indeed his; but he was obliged to resign the markgrafschaft of Moravia to his brother John Henry, and Luxemburg, the cradle of his race, soon to be raised to a duchy, to his youngest brother Wenceslaus, at the close of the year 1353.

King John, his father, had left the hereditary lands in the greatest confusion, political as well as economic. If Charles intended to rule in the German realm he had first to establish order and prosperity in his own country. It was then shown how much he had profited by his sojourn in Italy and France — countries so much farther advanced than his native land in the development of domestic economy and the culture of the arts and sciences. He invited

[1348-1356 A.D.]

artists and artisans to Bohemia and made Prague a city of palaces. He encouraged agriculture, started and developed new trades, assisted commerce by opening new routes of travel; he also patronised poetry and learning, and created a home for the sciences by founding the University of Prague (April 7th, 1348).

He constantly endeavoured to keep his territories in a state of peace by a strict suppression of all deeds of violence and a just administration of the law. Although he had to abandon his plan to introduce an entirely new code of laws, the so-called *Majestas Carolina*, into Bohemia, on account of the opposition of the nobles whose powers were greatly reduced by it, yet he did improve the legislation in many ways, and created especially for the duchy of Breslau the so-called *Silesian Code*. Finally he sought to establish the legal position of Bohemia in relation to the German Empire. He declared the bishopric of Olmütz, the markgrafschaft of Moravia, and the duchy of Troppau Bohemian fiefs; united Bautzen, Görlitz, and the Silesian principalities definitely with Bohemia, and assured to the crown of Bohemia the office of cupbearer and the electoral dignity.

Having thus provided for the welfare of his own land, in its growing prosperity he built a strong foundation for his German kingship. At the same time — by influencing the episcopal elections, by endeavouring to increase the royal prestige, and by encouraging the efforts to establish the *Landfriede* in the empire — he checked to a certain extent the frequent feuds and private warfare. As far as possible he also restored peace and tranquillity in those regions where there were no powerful territorial magnates, and finally decided to have himself crowned with the imperial crown in order to strengthen himself both in Germany and abroad. In the autumn of 1354 he marched over the Alps, received the Iron Crown January 6th, 1355, in Milan, and was crowned emperor in Rome, April 5th, 1355. He then returned to Germany without attempting any rearrangement of Italian conditions, satisfied with the outward recognition alone which he had secured.

Having thus increased the importance of his throne in the eyes of all, he now pursued with energy his favourite scheme of assuring the future of the house of Luxemburg and his Bohemian heritage. After having announced a formal law of the realm for Bohemia on April 5th, 1355, which gave the wearer of the Bohemian crown a position with privileges far greater than those of all the other princes of the realm, he determined to undertake a regulation of the decisions of the laws of the realm relative to the choosing of a king by the electoral princes, as well as to endeavour to form a fixed privileged position for these princes. This was done in the Golden Bull, which was accepted on December 11th, 1356, in Metz, by the electoral princes after a series of deliberations, and solemnly proclaimed on Christmas Day.^c

THE GOLDEN BULL (1356 A.D.)

This Golden Bull, so named from the gold imperial seal attached to the document, is one of the most important documents of history. Slight as it is, it formed almost the only constitution of the empire and fixed the method of imperial election until the Peace of Westphalia.^a In it, definite regulations were made for the election of the king, the rights and duties of the electoral princes were firmly established, and the measures for the public peace were arranged. There was no mention in the Golden Bull either of the emperor's claims on Italy, or of the pope; nay, it was now assumed that by his election the German king had already received the title of "Roman emperor."

Concerning the election of the king and of the emperor, the Golden Bull made the following stipulations:

After the demise of the Crown, the electoral prince of Mainz as primate of the empire shall summon the remaining electoral princes within three months to an election at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Here they must swear to vote without selfish motives, and may not disperse before the election has taken place. A majority counts as much as a unanimous vote. The coronation will be performed by the archbishop of Cologne at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen).

During the vacancy of the throne the count-palatine on the Rhine shall be imperial regent (vicar of the empire) in the lands under Frankish law, and the duke of Saxony in those under Saxon law. The electoral franchise belongs exclusively to the seven electoral princes. These consist of three ecclesiastical members, the archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, who at the same time are

lord high chancellors of the empire, and four temporal members, the king of Bohemia (chief cupbearer), the count-palatine on the Rhine (lord high steward), the duke of Saxe-Wittenberg (lord high marshal), and the markgraf of Brandenburg (lord high chamberlain).

The position of the electoral princes, the seven columns of the empire, was very much exalted. They received the first rank amongst the German princes with the following rights and duties:

the electoral dignity as well as the high imperial dignity¹ was always to go with possession of electoral land, which was indivisible and in the temporal electorate hereditary, according to the law of primogeniture. Every year, four weeks after Easter, the electoral princes were to assemble for an electors' diet, so as to deliberate with the emperor on the affairs of the empire. Further, the electoral princes received the "*jus de non evocando*" — that is to say, the important law that their subjects and estates could not appeal from their courts of justice to the imperial courts, except when legal help was refused them. Thanks to this; the electoral princes now possessed an exclusive and conclusive territorial jurisdiction.

Besides this, the imperial regalia in their lands (mines, the mint, taxes, protection-duty from the Jews) belonged to them, and without special per-

¹ The dignity of elector was enhanced by the Golden Bull as highly as an imperial edict could carry it; they were declared equal to kings, and conspiracy against their persons incurred the penalty of high treason. — HALLAM.^o



CHARLES IV (1316-1378)

(After a print of about 1356, the date of the Golden Bull)

[1356 A.D.]

mission from the emperor they could acquire land from other princes and estates. And as in rank they were set above all other princes of the empire and almost on an equality with the emperor, so too their persons were to be inviolable, and any attacks upon them were to be reckoned high treason.

By these enactments of the Golden Bull many disputes were obviated at the imperial election, but on the other hand the division of the German Empire into distinct German states was legally accomplished. The imperial supremacy was only a loose thread for preserving the political unity.

Moreover, the disintegration of the empire into a German confederacy of states went farther and farther; for as the electoral princes were in jealous competition with the emperor, so the other princes of the empire were in jealous competition with the privileged electors, all endeavouring to build up a complete sovereignty and to perfect a special empire of their own. The more powerful among them gradually succeeded in making the emperor confer rights on them almost equal in extent to those conferred on the electoral princes. Others received at least a promotion in titles; thus the counts of Luxemburg and Mecklenburg became dukes. The system now came into existence by which the emperor conferred titles without their corresponding lands. This nobility, obtained by letters patent, a French invention, was introduced into Germany by Charles IV, but it was only later that its application became extensive.

By the Golden Bull it was the high aristocracy, especially the electoral princes, who scored. The nobility in general received an acknowledgment of its special privileges as a class, inasmuch as it was left in possession of its old right of private warfare. Otherwise the smaller states were prejudiced in favour of the great. But the provision by which the towns and individual persons were prohibited from forming any union among themselves, without the consent of the sovereigns whom it concerned, was absolutely hostile to freedom. Thereby the estates lost a very important means of protection against the arbitrary caprice of their sovereigns. In the territories the confederacy which yielded such efficient protection to general liberty was robbed of its legal basis, although it continued its formal existence for a while longer.

By this prohibition the emperor and the electoral princes partly had in view the assurance of public peace, which was endangered by the self-protection of the individual members. In the interests of the public peace the Golden Bull also enacted that every feud was to be preceded by a three days' announcement. It is true, not much was gained by this.^{d1}

^{d1} The conditions of the time are sufficiently outlined in the preamble to the Bull: "Every kingdom which is at odds with itself will fall, for its princes are the companions of robbers;



NOBLEWOMAN OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

This famous Pragmatic Sanction was finally promulgated in the diet of Metz in 1356. On that occasion the emperor and the empress feasted, in the presence of the dauphin Charles V and the legate of Pope Innocent VI, with all the pageantry and ceremonies prescribed by the new ordinances. The imperial tables were spread in the grand square of the city; Rudolf, duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, attended, with a silver measure of oats, and marshalled the order of the company; Ludwig II, markgraf of Brandenburg, presented to the emperor the golden basin, with water and fair napkins; Rupert, count palatine, placed the first dish upon the table; and the emperor's brother, Wenceslaus, representing the king of Bohemia, officiated as cupbearer. Lastly, the princes of Schwarzburg and the deputy-huntsman came with three hounds amidst the loud din of horns, and carried up a stag and a boar to the table of the emperor.^b

THE CONDITION OF GERMANY UNDER CHARLES

The policy of Charles IV failed to win the affection of his German subjects, for he sacrificed the national feeling which Ludwig of Bavaria had awakened. Yet his character and the results of his policy are important, for they mark an epoch in the history of culture. Charles had little of the mediæval character. In him there is lacking the rude, disorderly, sometimes violent strength of the more talented princes of the Middle Ages; nor does there appear in him that unbalanced, romantic, and fantastic spiritual development which was the result of the general tendencies of church and state. The spirit of the early Renaissance ruled him and left its stamp in his statesmanship. He stood at the boundary between two ages: spiritually he was the child of the Renaissance thought, which broke with the ecclesiastical and political philosophy of the Middle Ages. In advance of his time, he took advantage of the decadence in the political and social organisation of the period to increase the influence of his family.

Seldom are the lines which separate epochs so well represented in the personalities of men as in the last decade of Charles' life. In 1377 England lost in Edward III the greatest representative of her mediæval power; in 1378, a few months before the death of Charles, Gregory XI died at Rome, the last universally recognised pope for years to come. The great division in ecclesiastical interests began, the influence of which was felt through all Europe.

While Germany fell into a state of discontent and disorder, new political powers arose in the north and east, which threatened the government and property of the Germans. There, when the authority and policy of Germany had ceased to wield any influence, and the German orders and the Hansa had represented the honour and industrial interest of Germany, the ancient enemies united for common action against Germany. The domination in north and east, which had compensated for losses in south and west,¹ was now questioned; indeed, the superior power found it necessary to act on the defensive. The union of Poland and Lithuania, under Wladislaw (IV) Jagello, broke the strength of the German order; the Union of Kalmar in 1397 threatened to take from Germany her dominion over the Baltic. Not long after, the Hussite movement, less ecclesiastical than national, seemed to unite the whole Slavonic world in a common rising against German leadership. The

and therefore God hath removed their candlesticks from their place. They have become blind leaders of the blind: and with blinded thoughts they commit misdeeds."

[¹ The dismemberment of the kingdom of Burgundy.]

[1356-1397 A.D.]

critical issues of German policy are no longer in the south and west, but in the north and east. Here must Germany's future be decided.

The greatness of the mediæval empire depended on two elements — the fight for leadership in the south, and the extension of German culture to the north and east. This division of national strength was not without disadvantages, which became more apparent as, with the gradual dissolution of the empire, it ceased to represent the divergent interests of north and south. While the south and west conformed to the old Italian influences, the north and east rejected them. This development of diverse interests was especially noticeable in the Hohenstaufen period. The union of north and south became a purely formal one, lacking all the elements that make an alliance of life interests. Also in political development north and south were far different. In the south and west the feudal relations, which were the foundation of the kingdom, resulted in territorial confusion, and the majority of the lower imperial vassals became as good as independent. This breaking up of the south into small powers resulted in a variety of interests which made a lasting constitution impossible, and produced each year new conflicts. In imitation of his stronger neighbour, each territorial lord sought to bring under his dominion the free powers in his reach, nobles as well as cities. Their endless conflicts characterised south Germany in the later half of the fourteenth century; without interest in themselves, they illustrate the political development of the age.

In the north and east conditions were more fortunate. The territory from the Saale and Elbe to the Oder was not lost to the empire. Certain brave princes, indeed whole families of them, had settled in this region, and with the help of their feudal retainers had driven back the Slavs and extended the German boundaries to the east. It is sufficient to remember what the Askanians in the mark of Brandenburg, or the house of Wettin in the middle south, and above all what the Guelfs, chiefly Henry the Lion, had achieved on the lower Elbe. These princes organised into states, without the aid of the empire the territories they conquered; in them there were no lords directly subject to the imperial power. The Guelfs and Askanians placed their own ministerials in the leadership of the new duchies; the bishops also were from the beginning vested only with territorial powers and received their temporal rights from the lords of the land, not from the king. There were no imperial cities; the burghers and the peasants were subject to the lords of the land and had no immediate relation to emperor and empire. In political civilisation, in organisation of administration, through the growth of an office-holding class, free from feudal obligations, the north was far superior to the south and west. The future of Germany rests in these territories; for the south and west continued to divide into small states through the division of territories and the decline of princely families.

Above all, it was important for the future of Germany that the city life of the north was protected from the shadow in which the Golden Bull placed that in the south. There was, indeed, a conflict between princes and cities in the north and east, but never such a conflict as in the south since the latter half of the fourteenth century. Industrially and politically the princes and cities of the north were dependent on each other, on account of their relations to their neighbours and the interests which they both had against them. Since Frederick II the Danish kings had no thought of yielding their landed interests on the Elbe; the Germans must rely on their strength to take it. There the national interests of Germany developed most successfully. While the clever Luxemburgs sought to secure the welfare of Germany and the fortunes

of their dynasty by shrewd treaties with their neighbours, the cities of the north, making alliances with the princes, instituted a national policy which was fruitful of important results. The same tendency was found in the east.

It was the mission of the Hansa and the Teutonic orders to protect north and east from the Danes and Poles, and at the same time to preserve the honour of the German name.

THE HANSA

From a simple association for the protection of trade and commerce, the Hansa developed into a great industrial power of political importance. The country between the lower Elbe and the Trave was the centre of north German trade; from Hamburg and Bremen it extended to the cities of the Low Countries, thence to England; from Lübeck northward to Sweden and Norway; then by way of the cities on the south of the Baltic towards Pomerania and Prussia, to lower Livonia and Esthonia, while the cities of central Germany established the leadership of the Hansa on the territories of the lower Rhine and in lower Saxony and Brandenburg. Under the able protection of its association, the Hansa developed well-defined rules and customs, well represented by the Steel-yard in London, situated between the Thames and Thames street. Here were all the elements of a city — warehouses, markets, halls, banks, and dwellings. Protected by privileges obtained from the English king, it became the storehouse for the foreign trade of the German merchants. At the factories in Bruges, products of the north were exchanged for those of the south and the far east. For the northern trade Wisby was the most advanced protected point. There wares were shipped to Livonia, Esthonia, and Russia. At Novgorod the Hansa established its influence and won privileges from the native rulers. Moreover the Hansa had a national character. From the western boundaries of the German language to distant Prussia, to the cities of Dantzic, Brandenburg, and Königsberg, from these to Livonia and Esthonia, where Riga and other towns belonged to the Hansa, German people were bound together in a common union. In foreign lands the Hansa burghers lived according to their own customs, exempt from the law of the land. Also the political organisation of the Hanse towns was uniform, based on the old aristocratic ideas.

Hence the number of the cities in the association was so great and the influence of certain landed interests so strong that internal conflict could not be avoided. There were three classes of cities, later four. The Lübeck-Wend class, whose leader was Lübeck, included the Mecklenburg cities — Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Stettin, Kolberg, Rügenwalde, as well as certain smaller cities; and the cities of the north, as Salzwedel, Stendal, Havelberg, Brandenburg, Berlin-Köln (Berlin), and Frankfort. A second class was composed of the cities of the lower Rhine and of lower Saxony, as Cologne, Dortmund, Münster, Herford, and Minden, certain of the neighbouring Netherland cities, and the distant cities of Thorn, Kulm, and Dantzic. In the northern territory of the Hansa, Livonia and Esthonia, were a number of cities which composed the Jutland group. Later the Saxon cities of Göttingen, Halle, Hildesheim, and Lüneburg formed a fourth class under the leadership of Bremen. The division into classes gave the individual the opportunity to develop in harmony with the political conditions which surrounded it. The rules of trade and navigation and of weights and measures were fixed by the whole association, but each group arranged the particular affairs with its neighbours and those with whom it entered into commercial

[1360-1374 A.D.]

relations. The Hansa also developed into a war power. Each city, in case of war, had to send a contribution of men and ships. So, in the time when the monarchy fell into helplessness, and Charles IV used weak kingly authority to build up his dynasty, Germany developed of itself into a strong power in the north.^e

The strength of the Hansa was, however, soon to be put to the test in a struggle with the rising power of Denmark. Valdemar IV had raised the Danish realm from insignificance to the rank of a great power. As an ally of Ludwig of Bavaria, he had had the ready aid of the cities in putting down piracy on the Sound and along the Baltic. But having once gained the mastery of the sea, he found his former allies to be his most troublesome competitors. Their great influence was an obstacle to the fulfilment of his great plan, which was to secure the predominance in the north which Denmark had once held under Valdemar I.^a In a war against Sweden in 1360 he conquered Skåne. By this the herring fishery of the Hanseatic cities was greatly menaced. The Hanseatic cities demanded therefore from Valdemar the ratification of their privilege of fishing off the coast of Skåne. He, however, went with his fleet over to the island of Gotland and captured Wisby in 1361. The commerce of the Hanseatic cities was now in the greatest danger.

They therefore concluded an alliance with Sweden and Norwegian Greifswald in September, 1361. Their fleet, led by the burgomaster of Lübeck, John Wittenborg, appeared in the Sound and took Copenhagen. But on July 8th, 1362, Valdemar fell upon the Hanseatic fleet at Helsingborg and routed it completely. The peace of 1365 left Gotland under Danish sovereignty. As Valdemar continued with inconsiderate recklessness to trespass on the rights and customs of the cities, fresh hostile entanglements naturally ensued. Hakon of Norway also oppressed the Hanseatic League in Bergen, and so the Prussian and Netherland cities came to an agreement in the summer of 1367 regarding preparations for war. In November, 1367, at a great meeting in Cologne, seventy-seven cities declared war against the two northern kings. The nobility of Holstein and the Swedish king, Albert of Mecklenburg, joined with the cities. War began in the spring of 1368. It was a brilliant success. Skåne, Wisby, Copenhagen, all fell into the hands of the cities of the Baltic, Jutland was taken by the counts of Holstein, while the North Sea towns turned their arms victoriously against Norway. King Valdemar was obliged to flee from his country.

After lengthy deliberations an agreement was made between the Danish parliament and the cities, in consequence of which the cities regained all their privileges and also the right themselves to manage the revenues from Skåne. On the basis of this agreement peace was definitely concluded at Stralsund, May 24th, 1370. The German princes, who had an essential interest in the decision, were not consulted at the treaty. Valdemar, who had in vain sought for aid at the hands of his former patrons, saw himself forced to ratify the Peace of Stralsund, December 29th, 1371.^c

The cities had won a great victory, and now Charles IV attempted to share in their prosperity. He desired nothing less than to obtain the leadership of the Hansa, and he had cherished this plan ever since he had come into possession of the mark of Brandenburg. In order to impress the people of Lübeck in its favour, he granted them in 1374 great liberties; then he honoured the city with a visit, and displayed all possible pomp and magnificence, so as to show the people of Lübeck how much he was attached to them. During his stay he flattered the council outrageously; he invited the members to his table, and addressed them by the title of "lords" (a compliment which they

modestly declined), and called them his imperial councillors. But all this flattery was of no avail. The burghers of Lübeck showed him all due honour, but took care not to enter into any of his proposals, as they knew that he thought only of his own advantage. Meeting with no success, he was compelled to retire.^f

THE SWABIAN LEAGUE

Turning now to south Germany, we find the same story of independence in the cities, but with a different setting. There, where foreign politics do not intrude, Lamprecht^p thinks that we find mirrored a more correct view of the social condition of the empire than in the distant north.

The struggle between the princes and the cities, according to Lamprecht, may be said to date from the first half of the thirteenth century, while that between the nobility and the cities was of more recent origin. Princes, the nobility, and cities still acted in concert when the thirteenth century came to a close, but with the first and second decades of the fourteenth century a change is visible. There is both an economical and a military decline in the condition of the noblemen. In the revolutions of the guilds the separation between the burgher and the nobleman becomes marked. The nobility, as soon as it ceases to be a compact social unit, ceases to be the main feature of the social structure. Unlike the landowner and the burgher, the nobleman always lacked individuality. But territories and cities rapidly acquire individual existence, so that all men can realise how differently Bâle or Frankfort would behave from Cologne or Nuremberg under the same circumstances.

Charles' dealings with the Swabian cities were marked by diplomacy rather than by any strict conformance to the constitution which he had drawn up. Having satisfied them with his help in the formation of a league, contrary to the express provisions of the Golden Bull, in order to have their support against Wittelsbach, he now wished to add to it non-city elements and thus establish a *constitutio pacis* or *Landfriede*.¹ In 1373 Charles carried into execution this amalgamation of the cities and the nobility in Swabia, but with the count of Würtemberg, the most notorious chief of the nobility, as president. The peace society and its president were then skilfully utilized by the emperor to aid him in raising money for the imperial treasury.^a

THE GROWING POWER OF CITIES

In order to make sure of the succession to the imperial crown in his own house, Charles determined to have his son Wenceslaus crowned during his own lifetime, and to carry through this election he needed vast sums of money. These the cities were to pay. Consequently they were again very highly taxed; others were mortgaged and pledged; in particular the emperor allowed the count of Würtemberg to redeem all the imperial mortgages in Swabia,

[¹ The *Landfriede* occurs first in the form of *Königsfriede* and then of *Gottesfriede*, both of which seem to have been monarchical declarations of peace between two parties engaged in feud. The *Landfriede* was a similar declaration proceeding from territorial lords. Thus peace ordinances came to be issued in Bohemia, Bavaria, Meissen, and Thuringia. So long as they were merely defensive alliances, the emperor could permit them to continue without challenging their legality. But when, as we shall soon see, they were used for purposes of attack as well as of defence, imperial supremacy was endangered. At the bottom of the difficulty lay the old German reluctance to submit to authority. If two men fought, they denied the right of anyone, including the emperor himself, to stop them, and the intricate study of conflicting legal sanctions of this kind is quite as potent a factor in the understanding of modern Germany in its federal aspect as the observance of a common desire for union proceeding from a variety of sources, which the historians have delighted to trace with greater zeal than accuracy.]

[1374-1378 A.D.]

that is, to buy up all magisterial and other offices in the possession of the empire. In this way the cities of Swabia, to a considerable extent at least, would come into the power of Württemberg.

To avert this was of vital importance to the cities. They instantly recognised that Charles was determined to sacrifice them to the princes with the sole object of making his son emperor. Under the circumstances they could perceive in Wenceslaus nothing but a partisan of the princes. They were therefore determined to venture to extremes. Incited by Ulm, fourteen cities on the Lake of Constance, joined shortly after by four more, formed a league in which they agreed they would stand together against everyone who should seek to suppress them from the empire and to injure their freedom; also they refused to acknowledge Wenceslaus as king, for fear of being taxed again.

The emperor was extremely provoked by this opposition, which crossed all his plans. He wished to crush it by force. Therefore in the year 1376 he marched with a large army on Ulm, the originator and leader of the league, in order to compel it to submission. In the army of the emperor were his son Wenceslaus, Eberhard count of Württemberg, the burggraf of Nuremberg, the count of Werteim, the count of Hohenlohe, and many other princes and lords. The siege lasted six weeks, but the citizens defended themselves so bravely that there could be no thought of taking the town.

Unrewarded by any success, the emperor had to retire after having agreed to an armistice. He wished to clear up the question in dispute at a diet at Nuremberg. But the cities did not appear; on the contrary, they attacked the count of Württemberg, destroyed some of his citadels, and devastated his territories. A large contingent of nobles and princes now forsook the cities: among them the dukes of Bavaria, of Teck, the counts of Hohenlohe, and the Frankish counts. War broke out simultaneously in Swabia, Bavaria, and Franconia. But the cities fought bravely against all their enemies and maintained their advantage. The count of Württemberg suffered a most bloody defeat at Reutlingen in May, 1377, when almost all the nobility were killed, and Eberhard's son, Ulrich, who commanded the army of the lords, narrowly escaped being made prisoner.

In some respects the battle of Reutlingen formed a turning point. Shortly before, negotiations for peace had been initiated; but they were now broken off by the count of Württemberg, who wished to avenge the defeat. On the other hand courage and self-reliance were increased in the champions of the cities.

The league of the eighteen cities increased visibly: Nördlingen, Dinkelsbühl, Aalen, Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, Weissenburg, Schweinfurt, and Halle joined their ranks. The fortune of war remained true to the cities, and in the year 1378 they were still maintaining a superiority over all their enemies. This development seemed very critical to Charles. He had long ago been able to realise on many occasions that the cities were hostile to him. In Bâle, Worms, Esslingen, and Mainz at various times he had been treated by the burghers with anything but respect. In Esslingen and Mainz the people mobbed him and his escort: he scarcely escaped personal insult. When we remember the traditional fidelity and adherence of the cities to the emperors, such occurrences would seem impossible but for the fact that the whole conduct of Charles had justified the deepest mistrust against him in the populations of the cities.

The lower classes of these populations were always scenting treachery from him, for he not only pushed the cities into the background but he had

also shown himself no friend to democratic administration. His policy was rather to favour the great families where he could, and so under his reign there began a reaction against the victorious democracy of the time of Ludwig the Bavarian. This preference of Charles for the time-honoured sovereignty of the great families naturally made the guilds mistrustful of him, all the more so as it was known how he used his interference in the internal affairs of the cities for purposes of extortion to the detriment of the democracy. Had Charles attached a trifle more value to public opinion, the experiences which he had already partly made in the early period of his reign would have been sufficient indication to him of what he had to expect from the cities. His stock of experience was still further increased shortly before the war of the Swabian cities.

After the death of the archbishop of Mainz in 1373, Charles had thought to confer this important archbishopric on Ludwig, who was then bishop of Bamberg, and had managed to win the pope for his favourite, although a majority of the chapter had chosen Adolphus of Nassau. Both now disputed the archbishopric. Thuringia too was a scene of the combat, for here the archbishopric of Mainz owned possessions. At this point in the struggle the town of Erfurt took Adolphus' part. What could be more natural? For Ludwig, the protégé of Charles, was by birth markgraf of Meissen, of the house of Wettin, which was constantly on bad terms with the Thuringian cities. Erfurt feared to lose its independence under this archbishop, who could acquire such powerful support from his brothers; it therefore denied the claims of Ludwig and acknowledged Adolphus of Nassau as archbishop. For this it was to be punished by Ludwig and his brothers; in 1375 the city was besieged. Charles, who had already placed the ban on the city for its disobedience, also came to the siege, but his presence did not improve matters. Erfurt could not be taken. After a siege of five months an armistice proved necessary; and, at this, Charles consented to raise the ban, naturally in return for a considerable sum of money, which the citizens of Erfurt had to pay.

And now followed the great movement of the Swabian cities. Charles felt that he was on the point of raising the whole citizenhood of the empire against him, and he had just had ample experience of how much strength such a rising was capable of developing. It was high time to lower his tone. He saw there was nothing to be done but to yield to the will of the cities. Every attempt to mortgage them or to surrender them to the princes under any pretext would have met with their strongest opposition. And according to his latest experience this opposition was not to be overcome; on the contrary it increased daily, for the league of the cities was visibly gaining ground. That this league was also dangerous to his son, if Charles continued to show himself hostile to the cities, was evident. Charles decided to negotiate a peace which should grant the cities all they demanded. On the 30th of August, 1378, it came to pass. In consequence of this peace the governorship of the province was taken away from the count of Würtemberg, and all favours which had been granted him to the detriment of the cities were recalled. Duke Frederick of Bavaria was entrusted with the governorship.

The conclusion of this peace which announced the victory of the cities in such striking fashion was the last important act of Charles IV.¹ A few months later, in November 1378, he died at the age of sixty-three. He left three sons, Wenceslaus, Sigismund, and John. His lands were divided among

¹ As Lamprecht *v* says, the recognition by the emperor of the Swabian League at the peace was unquestionably a violation of the Golden Bull. But in return for this the cities acknowledged the election of Wenceslaus, which before this they had refused to do.

[1378-1381 A.D.]

them — a remarkable instance of political inconsistency in an emperor otherwise so judicious. The power of the house of Luxemburg was superior to that of other German princes only so long as it remained united. Divided, it shared the lot of all the other German principedoms, where, as we have seen, the members of one and the same house were often at variance and made the pursuit of a common policy impossible. Thus the fruit of all the care and anxiety of this restless emperor for the future of his house seemed to have been placed in jeopardy by his last will. But this, like the other acts of Charles, was the result of self-delusion. He had hoped that his children as well as all members of his family would keep as close together as if they were all inspired by the same spirit.

Thus Wenceslaus received the kingdom of Bohemia, Sigismund the mark of Brandenburg, John a part of Lusatia under the name of the city and district of Görlitz. Charles had already yielded Moravia to his brother John, after whose death the mark passed to his sons Jobst and Procop.^f

WENCESLAUS (1378-1400 A.D.)

The reign of Wenceslaus is one of the most unfortunate in all German history. To the disintegrating political and social influences which taxed the strength of Charles IV there was added a new problem of international importance — the great schism of the papacy.¹ Wenceslaus, endowed with a robust body and pleasing address, but deficient in the qualities of leadership and character, was unable to meet successfully the difficulties before him, and his reign ended in disgrace and anarchy.

Events that took place soon after Wenceslaus' coronation indicate the instability of the system which his father had hoped to establish. Desiring to increase the influence of royalty by alliances with European governments, Charles IV had made a contract of marriage for his son Sigismund with Princess Maria, heiress to the thrones of Hungary and Poland. The Poles, dissatisfied with the prospect of a German ruler, soon after the death of Charles chose as their sovereign a younger sister of Maria, who had married the duke of Carinthia. Then the Hungarians, jealous of the growth of the house of Luxemburg, offered the hand of the affianced princess to Charles of Naples. A compromise was finally arranged by which Sigismund received his promised wife, but gained no governmental authority in Hungary. Thus both Hungary and Poland were lost to the house of Luxemburg.

The failure of Wenceslaus to take a decisive action in these foreign affairs for the interest of his family was followed by failure to reconcile the conflicting elements in German society. Prejudiced as much as his father against the Swabian League, he refused to recognise it officially. The members of the league then sought allies in the princes. In 1379 an alliance was made with the duke of Bavaria, as well as with many minor nobles of the Rhine valley. To this hostile attitude of the princes and the imperial cities was added that of the free towns. Harassed by the depredations of the knights of the lower nobility, the inhabitants of a number of towns, among them Strasburg, Worms, Speier, and Frankfort, formed in 1381 a union for mutual protection. The same year the new league entered into an alliance with the Swabian League which guaranteed the independence and organisation of each. The princes were alarmed at this federation, which threatened the

[¹ Gregory XI had died at Rome four months before the death of Charles.]

existence of the knights and the lower nobility; and in 1382, under the leadership of Leopold of Austria, the nobles of Swabia signed an agreement to prevent war between towns and knights.

Wenceslaus, following the tactics of his father, hoped to conciliate the leagues by persuading them to become a part of the imperial system. In 1384 was formed the union of Heidelberg, which united princes and cities into an association of which the emperor was the head and protector. However, none of the parties in this imperial federation were satisfied, and armed conflict was precipitated by the conduct of Leopold. The Swabian League had increased its membership by a number of towns, among them the Swiss city of Bâle. There was enmity of long standing between the Swiss and the house of Austria. By certain offences to Bâle, Leopold awakened the old hostility. This led Bern, Zurich, Lucerne, and a few other Swiss cities to make an alliance with the federations of the Rhine and Swabia to "preserve peace and protect our common country" (1385). Leopold then began war against the Swiss cities. The Austrians were defeated in the battles of Sempach (1386) and Näfels (1388), and the last claims of Germany in Switzerland were lost.

The German League did not assist the Swiss in their struggle, on account of the war which broke out in Germany between themselves and the princes of Bavaria in 1388.^a The burghers were defeated in a great battle at Würtemberg, and in May, 1389, Wenceslaus commanded the imperial cities in Swabia, Franconia, Bavaria, and those on the Rhine to dissolve their alliance, of which he had seen enough to know it was "against God himself, the Holy Empire, and the law." On pain of losing their privileges, he ordered them to accept a general peace (*Landfriede*) which he proclaimed for a large part of the kingdom. For each locality a peace tribunal was to be established; its members to be chosen by princes and cities, and the presiding officer by the emperor. Few definite conclusions were expressed in the *Landfriede*, for Wenceslaus knew that he must appeal to the honour of the combatants to have it accepted. But it clearly stated that "the common league of all the cities must dissolve," exception being made in favour of those members of the Nuremberg League which had observed the Heidelberg Union. Ratisbon and Nuremberg were willing to obey the king, and the remaining cities gradually accepted the *Landfriede* — first those on the Rhine, then the Swabian, Bavarian, and Franconian cities.

The city leagues were thus dissolved, and they never again attained the power and prominence they lost, although some small unions of neighbouring cities remained and others were established. For example, the seven cities on the North Sea maintained their league, and in 1390 a new league was formed by Ulm and other cities, which lasted until late in the next century. Still the significance of the great city league was not lost. The imperial cities came out of the great battle without losing any of their rights and privileges, and had attained what the Swabians had primarily striven for — the abolition of that practice by which they were mortgaged and pledged to meet the imperial expenses. But the broader issue, resistance to the princes, was lost. This was in part the fault of dissimilar interests which had led the different members into the league, in part the fruit of discussion and selfishness, in part the constitution of the league, which had no unifying leader and no common treasury. The situation, also, of the cities — which were scattered over the empire — made their common object difficult of attainment. Finally, there arose a conviction that the movement had undertaken more than was necessary, that the fight was immaterial and without a definite end. So the earlier indifferent attitude of princes and cities was revived.^g

[1391-1399 A.D.]

Civil Wars

In addition to the conflict between princes and cities, Wenceslaus' reign is notable for numerous petty wars among the princes. Jobst, markgraf of Moravia, duke of Brandenburg and Luxemburg, was not satisfied with these territories; he coveted Bohemia and the empire itself. Supported by the nobles of Bohemia, who wished to increase their feudal privileges, and by ambitious princes of other states, he defeated Wenceslaus in 1394, at Beraun, and forced him to yield the government of Bohemia.^a

This was the signal for a series of civil wars of which Bohemia was the subject. Certain German princes demanded and obtained increased privileges from Wenceslaus, who acted with his accustomed weakness. At war among themselves for Bohemia, the brothers of Wenceslaus, Sigismund and John Henry, and his cousins, Jobst and Procop of Moravia, in turn combated or supported the king, as they saw opportunity to obtain riches for themselves. Often required to diminish his power, twice imprisoned, Wenceslaus regained Bohemia in 1403, and held it for some time in peace by allowing his brother, John Henry, and upon the latter's death his cousin Procop, to act as regent. Through these obscure conflicts, without interest for the history of Germany, Bohemia lost its leadership in the empire and Wenceslaus well merited the loss of the imperial crown.^b

More decisive for the fortune of Wenceslaus was his attitude toward the Great Schism. From 1305-1372 the papacy was under French influence; the popes resided at Avignon, and each year lost more of the influence they had formerly exercised upon European life. In 1377 Gregory XI returned to Rome. On his death, two popes were elected: Urban VI and Clement VII, who respectively represented Roman and French parties. This double election was the beginning of the Great Schism, which lasted for forty years and was a problem of international interest. When Urban VI died, Boniface IX was elected to succeed him by the Roman party. A movement was then inaugurated at the University of Paris to secure the abdication of the two popes and to have the Roman and Avignon cardinals unite in a common election. Wenceslaus was persuaded to give his sympathy to the movement,^a but Germany, though by no means entirely lacking in sympathy for the propositions which emanated from Paris, was, in fact, not well inclined toward the transaction which took place. Germany regarded the pope of Rome as its pope, and did not desire to separate from him. Wenceslaus was therefore accused of betraying the empire. The storm, long accumulating, now broke. Many princes had only awaited a pretext to dethrone their king, and they seized this opportunity to make known, as defenders of Germany, their complaints against Wenceslaus. The electors, who formed a kind of permanent council, an oligarchy whose duty was to guard the security and greatness of their country, acted first. In avoiding a compromise, they demonstrated better than on the day of their election that the supreme authority belonged to them and that they were free to resume after having delegated it. Each was actuated by his personal ambition. The archbishop of Mainz did not wish to have questioned the rights of Boniface IX from whom he held his nomination, which the king opposed. Wenceslaus had not a friend in the college of electors. He was reproached for alienating the domains of the empire, for his alliance with the French, and for the political and ecclesiastical anarchy which existed. Yet up to the last moment a little activity on the part of Wenceslaus might have sufficed to overthrow the

plans of his enemies. But, according to a well-known German saying, "he lay like a pig in his sty." The Luxemburgs abandoned their country. The electors reduced to five years a peace of ten proclaimed by the emperor. He remonstrated. On April 20th, 1400, the archbishop of Mainz appeared before the gate of Lohenstein, with the ecclesiastical electors and certain princes and lords among them — the duke of Bavaria, the burgrgraf of Nuremberg, and the elector of the Palatinate. A large crowd assembled, attracted by the novelty of the occasion. The archbishop of Mainz declared Wenceslaus useless, idle, and incapable, unworthy to retain his title of king. That evening, the three archbishops met at Rhense and chose, as king of the Romans and future emperor, the elector Rupert, count of the Palatinate.

RUPERT (1400-1410 A.D.)

The reign of Rupert was no more fortunate than that of Wenceslaus. He was not the choice of all the electors; in fact, they were not all present when he was honoured with the imperial crown. Moreover, he was not popular with the cities, and so he was recognised by only a small part of the empire. Conscious of his weakness, Rupert hoped to win popularity and strength for his government by accepting an invitation from Florence to aid her in a war against Milan and, incidentally, to be crowned emperor in Rome. Florence promised a subsidy; the Venetians and other enemies of Milan offered their alliance. But the German princes who had elected him refused to support him; the Florentines sent their subsidies very slowly. Rupert arrived in Italy in the later months of 1401 and moved against Brescia; but the army of Milan barred the way. The Germans and Italians were almost equal in number; but the Germans, poorly commanded, without discipline, could not sustain the attack of the Milanese mercenaries. The Italians were victorious and took a number of prisoners, among them Leopold of Austria. Abandoned by a number of his allies, Rupert retreated to Trent, hoping to return by way of Friuli, with a subsidy of several thousand Venetian ducats. To pay his soldiers, he pledged his jewels, his crown, and, impoverished for life, he reappeared in Germany "without army, without money, without crown, and without honour." During his journey and even in his capital, Heidelberg, he was pursued with mocking refrains about his poverty.^h

For eight years more he attempted to make headway through the anarchy of political intrigues and civil wars, but his death in 1410 left the empire weaker and more divided than it had been even under Wenceslaus.^a Rudolf of Saxony and Jobst of Moravia, who was also elector of Brandenburg, still recognised Wenceslaus as king of the Romans; but the electors of Cologne and Mainz chose Jobst; then the burgrgraf Frederick of Nuremberg championed the son of Rupert, and the archbishop of Tours proclaimed Sigismund. The empire was thus disputed by three pretenders, at the same time that Christendom was divided by three popes. The successor of Boniface IX, Gregory XII, had promised to resign if Benedict XIII, the Avignon pope, would do likewise; but Benedict refused to resign, and the cardinals (1409) decided to abandon the two competitors and convoke an ecumenical council at Pisa. Much was expected from this movement. The council deposed Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, and elected Alexander V. But the deposed popes would not accept the decision of the council, and there were now three popes instead of two. The two powers which had long disputed the leadership of the world were now objects of scandal and mockery.^h

[1309-1373 A.D.]

THE CHURCH AND BOHEMIA

We turn now away from the superficial story of emperors rivalling each other in powerlessness, to the intense interest that is associated with the name of Huss. But the tragedy of Bohemian national history, which here opens up before us, is inextricably interwoven with the larger questions of European politics, and especially with the politics of the papal government. It is hopeless to attempt to understand the part played by Bohemia at this most important epoch of her history, unless one first knows what was that ecclesiastical system which awakened her national consciousness, and how religion and patriotism were combined.

From the residence at Avignon to the Reformation there was undoubted mismanagement at the papal court. The loss of much of the revenue from Italian cities forced the Avignon popes to maintain their state by levying heavy dues upon the higher officers of the church, who in turn were forced to recoup themselves at the expense of the lower clergy and the laity. Then too the centralisation of ecclesiastical business, as well as the personal motives and political ambitions of the popes, had increased expenditures, which were met by means judged by the different countries of Europe — where a sense of nationality was well developed — corrupt, unjust, and unworthy of the head of the church.

We have no complete and satisfactory knowledge of the system of papal patronage, but from the universal complaints of the time we can reconstruct the general impression which it made on the people.^a It is well known how John XXII made the investiture of bishoprics and benefices into a highly profitable business. The bishops were liable to certain taxes: the bishop of Münster, for instance, was assessed 300 gulden; soon other obligations were required of episcopal candidates. It was likewise with the small benefices — not only were they sold for gold, there were also expectant documents to be had. Boniface IX carried on an extensive trade: he revoked the favours which had been granted, only to sell them again; and careful examinations of the claims of the candidates could not make clear who with money or who by influential recommendations gained precedence at the papal court. It was the general impression that the curia sold offices to the highest bidder. To such an end had come the Gregorian fight against simony: the papacy, having achieved its greatness because it opposed simony in others, fell into disrepute through the same evil.

The papacy was also a great source of secular law. Numerous controversies were carried to Rome, since the lay powers found it convenient to carry litigations with clerks to the highest spiritual court. This was always a costly proceeding. On account of the accumulation of business at the papal court, there was always delay before an appealed case could be decided. There was nothing to be done but to begin with the lower officials, who were mediators between the higher officers and the prosecutor. Then, after the decision was made, there was always delay before the bull was issued, and to avoid longer residence in Rome the minor officials had again to be consulted. There was often much haggling over the sum to be paid the pope. A considerable sum was always paid, and the general opinion was that without gold nothing was decided at Rome.

The extraordinary demands which the pope made on the church, the tenths, subsidies, and other levies of money, were also the cause of great scandal. Closely associated with these was the question of investitures.

The king had no influence on elections except as he might use his personal influence in the chapter or the curia for a favoured candidate. The investiture with regalia was only a form, which no longer gave the secular lord influence. But since the election of the chapter required the confirmation of the curia, and the pope himself nominated many bishops, the highest administrative office of the church was given only to those men who could control the secular and spiritual conduct of their subjects.

The chapters in which electoral rights were vested had little of a spiritual character, since they were the foundations of neighbouring noblemen. Usually some members were educated clerks — because they were necessary; but otherwise members of the nobility and their favourites composed the chapter. In elections there were always factions, not ecclesiastical but family factions; often two bishops were chosen. Even in case of a successful election, the successful candidate was hampered with heavy expenses, which he defrayed out of the income of the diocese. In the double election of bishops, one of the two candidates must suffer, the spiritual or the secular; and usually it was the former. The endowment of money and property made bishoprics very desirable offices, and consequently no bishop could avoid a certain amount of secular activity.^g

These conditions reacted on the lower clergy. The priests imitated their bishops.^a The canons which forbade remuneration for religious services were long since forgotten. Baptism, marriage, confession, burial of the dead were, for the clergy, inexhaustible sources of revenue; penitential alms and dispensations which many of the churches and monasteries had received were replaced by fines, and a tariff excused all sins (from the church's censure) — from the most trivial to the most enormous. The tithes, heavier than ever, were levied with unaccustomed vigour, and at the same time the tendency was for the priests to avoid delivery to higher authorities of the imposts collected from the parishioners. In many instances the priests were familiar only with the advantages of their profession and neglected its duties.^h

But after hearing the evidence for all the varieties of ecclesiastical corruption, we should not forget that — as Nicholas Clémenges, himself a severe critic of the church, says — the same abuses were found in the secular governments of the time; also that the century of greatest corruption was also the century of Master Eckhart and Tauler, the fathers of German mysticism, and of numerous religious foundations.

The Great Schism, by increasing the number of popes, multiplied the abuses and confusion in the administrative system of the church. In England and France, the strong, well-organised monarchies which had developed in the thirteenth century were able to modify, to some extent, these abuses. But Germany, with a weak and divided central government, was a prey to all possible forms of corruption.^a

In 1367 and 1372 the clergy of Mainz formed a league to protect themselves against exorbitant tithes; there was a similar association at Cologne, and in 1373 the three ecclesiastical electors met to protest against the demands of Gregory XI. In many villages of north Germany, Magdeburg for example, the bishops protested against the usurpations of the papal court. Sometimes the conflict resulted in violence. Henry, bishop of Hildesheim, caused to be assassinated in 1373 the priests whom the pope wished to impose on him. The nuns of the convent of Derneberg received an order from Avignon to appoint a certain Johann von Münsted to an ecclesiastical office which was dependent on the convent: they aroused against him some lay brothers, and in the combat Johann was killed.^h

[1373-1379 A.D.]

The movement inaugurated by the Parisian theologians, to call a general council of Christendom to end the schism and reform the church in head and members, naturally found much sympathy in Germany. In fact, besides the corruption in ecclesiastical administration, there was in the empire another problem, that of heresy, which demanded the careful consideration of all who had the interests of the church at heart.

RACE CONFLICT IN BOHEMIA

In no country of Europe were the people more dissatisfied with existing conditions than in Bohemia. There was, first of all, a conflict of races. The indigenous population, the Czechs, found rivals in the Germans who had settled among them.^a Not only had most of the frontier been occupied by German colonists, but in the villages the Germans had obtained control of the higher industries and commerce, and, allowing the Slavs to carry on the small trades, they became the great burghers and occupied the municipal offices. The Czechs fought with energy against absorption. They protested against foreign influence by making impassioned and well-directed use of their national language. In an age when the German language, in spite of the work of the mystics, had hardly passed from its period of formation, the Czech literature under Charles IV produced knightly romances, satires, lyrics, elegies, chronicles, and attempts at drama, based on the national life, which the Germans of Bohemia could hardly imitate or translate.^b The conflict in secular affairs extended to religious life. The Bohemian church was noted for its wealth. "No kingdom in all Europe has so numerous, stately, and ornate churches," said Æneas Sylvius. But the common law vested rights over ecclesiastical property in the crown, not the church. This opened the way for simony and the confusion of spiritual and secular duties. The archbishop of Prague, we are told, was lord of 329 towns and villages, and an examination of the thirty clergymen in 1379 resulted in the conviction of sixteen.^a The national opposition against the Germans blended with the opposition against the church and so the programme of reform, to which John Huss gave his name, had a national character which made it suspected in Germany.

The emperor and king, Charles IV, began reformation in the church, but he abandoned the attempt. Then followed a protest of the Czech national feeling. A German, Conrad of Waldhausen, began an attack on the monks and the superstitious practices which disgraced the church. But the movement became entirely Czech. A Moravian, Milicz of Kremsier, indicated the papacy as the source of the evils in the church; and one of his followers, Mathias of Janow, continued his work, contrasting the customs of the primitive church with those of the church of his time. A knight, John of Milheim, and a certain merchant founded at Prague the chapel of Bethlehem for Czech preaching and the reform of morals, and the preachers of Bethlehem became the religious directors of the whole Slavonic population of Prague. These orators and writers devoted their time to the abuses, not the dogmas of the church. But, in passing from the preachers to the masters of the University of Prague, the reform movement became more important and added a new element of opposition to the church. The work of John Huss was to unite and express the protest of nationality, of morality, and of dogma, against the German influence in Bohemia and the corruption and teachings of the church.^b

The rivalry of nationalities extended to university life, and is well illus-

trated by the attitude of the university toward the work of the council of Pisa. The Czech students and masters, as well as Wenceslaus, who was still king of Bohemia, wished to renounce Benedict XIII and Gregory XII and accept a new pontiff to be chosen by the council. The German members, however, by their control of the Polish nation, outvoted the Bohemians. A movement against the German students began, which was encouraged by Wenceslaus, and resulted in an exodus of the Germans. The result was the foundation of the first German universities, especially that of Leipsic, by the migrating students. The University of Prague lost its cosmopolitan character, but was now recognised as the exponent of the national feeling in Bohemia. In the meantime, criticism of the nature of the church and its doctrines had been active at Prague. The intercourse with students of foreign lands which was notable in the early days of the institution and the rule that the works of French and English masters might be used in the courses of instruction, made possible the introduction of new thought. The marriage of Anne, daughter of Charles IV, to Richard II of England, seems to have increased the intercourse between the universities of Prague and Oxford and the introduction into Bohemia of the works of Wycliffe. Many of his writings were known in Bohemia before 1385, but they aroused no opposition until 1403, when, as the result of the rivalry of Germans and Czechs, Johann Hübner, a Silesian, publicly challenged forty-five theses from Wycliffe's writings. Three years later, Innocent VII ordered the archbishop of Prague to suppress the study of Wycliffe's works.

Among those charged with fostering Wycliffe's heretical teachings was John Huss, a member of the university and preacher at the Bethlehem chapel.^a Less coarse in speech than Conrad of Waldhausen, less fantastic in his views than Milecz, he made a more profound impression on his hearers than his predecessors had done, and the results of his work were much more lasting. He appealed to the intelligence of his hearers, aroused their reflective faculties, taught and persuaded them, and was not lacking in impressive words. He had an earnest character, a devout spirit, and a conduct to which his enemies could not find exception; a burning zeal for the moral improvement of the people, as well as the reformation of the church; also a keenness and tenacity, stolidity and obstinacy, and a remarkable desire for popularity, which saw in the martyr's crown the highest end to which man's life could attain.ⁱ

In 1407 he was made dean of the faculty of arts, and the following year, rector of the university. Heresy again became an issue at Prague. Wenceslaus, wishing to gain recognition as king of the Romans from the council of Pisa, decided to purge the university of false teaching. The Bohemian doctors themselves now condemned certain of Wycliffe's doctrines and certain Czech preachers and doctors were imprisoned by the archbishop and delivered to the Inquisition. Huss protested and demanded that they be released. The archbishop replied by banishing him from the diocese. Huss' break with the ecclesiastical authority had begun. The next step was for the Germans to bring before the pope an accusation against the Bohemian university on the ground that it was teaching heresy. Alexander V, elected at Pisa and endorsed by the Bohemians, issued a bull ordering the archbishop of Prague to drive all heretics and false teachers from his diocese, and to suppress the writings of Wycliffe. Huss, however, decided to appeal against the bull, claiming that it was the result of false pretence on the part of his accusers. He next refused to appear at Rome when summoned by the new pope, John XXIII, and was therefore excommunicated. In 1412 he

[1410-1412 A.D.]

denounced the sale of indulgences instituted by John XXIII and boldly questioned the validity of priestly absolution. Reform had extended to revolt against the church and its teaching.

THE DOCTRINES OF HUSS

The doctrines which led Huss into revolt against the established authorities in the church were similar to those of Wycliffe and were doubtless the results of study of the English reformer's works. His starting-point, the theory of salvation, was entirely orthodox. "No one is saved by the law, but only through faith in Christ." "God's grace is not acquired through service, but is freely given." These declarations of Huss were not in conflict with those of Thomas Aquinas and the later theologians. But conclusions drawn from these statements regarding Christ's relation to salvation caused conflict with the church. This revolutionary thought was based on two conceptions, the law of Christ, the written word of God, and the true church of Christ.^a Huss many times declares that the law of Christ, that is, the sacrifice of God as the New Testament reveals it in the time of Christ and the Apostles, is sufficient for Christians, church, and salvation. Not that the Scriptures are the only source of truth; indeed, he recognises moral revelation or experience and reason or systematised thought to be sources of knowledge of the truth. But in matters of faith and salvation, Holy Scripture has unconditioned and final authority. Christ is the best teacher and final judge. Man must neither add to nor take away from his message. Each Christian must believe that truth which the Holy Spirit has concealed in the Scripture, and he must give unconditional obedience to the law of Christ. The opinions of the factions and the bulls of the popes are not worthy of man's faith — they only express what is clearly in Scripture or what can be deduced from Scripture. Indeed, papal bulls cannot be foundations of faith for the pope, and his curia can err. It is his gain to err, and he also errs without knowledge of it.

Huss' second reformatory principle is that of the true church. The germ of his conception of the true church is in the sentence, "The church is the assembly of the elect." The origin of the idea goes back to Augustine, but Huss derived it from the writings of Wycliffe. In 1410 he first realised its consequences, and he developed it in many of his writings, especially the *De Ecclesia*. Since the church of Christ is the assembly of the elect, those do not belong to it who are not destined to salvation by grace. There is therefore a difference, which Augustine had indicated, between the true and the visible body of Christ. All the justified since the beginning of the world are chosen by grace to salvation, are real members of the church. Membership in the true body of Christ, the true church, depends on the eternal election by grace. Therefore outward membership in the church, even office and jurisdiction in the same, do not make membership in the true church.ⁱ

These conceptions of the law of Christ and the true church made Huss accept the nature and authority of the existing ecclesiastical organisation only in so far as it conforms to the word of God revealed to him in the Bible by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. When neither pope, university, nor king could persuade him to modify his views, it remained for the ecumenical council to discipline him.

SIGISMUND CHOSEN EMPEROR (1411 A.D.)

In 1411 died Jobst of Moravia, one of the three emperors elected after the death of Rupert. After a reconciliation with Wenceslaus, Sigismund

was chosen emperor by five of the electors but was not crowned till four years later.^a

It was long since Germany had had a ruler so wealthy and influential as Sigismund, last of the Luxemburgs. He was king of Hungary, heir to Bohemia, and his estates extended from the Balkans to the Baltic, from the Carpathians to the Rhine. His allies were among the most powerful princes of Germany, Albert V of Austria, the burgraff of Nuremberg, and Frederick of Hohenzollern. His enemies were also numerous. The Venetians threatened the Adriatic coast; the Turks, after years of civil war, had united under Muhammed II; the Poles wished to dissolve their union with Hungary, while many subjects of the empire were turbulent.

Sigismund had the advantage of a good education. He spoke Latin, German, Czech, French, and Italian. He was generous and affable, enjoyed mingling with his people, and his pleasant manner won the goodwill of all whom he met. Large, well proportioned, with light hair and complexion and blue eyes, he was conscious of his beauty and strength. Unfortunately, he was a king only in appearance, and loved only the show of power. He was incapable of perseverance, as easily discouraged as ardent in enterprise. He confused excitement with activity, a brusque manner with firmness, sensationalism with renown. He was inconstant in friendship, and shocked his contemporaries by the unscrupulousness and facility with which he forgot his promises and dissolved his alliances. He had that one lasting passion, pleasure, and the caprices in which he indulged sometimes compromised his honour.

The task before him was a great one, to re-establish unity in church and empire. This, however, was not enough for him. He wished to regain Italy for the empire, as well as the kingdoms of Arles and Burgundy. He was in Italy when Rupert died. Before accepting the imperial crown, he wished to conquer that country, and make his return to Germany a triumphal journey. But the German princes would not furnish aid. He was unable to pay his Swiss mercenaries, and they deserted him. The Italian princes who caused the expedition increased his humiliation and disgrace. Philip of Milan defied him, Genoa closed its gates, and at Asti he was almost made prisoner. Other princes recognised his authority but gave him no aid. When he finally reached Germany, he called a diet at Coblenz, which no one attended.^b

Such an inauspicious opening of his reign ill corresponded with his high hopes and dreams. But Sigismund was yet to play a great rôle in history — if not as restorer of the empire, at least as restorer of the papacy. The ending of the schism was even more imperative than the assertion of imperial authority, and moreover the task was more within the scope of Sigismund's powers.

While he was yet in Italy, John XXIII, defeated by Ladislaus of Anjou, king of Naples, decided to trust himself to the emperor and to call the council which was universally desired. The pope issued the bull of convocation and the emperor chose the meeting-place — Constance. This news awakened a profound interest and enthusiasm throughout Europe. When the council finally met, in October, 1414, the eyes of all Europe were turned to it. Rarely to-day, in this age of vast assemblages, is so notable and large a body of men gathered together.^c

Besides the patriarchs of Constantinople, Grado, and Antioch, there were present twenty-nine cardinals, thirty-three archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, more than a hundred abbots, and fifty priors. But the majority of the members were representatives of the universities, which had been the

[1414-1415 A.D.]

real leaders of the church during the decline of the papacy. There were not less than three hundred doctors and masters at Constance. The council was also a political congress. All the sovereigns of Europe, save one, sent ambassadors. The prelates and princes were accompanied by soldiers. There came also merchants, clowns, jugglers, actresses, and curiosity seekers. At one time there were in the city three hundred conjurors and musicians, six hundred barbers, and seven hundred courtesans. The officials of Constance had at first alarmed at the task of feeding and lodging this vast multitude of people. "The Swabians," wrote Huss, "say it will take thirty years to purify Constance of the sins which it has committed." ^h

The programme mapped out was that which the University of Paris had for years demanded: first, the termination of the schism; second, correction of the abuses in the church; finally, the extirpation of heresy. To end the schism it was necessary to depose the three existing popes. A process was therefore instituted against John XXIII.^a But John had taken precautions not to be deposed and had risked too many hazards to give himself up. While crossing the Tyrol on his way to Constance he made an ally of Sigismund's enemy, Frederick of Austria. He now promised to abdicate if the other two popes would follow his example. Then he proposed to transfer the council to another city. When the fathers refused, he left Constance disguised as a messenger, while Frederick was entertaining the people at a grand festival. The same evening the duke joined him at Schaffhausen.

The council now seemed about to dissolve. Sigismund, however, acted the part of emperor. He rode through the streets on his horse, revived the courage of all, and promised the fathers that he would protect them. The council, reassured, on March 30th, 1415, declared that it represented the Catholic church, that it held its authority from Christ, that it was superior to the pope; and John XXIII was summoned to appear before it as a heretic and promoter of heresy. Sigismund then took vigorous measures against Frederick, and the friends of John. He cited the duke to his tribunal, on pain of the ban of the empire and forfeiture of his domains to rival claimants. But Frederick was turbulent and quarrelsome. Then four hundred princes, lords, knights, and cities of Swabia declared war upon him. After a short but decisive campaign, Frederick surrendered to the emperor without conditions, placed his possessions at the disposition of Sigismund, and promised the return of John XXIII. [The renegade pope attempted to escape to Avignon. He was captured at Freiburg by the burggraf Frederick of Nuremberg and brought to Constance.] On May 12th, 1415, he was brought before the council; he maintained a haughty attitude and after a difficult and scandalous procedure was deposed, May 29th. Gregory XII then resigned and



SIGISMUND (1368-1437)

(After an old print)

died soon afterwards; Benedict XIII refused all propositions of the council with inflexible obstinacy, and from his fortress at Pensicola braved all the threats of the fathers until his death.

THE TRIAL OF HUSS (1414 A.D.)

[The schism was ended. The council then turned to the revolt against the church represented by Huss. All were prejudiced against him.] The English wished to draw attention, through Huss, to the teaching of Wycliffe: the Germans had not forgotten that he had been in the movement to drive them from Prague. An innovator in religion, he was reactionary in philosophy, professing realistic doctrines, while the Parisian theologians were nominalists. The French, indeed, were more anxious for the condemnation of Huss than they had been for the deposition of John XXIII.^h The reason was that the doctrines of Huss suggested a revolution in the church. Their significance was well stated by Gerson, a French scholar: "The most dangerous error, destructive of all political order and quiet, is this — that one predestined to damnation or living in mortal sin has no rule, jurisdiction, or power over others in a Christian people. Against such an error it seems to my humility that all power, spiritual and temporal, ought to rise, and exterminate it by fire and sword rather than by curious reasoning. For political power is not founded on the title of predestination or grace, since that would be most uncertain, but is established according to laws civil and ecclesiastical."

Yet Huss was willing to trust his case to the council. He was promised a safe conduct and a public hearing at Constance by Sigismund. The inquisitor general at Prague declared before witnesses that Huss was a good Christian; the archbishop said he knew nothing of his heresy. It seemed to the people of Bohemia that there was somewhere a misunderstanding, and that a public hearing and trial at Constance would result in adjustment of all difficulties. On November 3rd, 1414, with a number of Bohemian friends, Huss arrived at Constance. The procedure of the council towards Huss was based on that of the Inquisition. He was excommunicate and a heretic; and he was therefore outside the law and no promise or contract made with him was binding; he was not allowed to defend his teachings; the church alone could decide upon their validity; he must recant or suffer death.

The first step was a formal accusation and imprisonment.^a On November 28th [says an old chronicler], the cardinals sent two bishops, a civil magistrate of Constance, and a soldier to the house where Master Huss resided. They told Master John of Chlum that they had come at the order of the cardinals and the mandate of the pope for Master John Huss, and as he had wished to speak with them they were ready to hear him. John of Chlum replied to them angrily, saying: "Do you know, most reverend fathers, how and through whom Master John Huss came here? If you do not, I tell you that Master Wenzil of Lestria and I were with the emperor at Friuli and spoke of returning to Germany; he commanded us to take in our care Master John with his safe conduct, that he might come to the present council", and he said further: "If Master Huss shall consent to remain at Constance with you, say to him that he shall speak nothing of this matter except in my presence, when I shall come, God willing, to Constance." Those who had come replied, "We come only for the sake of peace, that there may be no tumult." Then Master John Huss, arising from the table, replied, "I did not come here to see the cardinals nor did I ever desire to speak with them: I came to the whole

[1414 A.D.]

council; but at the request of the cardinals I am ready to go to them, and I am willing to be examined concerning anything. I think I should prefer death than the denial of truth as revealed to me by the Scriptures or other means." And when he had come to the cardinals and saluted them, they said to him, "Master John, many things are said about you, that you hold many errors and disseminate them in Bohemia; and so we have sent for you wishing to ask you if this be true." He replied: "Most reverend fathers, you know that I would rather die than hold an error. I have come to this sacred council, and, having been shown in what I have erred, I am ready in all humility to correct and amend." The cardinals said, "Truly those are good words." Thus they departed, leaving Master (Huss) under an armed guard. But Lord John (Chlum) remained with them.^k

A subtle theologian disguised as a friar then came and sought to involve Huss in a discussion of the Eucharist. At four o'clock the pope and the cardinals met. In true inquisitorial method, charges were preferred against Huss in his absence. The accuser was a former priest at Prague and the indictment included (1) teaching the necessity of receiving the Eucharist under both kinds and attacking transubstantiation; (2) making the validity of the sacraments depend on the moral character

of the priest; (3) erroneous theories regarding the property, disciples, and organisation of the church.^a

When this was done [continues our chronicler] they sent a messenger to Lord John, who said that he might depart, but Master Huss should remain in the papal palace. John of Chlum was angered; he went to the pope and protested in the name of the emperor's safe conduct. John's reply was, "You know how matters stand: the cardinals brought Master Huss as a prisoner and I am bound to receive him." The same night at nine o'clock, he (Huss) was taken to the home of a canon of Constance where a cardinal was staying: there for eight days he was guarded by armed men. Then he was taken to the Dominican monastery and was placed in a dark and obscure dungeon, near which was a sewer. He was seized with fever; and when his life was despaired of, Pope John sent his own physicians to him.^k



MEDIÆVAL INTERIOR

John of Chlum and the Bohemian nobles drew up a written protest against Huss' imprisonment, but without avail.

Sigismund arrived on Christmas day. He felt very deeply the insult to his authority in the violation of the safe conduct: he feared the bad impression it would make in Bohemia, a country he hoped to inherit. The pope excused his conduct to the emperor, as he had excused it previously to John of Chlum. Sigismund had to settle with the council. When the fathers opposed to his right to protect a subject their right to judge a heretic according to the established rules of the church, Sigismund several times left the council in wrath. As evidence of his earnestness, it appears that he at one time left Constance, in the latter days of 1414. A deputation followed him and declared that, if he hindered or interfered with the legal authority of the council, it would dissolve. Sigismund was not willing to accept the responsibility of such an event. Huss was not worth the failure of the long-cherished desires of Christendom for the establishment of unity and reformation in the church. He also consoled himself with the thought that, since no promise to the disadvantage of the Catholic faith is valid in the light of divine or human law, he was not under obligation to keep his word given to a heretic. He therefore allowed the process against Huss to take its course.ⁱ

Renewal of the Trial

The difficulties occasioned by the conduct of John XXIII for a time overshadowed the cause of Huss. When the pope fled from Constance, Sigismund was, for a time, the central figure in the council, and Huss' friends hoped he would use his influence for the liberation of the imprisoned reformer. But the emperor had identified himself with the fathers of the council. On March 24th, he committed Huss to the custody of the bishop of Constance, who imprisoned him in a castle near the city. In May, Wycliffe's writings were condemned and his bones were ordered to be exhumed and taken from consecrated ground. The friends of Huss were alarmed. They again protested against his imprisonment. The patriarch of Constantinople replied, in behalf of the council, that Huss would not be released but that he should be given a public hearing. On June 5th, 1415, the council assembled at the Franciscan monastery. A committee offered a report on the case of Huss, which ended with a condemnation of various extracts taken from his writings. He was then brought in, and the articles against him and the evidence were read.^a When the master wished to respond, many cried out; on account of the strength of their voices he could not be heard: when he wished to take exception against ambiguous words or give interpretations different from those in the articles, they cried out, "Dismiss your sophistry and say yes or no"; some laughed at him. When he cited the authority of the fathers for certain articles, many exclaimed, "That is not true," or "It is not to the point." Seeing that a defence was not possible, he was silent on some points. Then they said, "Behold now you are silent; that is a sign that you believe these errors."^b

On account of the tumult the hearing was adjourned till June 7th. Sigismund was then present and better order prevailed. There was a lengthy discussion of the sacrament of the altar. Huss denied that he accepted Wycliffe's views, and was found to be orthodox. Then the nature of the evidence which should determine a man's opinions was examined. One of the cardinals said: "Master John, do you know that it is written that in the mouths of two or three witnesses every word shall be established? Behold

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there are twenty witnesses against you — doctors, prelates, and others — some of whom have heard, others know by report.” He replied, “If God and my conscience are my witnesses that I never taught what I am accused of teaching, the testimony hurts me not.” Cardinal d’Ailly responded, “We cannot judge you according to your conscience, but according to the evidence before us.” After other fruitless discussion, Cardinal d’Ailly quoted a remark of Huss, that he had come to Constance of his own will, and that not even the king of the Romans or the Bohemians should have compelled him. John of Chlum arose and said: “Indeed that is true, I am a poor knight in our country yet I would keep him for a year, whomsoever it pleased or displeased, so that he could not be taken. There are many great lords who have strong castles who would keep him, even against both kings.” This was the critical point. Evidently heresy was revolt against civil as well as ecclesiastical authority. The cardinal advised Huss to submit to the council, and Sigismund added: “Hear, John Huss; I gave you a safe conduct before you left Prague and commanded that you should be brought here without violence and that a public hearing should be given you. This has been done. All say that I cannot give a safe conduct to a heretic or one suspected of heresy. Therefore, I advise you to hold nothing obstinately but to submit to the mercy of the council. If you continue in your errors, it is for the council to determine what it will do. I have said that I will not defend a heretic; nay, if anyone remained obstinate in heresy, I would burn him with my own hands.”

The audience, however, was resumed the following day, June 8th. Thirty-nine articles against Huss, taken from his writings, were read. Most of them were based on his theory of the church as the body of the elect, and the dependence of the ecclesiastical authority on the character of the one exercising it. When the article which stated that pope, bishop, or priest who is in mortal sin is not true pope, bishop, or priest, Huss quoted the words of Samuel to Saul, “Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath rejected thee from being king.” Sigismund replied, “Huss, no one is without sin”; and D’Ailly added, “It is not sufficient that you destroy the spiritual power by your teachings; you also wish to drive kings from their state.” After all charges had been read and discussed, D’Ailly advised Huss to submit to the mercy of the council and warned him not to attempt further defence. “I came here freely,” he replied, “I crave another audience to explain my meaning, and if my judgments do not prevail, I am willing to submit to the information of the council.” On all sides the answer was, “The council is not here to inform but to judge.” The final decision of Huss was an appeal, “I stand before the judgment seat of God, who will judge both you and me as we deserve.”

So ended the trial of Huss. He was led back to prison to await his sentence. A final attempt was made through a private individual to get him to retract. Again his reply was an appeal to Christ. On the sixth of July Huss was led to the great church of Constance, where a general session of the council was assembled, presided over by Sigismund. Let us watch the last fateful scene through the eyes of an onlooker.^a

THE DEATH OF HUSS (1415 A.D.)

In the middle of the auditorium stood a platform on which were placed the sacerdotal robes for the degradation of Master Huss. When he was led into the church, he stepped before the platform and knelt in prayer. The

bishop of Lodi ascended the pulpit and preached a sermon concerning heresy, declaring that heresies do much evil to God and the church and that it is the duty of kings to extirpate them. Next the procurator of the council arose and asked for the sentence on Master John Huss. When the articles against him were read (Huss protesting against some) a certain Italian prelate read the sentence against him. And Master John Huss responded, against orders, to certain points of the sentence; specially when he was pronounced obstinate in error he responded, "I never was nor am I obstinate, but I have always desired and to-day desire better information from the Scriptures." When the condemnation was complete, Master Huss fell on his knees and prayed, "Lord Jesus, have mercy, I pray, on all my enemies; thou knowest they falsely accuse me, they bring false witnesses, and charge me with false articles." When he had finished, many laughed at him.

Then seven bishops clothed him with the priestly robes. He said, "When my Lord Jesus was led before Pilate, he wore a white robe." Then he was exhorted by the bishops to recant; sadly he turned to the multitude and replied, "The bishops beg me to recant; I fear to do that lest I lie in the sight of God and offend my conscience and God's truth." The bishops then began to degrade him, taking from his hands the chalice and tearing off the vestments, pronouncing maledictions against him. They said, "We commit your soul to the devil." And he, folding his hands and turning his eyes to heaven, replied, "I commit it to our good Lord Jesus." A paper cap, almost a cubit high, on which were painted devils and also an inscription, "This is a heresiarch," was placed on his head. The emperor said to Clem of Bavaria, "Take him"; and Clem placed him in the hands of the lictors, who led him forth to death.

When they arrived at the place of death, a meadow outside the city, Huss kneeled in prayer. He was then chained to the stake, made a final refusal to recant, and as the flames swept up around him he chanted from the Liturgy,

O Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon us,
O Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me;
Thou who wast born of the Virgin Mary —

With the last line the voice ceased; his lips moved a few minutes and then he expired. The executioners were careful to burn his body to ashes; his clothes were likewise destroyed; and the dust was thrown into the Rhine that his followers might not secure any relics of their hero's death.^k

The trial and execution of Huss awaken our sympathy. It is an excellent example of the treatment of heresy in the Middle Ages. The church found the accused guilty of error; the state then stepped in and administered suitable punishment. The whole procedure is revolting to us. Why should one suffer death for opinions which he refuses to give up for fear of offence to God and his conscience? The answer is found in the nature of mediæval civilisation. The church was not a private institution, but a part of the machinery of government. Sin and faith were matters of public importance. The position of Huss has been stated by Creighton^l: "He is charged with subverting the existing system of thought; he answers that some modification of the existing system is necessary and that his opinions, if rightly understood, are not subversive but amending. Into this issue his judges cannot follow him. It is as though a man accused of high treason were to urge that his treason is the noblest patriotism. There may be truth in his allegations, but it is a truth which human justice cannot take into account. The judge is

[1415-1418 A.D.]

appointed to execute existing laws, and till those laws are altered the best attempts to amend them by individual protests must be reckoned as rebellion."

DISSOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL (1418 A.D.)

As regards the reformation of the church, the council did not realise the dreams of the reformers.^a The Germans, supported at first by the English, desired that the proposed reformation should be taken in hand before the election of the new pope. But the cardinals and the rest of the nations were so urgent in their opposition to this measure that the council was satisfied with framing some few reformatory decrees, and with recommending the other subjects of reform to the future pontiff. Otto di Colonna was then elected pope, November, 1417, under the name of Martin V. The results justified the fears of the Germans. The feeble glimmer of the council grew pale before the splendour of the new pope, the first who had been universally acknowledged for a long time. The papal monarchy was immediately elevated above all the limits which the ecclesiastical aristocracy meant to have imposed upon it. The rules in chancery prepared by Martin V were but slightly different from those of former popes, about which there had been so much complaint. Proposals for reformation which he set forth did not correspond with expectations. The strength and unity of the council were so much broken that the pope was able to adjust the most critical points of reformation by concordats with separate nations. The pope not only granted ecclesiastical tithes to the emperor Sigismund, notwithstanding all the outcries which had been raised against this kind of church oppression, but he even ventured, in direct opposition to the expressed principle of the council, to pronounce all appeals from the pope to a general council to be inadmissible. Thus the council became so unlike itself that its dissolution in April, 1418, was no cause for regret. The old complaints of extortion and church oppression, as well as the venality of the curia, began afresh; only the Italians were satisfied with the new condition of affairs.^m



A GERMAN SOLDIER OF THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

SOCIAL DISCONTENT

The news of the execution of Huss provoked general exasperation in Bohemia. It was regarded as a defiance to the Czech nation — a crime which affected the entire Slav race. Sigismund and the Germans had thought of that deed only in reference to one man: they found a whole nation involved. Belgians and national questions were confused more than ever.^h

The principal doctrine of the religious revolt that now began was the demand for the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds. Huss did not propose this innovation — nor, in fact, any of the extensive changes made by his followers in the ecclesiastical system, though they were natural conclu-

sions indicated in his system of thought. It was while he was in Constance that Jacobellus (Jakobek) of Mies began to preach in Bohemia the necessity of administering the wine as well as the bread of the Eucharist to the laity. Huss in a letter to Jacobellus spoke favourably of the innovation, but he did not regard it as a necessary reform. After his death this was regarded as the cardinal doctrine of the conservative Hussites, who were therefore called *utraquists* (from the Latin *utraque*, "both") or *calixtines* (from "chalice," or "cup").

Social discontent contributed to the religious and national revolt. The result was the formation of a radical party, whose ideals extended beyond reform to the abolition of the existing ecclesiastical system.^a

In the Middle Ages church and society were far removed from their natural bases, and were forced to conform even in their most important life-functions to the prescription of ecclesiastical statutes; therefore it came to be believed that an end of all oppression would be made, if the social organisation of early Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament, were carried over into the degenerate present. As the poor priests and Lollards of England, so now the so-called Taborites, led by enthusiastic members of the lower nobility, as well as by priests, added to Hussitism a socialistic and communistic programme. Besides the church, the state and society should be reorganised on the basis of the gospel. These people added to the hatred of the Germans and dislike of Sigismund a fanaticism based on the literal interpretation of Scripture, an inspiration, a passion, and a spirit of sacrifice which regarded nothing as impossible and transformed the suffering, uncultured, and impoverished peasants into an irresistible force. The whole development of humanity was to these people a great confusion, a fall from God's law, for whose final restoration there must be a purification of the world; and they were the ones chosen of God to carry out that work — a conception which two centuries later the English puritans also represented. Above all, absolute equality was to be introduced; church, birth, property, education should no longer create social classes; likewise there should be no separation of the priesthood and the laity. The form of government should be republican, for in the people resides the sovereign power. That the emancipation of woman was one of their articles of faith shows how completely these revolutionary idealists would overthrow all legal and moral limitations. Never had the Middle Ages seen any similar movement, never was such unmerciful war declared against ecclesiastical, political, and social conditions.^e

ECCLESIASTICAL INTERFERENCE

On the ecclesiastical side, the council took energetic measures against the new schism which threatened the church. It forbade communion under both kinds; revoked the charter of the University of Prague and threatened with ecclesiastical penalties King Wenceslaus and the archbishop of Prague if they did not take heresy in hand. The university retaliated by declaring communion under both kinds indispensable to salvation, and designated July 6th as the feast of John Huss, which was observed till the seventeenth century.

The schism, however, progressed peacefully until the dissolution of the council in 1418. Martin V, the new pope, wished to see active measures instituted against heresies. He ordered Sigismund to have all priests restored to the parishes from which they had been driven. Wenceslaus, fearing his brother would take advantage of this order to have himself made king of

[1419 A.D.]

Bohemia, willingly complied with the wishes of the pope. This was the signal for war.

When the Catholic priests, re-entering Prague, wished to go in procession to the dedication of their churches and threatened with excommunication those receiving the Eucharist under both kinds, there was a popular rising. Once Wenceslaus was surrounded in the street by a multitude and was requested to permit the communion in both kinds. The king ordered the people to deliver their arms to him. John of Zizka, one of the popular leaders, then went to the castle where the king resided and said: "Behold us with our arms. Where are your enemies?"

The movement spread from Prague to the country. The peasants ceased to attend the churches when the Catholic priests were installed. The Hussite priests held service in private houses, in barns, even in the open fields. They also held meetings on hills to which they gave biblical names: Tabor, from which the Taborites received their name, near Aussig on the Elbe; and Horeb, near Trebeckovic (Hohenbruck). In July, 1419, the municipal council of Prague at the instigation of Wenceslaus imprisoned some Hussites. A great procession formed, marched to the town hall, and demanded the release of the prisoners. The magistrates refused. In the tumult outside a monk who carried the chalice was struck by a stone. Zizka and his followers assaulted the building, ascended the stairways, seized the judge, the burgo-master, and the councillors, and cast them through the windows upon the lances and pikes of those who were below. This was the final humiliation of King Wenceslaus. That "defenestration," as it is called in Bohemian history, caused his death. Seized in the midst of the tumult by an attack of apoplexy, he died in August, 1419.

A political question was now added to the religious issue. Sigismund, the heir to Bohemia, was German, he had allowed Huss to be burned, and was a partisan of Martin V. The Germans and Catholics, who belonged to the feudal nobility and to the wealthy families of the cities, recognised Sigismund as the legitimate heir. Among the dissenters, the calixtines agreed upon four articles of faith: (1) free preaching of the word of God in the popular tongue; (2) communion under both kinds; (3) the suppression of ecclesiastical domains; (4) the punishment of public sins of the priests by temporal penalties. On these conditions they consented to recognise the rights of Sigismund. Much more numerous, however, were the Taborites, whose doctrines we have described, and the Adamites, the Nicolites, and Horebites, all of them sects whose teachings were socialistic in character. At Prague, the more ardent Taborites fell upon the churches and monasteries, destroyed the images and pictures, burned the robes and books. The archbishop and the cathedral chapter fled; the Germans took refuge in the châteaux. With a little activity and energy, a few concessions, and prompt action, Sigismund might have gained a following. But he was indolent, and too devoted to pleasure. Moreover the Turks were threatening Hungary, and the Hungarian nobles were unwilling that Sigismund should leave them. The government of Bohemia was therefore entrusted to Sophia, widow of Wenceslaus, and Teheiniech, one of the wealthiest lords of the country. They were hostile to the popular movements, and civil war commenced. The Czech cause was ably summarised in a pamphlet issued at Prague: "The church has treated us as a stepmother. She has raised against us our worst enemies, the Germans. What cause of war have they, save their eternal hatred for our race? They wish to dominate in Bohemia as in Meissen, in Prussia, and on the Rhine. Who would not resist their hatred? The cross of Christ,

the symbol of all kindness and beauty, has become a sign of massacre and death. Beloved fellow citizens, you who are devoted to the crown of Bohemia, we pray you to unite with us; remember your ancestors, the ancient Czechs who passionately loved their country. To arms, to protect our country against injustice and oppression! By the aid of God we will sustain our cause!"

SIGISMUND'S INVASION OF BOHEMIA

Sigismund saw that a war of religion and race was at hand. He made preparations to invade Bohemia in Silesia and Moravia, and asked Martin V to preach a crusade against his heretical subjects. With an army of eighty thousand men he invaded Bohemia in 1420 and captured two fortresses near Prague. A decisive battle was fought at the hill of Vitkov, which commanded the northeast of Prague, and was held by the Hussites. On July 14th, while the troops of the fortresses attracted attention by a sortie, several thousand cavalry charged the hill. It was almost abandoned by the Hussites. A handful of Taborites, among them two women and a girl, remained firm. Zizka came to their aid; his troops were inferior in number and began to give way, when reinforcements arrived; the Germans were then defeated. Vitkov then took the name of the mount of Zizka. The fortresses were retaken by the Bohemians, a few months later the German army was defeated, and Sigismund evacuated Bohemia.

We are astonished that Sigismund did not find in Catholicism and German patriotism the necessary resources with which to fight advantageously against the Hussites and Czechs, who inflicted so much loss on the church and German influence. Although the universities and the people in Germany were opposed to the Hussite reform because it was Czech, they were too dissatisfied with the corruption in the church to defend it with much ardour. On the other hand, the principalities and towns of Germany had become almost autonomous through the decline of imperial authority, and were thus incapable of putting forth serious effort in any cause, however dear to them.

Another cause of Bohemian success was the character of their army. The German army was feudal in character, each horseman fought independently, and a battle was to them a series of duels. Zizka's army was composed of peasants armed with pikes which terminated in hooks and wooden bars loaded with iron. In a campaign they were protected by movable walls formed by chariots covered with boards and attached to each other by iron chains. When they camped, this was a fortified enclosure; in battle they cast projectiles from it before attacking the enemy; then they took refuge if necessary. If the land were favourable, or sloping, they rolled against the enemy their chariots loaded with armed men. Before this democratic national army of the Czechs, the German cavalry fell, just as the French horsemen had gone down at Crécy and Agincourt before the English archers.

After the death of Zizka in 1424, one of the Taborite leaders, Procopius the Great, instituted a movement to unite all the Bohemian sects in an offensive war against the Germans, who corresponded to the Midianites and Amalekites of the Old Testament. Under his leadership, from 1429 to 1434, the Bohemians made a number of expeditions into Germany.^{ah} In Austria the duke fled before them; they also overran Silesia, Lusatia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, and Hungary. Not since the invasion of the Hungarians had Germany suffered so much. "Such was the terror of the Christians," says a chronicler, "that, long before the arrival of the heretics, they abandoned the fortified villages and the forts. Thanks to the universal confusion, the

[1415-1434 A.D.]

accomplices of the devil reduced the faithful to such misery that they burned their homes before taking flight."

In vain Rome appealed to religion for aid to Germany. Cardinal Julian Cesarini, one of the more popular and courageous priests of the church, preached a crusade at Nuremberg. He assembled 40,000 cavalry and 90,000 infantry, which crossed the mountains into Bohemia in 1431. Procopius had 55,000. When the armies were a mile apart, the Germans threw down their arms and fled in confusion to the frontier. "The flight of the Germans could not have been more rapid," says the chronicler, "if they had at their back two hundred thousand enemies." The cardinal barely escaped; he lost his mantle, his crucifix, and the pontifical bull. "We have sinned against the Saviour," he said; "he has put his curse upon us, and the Christian people are punished with anathema."

Thus heresy became the stamp of Czech nationality. In the villages of Bohemia, the domination of the German patricians passed to the Slav corporations. The war was notable for the fury and the cruelty characteristic of religious conflicts. Villages were usually sacked and burned, and prisoners massacred. The Taborites were especially violent against churches and monasteries. Bohemia lost the admirable religious monuments around which the piety of the people had heaped treasures and artistic wonders. The German domination in Bohemia, the work of five centuries, was completely broken.

CONDITION OF GERMANY DURING SIGISMUND'S REIGN

Since the death of Charles IV Germany had had no real government. It was only an incoherent agglomeration of states, divided in administrations, habits, and interests. Princes and bourgeoisie, laymen and ecclesiastics, alienated from each other by their ambitions and traditions, were united in hatred and distrust of the central authority. Without permission of the king, even without his knowledge, provinces were divided, laws of succession were modified, offensive and defensive treaties were signed, and often imperial subjects were found in armies hostile to their emperor and to Germany.

The feudal service fell into decay. The imperial passed with the religious rights into the hands of the princes. The charters of investiture of the period gave the lords the right to levy at will imposts and aides. There was no money and therefore there were no regular troops. There was no army except undisciplined masses — numerous, but without cohesion, practice in arms, or pay.^h

Sigismund in vain strove to bring order out of this confusion. At Constance, in 1415, he proposed a new city league of which he should be the head. The cities, however, were cautious of any movement led by the emperor, and the scheme failed. Sigismund then suggested a new Landfriede by which cities and principalities should be divided into four districts, each with a head and a central bureau organised by the emperor. This plan was received with favour by the cities, for it recognised them as equal to the feudal powers; but the princes in 1417 pledged themselves against it, and similar negotiations for a reform of the empire in 1434 failed on account of the hostility of the territorial princes.^a

The town chronicles are full of revolutionary movements in which the revolt against the church was fused with democratic aspirations. At Mainz the corporations rose against the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie against the clergy; Würzburg, Ratisbon, and Bamberg were at war with their bishop; Magdeburg made an alliance with many towns of the north against her bishop,

defeated his soldiers, and forced him to take refuge at Stettin; at Speier, Strasburg, Passau, and Constance there were quarrels between the middle classes and the labouring people, and between the municipality and the ecclesiastics. The discontent spread to the country districts. In 1428 the inhabitants of Appenzell were excommunicated because they menaced the bishop of Constance, the abbot of St. Gall, and the neighbouring lords. A little later several thousand peasants besieged Worms: they had on their banner the crucified Christ and demanded that the priests and the Jews should be put to death because through them scandals had come into the world.^h

These conditions, as well as the failure to suppress heresy in Bohemia, revived the old demand for an ecumenical council of the church.

GERMANY AND THE COUNCIL OF BÂLE (1431-1443 A.D.)

Like the council of Constance, that of Bâle was also an international congress. The question of heresy and the reform of ecclesiastical abuse were again subjects for deliberation. In place of the schism, there was an equally absorbing problem — that of the constitutional relation between pope and council, which should be the supreme source of ecclesiastical authority.

The struggle between the two powers was precipitated by Pope Eugenius IV. Alarmed by the independent and revolutionary tendencies at Bâle, he made a vain attempt to dissolve the council. The policy of Sigismund was naturally important for both parties. He had favoured the meeting of the council by taking it under his imperial protection. But, in 1431, he decided to make an expedition into Italy for the conquest of Venice and Florence. He attempted to play the mediator between pope and council, but failed. When his army was unsuccessful, he encouraged the council to give the pope the choice of revoking his bull of dissolution and sending a representative to Bâle or of submitting to a charge of contumacy. The pope was now humbled and the work of the council seemed assured. But the first step in the revival of papal leadership was an alliance of Eugenius and Sigismund. At the pope's suggestion, the conflicting claims of Florence, Venice, Milan, and the emperor were submitted to the arbitration of Niccolo of Este, lord of Florence. Sigismund recognised Eugenius IV as a "true and undoubted pope," and promised to act in defence of his holiness "among all kings and princes — all persons in the world, ecclesiastical as well as secular." The consummation of the alliance was a coronation of Sigismund by the pope — an event well described by Eberhard Windecke,ⁿ a contemporary German traveller and chronicler.^a

The Coronation of Sigismund

On May 12th, St. Pancras' Day, the Roman king entered Rome, and on Whitsuntide he rode to St. Peter's church. At length pope and emperor went and took their seats under their respective tabernacles. They stood while the gospel was read and an office of the Holy Trinity was sung. Then he, who had been accustomed to crown the emperor (the pope) approached and placed the crown on the emperor, so that it slanted to the right. The emperor then kneeled before the pope, when the latter straightway raised his right foot and removed the crown with it, according to the law and ancient custom. Then when they sang the gospel and came to the words, "And I will give you a sword," the pope gave the emperor the sword of a former

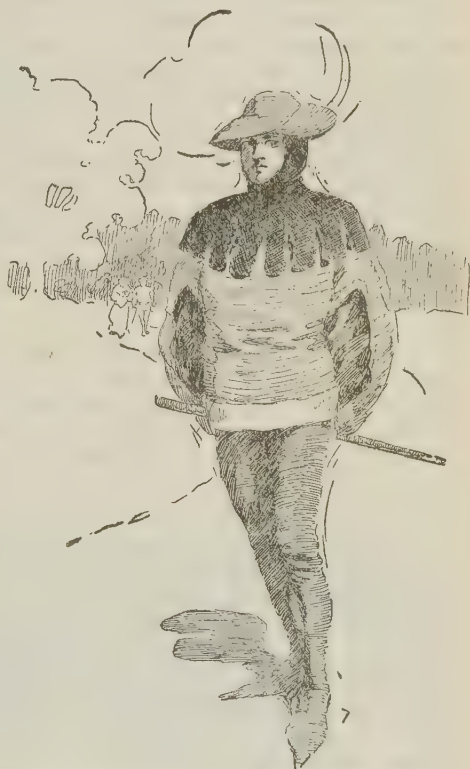
[1431-1437 A.D.]

emperor, according to custom. When the high office was over, the kiss was given in Italian fashion, the pope kissing the emperor on the right cheek and likewise the emperor the pope. Then the emperor took his sword in hand, the pope his cross, and the latter gave his blessing to the emperor.²²

The coronation of Sigismund affected his attitude towards the council. He still desired its success in its reformatory work, but looked with little favour on the constitutional problem of the relation of pope and council. It was due to his influence, as well as to that of other sovereigns of Europe, that the council did not depose Eugenius, and that the papal autocracy in the church was preserved. The council then turned to the consideration of heresy. The invitation to send representatives to Bâle was accepted by the calixtines or moderate party in Bohemia. After prolonged debate, the Four Articles of Prague were accepted as the basis of a compromise. The definition of the articles and the method by which they should be enforced in Bohemia were relegated to a diet held at Prague in 1434.

CIVIL WAR AND BATTLE OF LIPAN (1434 A.D.)

But Procopius and the Taborites were unwilling to be reconciled to the church. Civil war in Bohemia was the result; the moderate party defeated the Taborites at the battle of Lipan in May, 1434, in which Procopius and the flower of his army perished. Encouraged by these dissensions, the representatives of the council refused to accept the interpretations of the Articles of Prague offered by the Bohemians. Sigismund skilfully took advantage of the situation by offering to concede religious questions at issue in return for the crown of Bohemia. The Bohemians then re-entered the church without surrendering the principles which had caused their separation. They also gained recognition of their nationality, for Sigismund promised to appoint only native officials in Bohemia. But he made the fatal mistake of encouraging a Catholic reaction. This prolonged the strife between Czech and German.



COSTUME OF THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

DEATH OF SIGISMUND (1437 A.D.)

On Sigismund's death, Albert the new emperor was endorsed by the Catholic party but rejected by the calixtines; and the religious problem in Bohemia continued to dominate political issues.

HOHENZOLLERN AND HABSBURG

Besides the religious dissensions and neighbourhood wars which characterised Sigismund's reign, his policy is notable for one action which was of great importance for the future of Germany. This was the investiture of the house of Hohenzollern with Brandenburg, the immediate results of which foreshadowed the rise of Prussia, the leading state of the modern German Empire.

Brandenburg included a large stretch of country extending from the Elbe to the Oder and Vistula. In the early centuries its inhabitants were Slavs and its conquest and conversion to Christianity were as difficult as those of Saxony had been. Although the scene of border warfare under the early German emperors, it was not until about 1135 that it was finally conquered. The conqueror was the famous Albert the Bear, who founded the Askanian house, which with the Wettins and Guelfs ranked among the most powerful feudal families of Germany. About the middle of the fourteenth century the Askanian house became extinct, however, and the royal house of Luxemburg claimed Brandenburg as fief of the empire. Charles IV had treated it rather as personal property, however, and willed it to Sigismund. But Sigismund had more land than power or money, and in 1411 he made a bargain with the wealthy Frederick of Hohenzollern, burggraf of Nuremberg, by which Frederick advanced the needy Sigismund 150,000 marks, and received in turn the stewardship of Brandenburg, or, as the phrase ran, he became "complete general administrator and highest lord."

The knightly house of Hohenzollern has often been mentioned in the preceding pages. Originally owners of a single castle on the upper Danube not very far from the ancestral seat of the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns had become influential at the Swabian court, and in 1192 Frederick I became burggraf of Nuremberg, where the family was established, with the rich territories of Ansbach and Bayreuth spreading on either hand. It was a Hohenzollern who had saved the day for the first Habsburg, when the troops of Ottocar went down before the valour of Rudolf I and of Frederick of Nuremberg. But wealth rather than valour constituted their strength, and when in 1415 Sigismund wished to raise more money for his expenses at Constance, he borrowed 250,000 marks more from his most helpful creditor, and for his whole debt of 400,000 marks gave up Brandenburg and its electoral dignity, to the shrewd man of business who was at the head of the Hohenzollern house. In this way the Hohenzollerns came to Berlin!

There is a strange contrast in the spirit of the two participants in this transaction. Sigismund needed the money because he was leaving Constance for a visit to the kings of Spain, France, and England. It was his dream that he might thus end the schism by bringing Spain in with the council; that he might prevent the new outbreak of the Hundred Years' War which was just bringing Henry V over to the battle-field of Agincourt, and that then, with a European peace established, he might direct united Christendom in one grand crusade against the Turks.¹ Against this impracticable but lofty dream one must place the less imaginative but more practical plans of the wealthy count of Nuremberg. Out of the dream of Sigismund came no result but humiliation and failure; out of the business bargain of Frederick of Hohenzollern came the Prussian kingdom.

¹ Cf. his speech before the council, in Von der Hardt, II, 483.

[1415-1437 A.D.]

Indeed the results of the changed position of the Hohenzollerns were at once apparent in the relations between monarch and vassal. Frederick began to adopt an independent policy. He cast in his sympathies with the Rhine princes, who were hostile to Sigismund, opposed the wars against the Hussites, and, in opposition to the wishes of Sigismund, made an alliance by marriage with Poland. Thus began that policy of aggrandisement at the expense of the body of the empire which finally resulted in German revolt and the formation of an independent kingdom.

Sigismund died without male heirs. His daughter, Mary, had married Albert of Habsburg, duke of Austria, and his dying wish was that Duke Albert should be his successor. But when the college of electors met, there was a rival candidate, namely, Frederick of Brandenburg. Here was the prelude of the later conflict of Habsburg and Hohenzollern. Albert was elected and Frederick resigned his claims. The imperial crown reverted to the house of Habsburg, which to-day rules Austria. The worthy policy of Charles IV to establish the house of Luxemburg by alliances with various kingdoms of the empire and its neighbours, had failed. The Habsburgs replaced the Luxemburgs, but Sigismund by exalting the Hohenzollerns did much to establish the rival power which later divided the possessions of the Habsburgs.^a





CHAPTER VI

ALBERT II, FREDERICK III, AND MAXIMILIAN I

[1438-1519 A.D.]

At this period Germany, as a state, was little more than a cipher in the political system of Europe. Full of strength within, it was yet unable to apply its power. Its constitution, formed upon prescription, was scarcely better than a chaos. Even though the Golden Bull (1356) had sufficiently determined the relations between the head of the empire and the chief of its princes, who could say what the mutual rights of the emperor and the remaining states truly were? The degree of authority which he should possess was thus commonly dependent upon the character and personal power of the emperor. Under the long reign of Frederick III, who slumbered away above half a century upon the throne (1440-1492), this authority was nearly annihilated; and under that of Maximilian I, notwithstanding the new institutions, it was, as regarded its own interests, but little augmented.

On the other hand, there was not one of the remaining princes of Germany whose power was sufficient to command respect. In fact, if the impetuous advance of the hereditary foes of Christendom, who had for fifty years been securely settled in the east of Europe, had not frequently compelled the Germans to make common cause against them, there seems to be no reason why the bands of the empire should not have been wholly dissolved. — HEEREN.¹

THERE could hardly be a doubt as to the man upon whom the electors would confer the crown after Sigismund's death. To be sure, Elector Frederick of Brandenburg wished to place himself or one of his sons on the throne; but fortune did not favour the ambition of the Hohenzollerns, since the north, like the Wittelsbachs, had to bear the burden of royal duties and to support the Habsburgs, who had entered into the inheritance of the former Luxemburg rivals. Albert of Habsburg, who was lord of Upper and Lower Austria, and who held the crown of Bohemia and Hungary, was the strongest prince of the empire. He did not solicit the crown, but not to elect him would have

[1438-1439 A.D.]

meant the provocation of a new civil war, at least it would have resulted in the separation of Bohemia and Austria from the empire. On March 18, 1438, he was unanimously chosen king by the electors at Frankfort. A brave, earnest, and energetic administrator; a bold, valiant soldier, Albert was not unworthy of the long line of rulers which his house gave to the German throne.

He strove for the establishment of a new *Landfriede*, and likewise turned his attention to the schism which had broken out between Pope Eugenius IV and the council of Bâle, with the hope of raising the secular power and of ending the misgovernment in the church. Unfortunately the conditions in his inherited kingdom were not such as to admit of much activity on his part in the empire. The Taborites and the radical calixtines would not accept a Catholic duke who had used his sword for Sigismund in the Hussite wars. He was indeed recognised king of Bohemia after the reconciliation of Sigismund with Catholics and moderate calixtines in 1436, and was crowned in 1438 at Iglau, but the anti-Austrian party gave its allegiance to Kasimir of Poland. A civil war followed. Before Albert's power in Bohemia was fully secured, an attack of Murad II

called him into Hungary. With determination he undertook the defence of the country but received little aid from the Hungarian nobles, who thought more of their privileges and the expulsion of the Germans from their land, than the protection of the boundaries. From his residence in the swampy, low country of the Theiss and Danube he contracted a fever, and died in October, 1439, in the beginning of his forty-second year.^b

The reign of Albert is notable not for itself, for in spite of all his splendid energy, Albert was unable in the two short years of his reign, to accomplish much; but it marks a great mile-stone in both Habsburg and imperial history. From his reign until the empire was dismembered at the dictation of Napoleon, with but an insignificant interruption, the throne was in the possession of the Habsburg family. The growth of their power, however, was particularly accomplished in the reign of the next emperor, Frederick III — perhaps the most unpractical, incompetent, and absurd figure in the imperial history, who

ALBERTVS II.



ALBERT II (1397-1439)

(After a woodcut of ca. 1515)

by a strange stroke of fate gave his descendants the richest heritage of Europe.^a

FREDERICK III (1439-1493 A.D.)

The same considerations which had caused the election of Albert II led the electors to unite on Duke Frederick of Styria (Steiermark) at their meeting at Frankfort on February 2, 1440. Frederick with his brother had possession of Inner Austria. As head of the Habsburgs he was guardian of Sigismund, the head of the Tyrol and Hither Austria, and, although he did not preserve the guardianship of the prospective thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, he was the natural representative of the rights which the Habsburgs had acquired over those lands. As one of the strongest German princes, he was called to assume the crown and defend the rights of the empire.

Frederick was no warrior at heart, he was strongly prejudiced against using violent means to enforce his decisions; but he had the quiet, phlegmatic Habsburg faculty for diplomacy. He had strong faith in the future greatness of his house. He cast his eye to the hazy distance and was too often an inactive spectator of the present. It was natural that such a ruler should do nothing toward introducing the reforms needed in the empire. The indiscretion with which the German states always followed their own interests, and the difficulty of dealing with them, increased during this reign. Although Frederick, in spite of all his weakness, never surrendered any of the theoretical claims of the imperial authority, yet he never was man enough to take practical steps for their defence.

The first problem before him was that of the church. The neutrality which the electors had adopted toward the quarrel of Eugenius IV and the council of Bâle, had put an end to the worst abuses of papal administration in Germany.^b But when Eugenius was deposed and a new pope, Felix V (Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy), was elected by the council, it was impossible for the ecclesiastical issue not to become a matter of political importance. If a council might depose a pope at will, why might not the nobles or the people depose a king? Frederick and the sovereigns of Europe naturally refused to recognise Felix V and remained faithful to Eugenius. Through the diplomacy of Æneas Sylvius the German princes were persuaded to remain loyal to Eugenius and a concordat regulating the relations of Germany to the papal curia was drawn up (1446). The council of Bâle was now but a name: it adjourned to Lausanne and dissolved three years later (1449). In a few years all the abuses arising from papal administration were revived in Germany; the councils of Constance and Bâle had failed to accomplish the reforms expected of them.

Frederick's loyalty to the papal cause was rewarded by coronation at Rome in 1452, by Eugenius' successor, Nicholas V. With meagre equipment, without escort of electors or great princes, Frederick journeyed to Italy. Æneas Sylvius, his secretary, later Pope Pius II, gives the following account of the last imperial coronation at Rome.^a

After all preparations had been made, the Roman bishop took his place before the high altar of St. Peter upon a high throne, while the cardinals took up their positions on his right and the bishops and the rest of the prelates on his left. Outside the screen were two raised seats, one designed for Frederick, the other for Leonora,¹ but a free passage was left so that the ascent from here to the altar should be open. Leonora, who had betaken herself in good time to

¹ Frederick's wife, a Portuguese princess, whom he had recently married.

[1452 A.D.]

her seat in the company of her maids of honour, drew all eyes upon her; she was a winning maid both owing to her natural charms and her tasteful attire. Frederick was conducted by a number of cardinals to the chapel, called "twixt the Towers," and here swore allegiance to St. Peter, Pope Nicholas, and his successors, in the form used by Louis the son of Charlemagne, as the papal decrees assure us. Here the alb was also put on him, and he was adopted as a canon of St. Peter; on this occasion he gave to his confratres, the canons, as many of them as were present, a kiss. Without pausing he then proceeded in the midst of the cardinals to the main portal of the church. When he had reached this a most solemn blessing was spoken over him by Cardinal Pietro of San Marco, a nephew of Eugenius IV. Thereupon he entered the chapel of St. Gregory, put on sandals, assumed the tunic, and received the imperial cloak. When immediately after this he came into the middle aisle of the basilica, the blessing was pronounced upon him by a second cardinal. And again a third time he was blessed at the screen of St. Peter. Then he was led to the altar of St. Maurice, and, in accordance with ancient usage, anointed with the sacred oil between the shoulder blades and on the right arm by the cardinal of Porto, the vice-chancellor of that time. In the same places his consort Leonora was anointed. After this had been done both went to their seats. Then the pope began the high office, and at the celebration many solemn usages introduced by the ancient fathers of the church were observed. In turn there were handed to him the sceptre, by which the fulness of royal power was denoted, the apple of the empire, which is the usual representation of world sovereignty, and the sword which means the right to make war. Finally, the golden crown, invested with the mitre and studded with precious jewels, was placed upon his imperial head. The empress also received, after the emperor, a crown from the pope's hand, from which it was established that she descended from the wife of Sigismund.

But the emperor, although he had bought adornment for himself at an incredible price, yet on this solemn occasion had caused to be sent from the archives at Nuremberg the cloak, the sword, the sceptre, the apple, and the crown of Charlemagne, as tradition describes them, and of these pieces he had made use. For this advantage is conceded to antiquity that ancient objects command a higher degree of veneration, while new ones lack reputation. But if this really was the finery of Charlemagne then without doubt did the princes and kings of the old days look less to the magnificence of their dress and more to the glory of their name; then did they prefer to do brilliant deeds, rather than wear shining raiments.

Meanwhile for me, seeing that I examined the separate pieces more closely, the impression could not be stifled, as I looked at the sword, that this did not belong to the first Charles (to Charlemagne), but to the fourth Charles who was the father of Sigismund. For, richly engraved upon it, was the Bohemian lion which the latter bore as king of Bohemia. But among the populace the rumour prevailed that these were the ornaments of Charlemagne. For the great fortune of so famous a man will have it so, that to him shall be credited also that which belongs to others called Charles; just as the Theban Hercules has collected in his person the heroic feats of the rest of the men who went by his name, and much is told of Julius Cæsar which was accomplished after him by other cæsars. So important a thing is it to be first in the field. But if, as I am convinced, those pieces date from the time of Charles IV, then we must marvel all the more that in so short a time ornaments have made such strides, so that the costume of Charles may be regarded as that of a peasant, if it is set by the side of the extraordinarily rich and brilliant posses-

sions of our Frederick. Would that we excelled our old predecessors as pre-eminently in virtue as we do in idle frippery.

But while Nicholas set the crown upon the imperial head, the bishop's mitre all but fell off his own cranium, which some took for an evil omen for the pope, saying that from this could be prophesied the attack made later in the same year by Stefano Porcario, who nearly succeeded in murdering the pope. Yet by the grace of God was Pope Nicholas saved, and he fortunately pre-

served his position for yet a few years. The miscreant was seized and did penance for the evil design, for an end was put to his life by strangulation in the castle of Crescentius.^c

FRIDERICVS



FREDERICK III (1415-1493)

(After the woodcut portrait by Hans Burgkmair)

Frederick's Misgovernment in Germany

Frederick's reign began with much talk of peace, under the peace-loving king, who bore such an auspicious name, (Frederick, from *Friede*, peace). But indolence is not a good guarantee of peace, and Germany suffered more disasters under his long reign than had been its lot since

the Interregnum. In the first place he attempted to reduce Switzerland to its ancient dependence upon the Habsburgs, and invited in French assistance. The Swiss heroically maintained their independence, and the French troops, defeated in battle, turned into bands of robbers who plundered Alsace and Swabia. They were the same "free companies," who during the Hundred Years' War had learned their savage business from captains like Du Guesclin. Their bandit life was not the only evil in the south, however. The cities and the princes were again at war. Thirty-one cities united against the princes of Baden, Austria, Württemberg, and Brandenburg. The same anarchy reigned in the north, but worse than all the frontiers were again attacked, especially upon the west, where the great house of Burgundy was at the height of its power.^{a1}

¹ See volume on France.

[1454-1477 A.D.]

The solidarity of the empire was broken up by neighbouring states. The ancient possessions of the Luxemburgs, the duchy of Luxemburg, and the Wittelsbach possessions in the Netherlands fell to Burgundy; the Poles seized West Prussia, made the land conquered by the Teutonic knights a vassal state and reduced the German colonies on the Baltic, while the union of Schleswig-Holstein with Denmark extended the Danish boundaries to Hamburg and Lübeck.

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the necessity for a stronger leadership in the empire was felt. From 1454 an idea developed of deposing Frederick or of choosing a Roman king as a fellow-administrator of the empire. Duke Philip of Burgundy, Albert VI of Austria, and Elector Frederick of the Palatinate were suggested for such an office. Even King George Podiebrad, who had succeeded Albert II's son Wladislaw as king of Bohemia, hoped to be named king of the Romans with the consent of the emperor. But all these attempts failed on account of the resistance of Frederick and the lack of unity among the electors. But the desire for a reform by the empire became stronger; the negotiations were not given up; but they were prolonged by the resistance of the emperor to the curtailment of his theoretical sovereignty and the aversion of the princes to the limitation of their actual authority. Yet new *Landfrieden* were proclaimed which were no better than those of former years.

Frederick's influence in the eastern part of the empire and in his inherited territory was weakened by his neighbours as well as by domestic dissensions. George Podiebrad of Bohemia threatened Austria, and King Matthias, who had succeeded Ladislaus of Hungary, not only increased his kingdom by taking Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia from Podiebrad; he also conquered Austria, Styria, and Carinthia. He almost brought to pass his dream of a powerful kingdom in the heart of Europe, a union of German, Slavonic, and Hungarian provinces, which had also been the dream of Ottocar and the first Habsburgs.

The Revival of Habsburg Power

But after these humiliations the power of the Habsburgs revived. On the boundary of Germany and France the strong kingdom of Burgundy developed. Philip of Burgundy planned to found a new kingdom of Lorraine, and perhaps to procure for his house the imperial crown. But the obstinacy of Frederick prevented his realising this ambition. He was indeed inclined to make the duke king of Brabant, but he would not give up his feudal rights over the German provinces belonging to Burgundy. Philip's plans were also those of his son, Charles the Bold. He wished to be elected king of the Romans with the consent of Frederick III, and offered in return the marriage of his daughter Mary to Maximilian, Frederick's son. In December, 1473, Frederick and Charles met at Treves to come to an understanding in regard to the marriage and the royal authority of Charles. The emperor refused the election of Charles to the Roman kingship, as well as the formation of Burgundy into a separate kingdom. Charles was disappointed. He then turned his influence against Frederick on the Rhine, encouraged the confusion in the archdiocese of Treves, and defended Neuss in a rebellion against the empire. The outbreak of a war with Switzerland, however, drew his attention from Germany, and in January, 1477, he lost his life in an obscure battle with the Swiss at Nancy. Louis XI of France did not hesitate to take advantage of Charles' death. He seized Picardy, Artois, the duchy of Burgundy, and many cities of Flanders. Maximilian now went to the

Netherlands, and in August, 1477, married Mary of Burgundy. It was necessary to take up arms to defend the possessions of his wife against the French. His brilliant victory at Guinegate (August 7th, 1479) won for him the reputation of a hero, and secured the Netherlands for the house of Habsburg. After the death of Mary, he signed the treaty of Arras (1482) by which he yielded to the French the duchy of Burgundy and Picardy, while Artois, Mâcon, Franche-Comté, and Auxerre were later given to the dauphin as the dowry of his wife, Maximilian's daughter.

The death of Matthias of Hungary in 1490 opened the way for a further realisation of Habsburg ambition. Austria and the Tyrol were again united and the acquisition of Hungary and Bohemia also seemed possible. So the old Frederick lived to see his fortunes changed from the deepest humiliation to dazzling greatness, a change, indeed, in which he took no active part.

In the empire, at last, the work of reform reached solid ground for future development in the establishment of the Swabian League, which aimed at peaceful settlement of old matters of feud. In the different territories there was now displayed a growing artistic, scientific, and political activity. At the same time the weakness of the imperial constitution was deeply felt, in contrast to those in the neighbouring monarchies, which had so suddenly reached their prime. Already great hopes were placed upon the young Maximilian. Frederick III, however, spent the last years of his life buried in the experiments and mysterious sciences of alchemy and astrology. He died at Linz on the nineteenth of August, 1493, after a reign whose fruitless inactivity had stretched out for over half a century.^b

The actual events of Frederick's reign we have passed over quickly and with but slight attention. We shall now glance at his character and his government through the two most widely different sources it is possible to find: the naïve Grünbeck, whose simple attachment to his master makes his contemporary picture grotesque as it is graphic, and the cold scholarly science of the great modern historian Ranke. The one speaks to us of Frederick the man, the other of the land he governed.^a

Grünbeck's Description of Frederick's Old Age

When he began to be oppressed by the inconveniences of enfeebled health he chose as a resting place the castle of Linz, which in consequence of its antiquity threatened to fall into ruins. On this he caused to be built a number of watch towers, which people at that time were wont to call mouse traps, and which faced all the four quarters of heaven, so that he could keep off encroachment by strangers and particularly also by his dependents. Hence amongst players and gormandisers arose the habit of saying that the emperor had become a mouse-killer; he was accustomed to admit none who appeared on imperial affairs but granted access to flies and gnats only. But evil gossip on all sides was poured upon him by the tongue-wagglers who were cut off from the chance of increasing their store of usurious gain. Ridicule and contempt of this kind, however, he knew how to shake off from his shoulders with ease. Shut off from the outer world the emperor devoted himself in the fulness of leisure and repose to mathematical science, obtaining from the teachers of this art the most accurate information concerning the movements of the stars, the relations between land and sea, the various compositions of the whole world; and he acquired such intimate and marked knowledge of the celestial science that he foresaw from the coincidence of the stars several future events that took place. There are also extant prophecies drawn by

his own hand with regard to the whole career of his son Maximilian and of his end. One day, the talk falling on the fate of individuals, he jestingly prophesied for one of his secretaries a terrible and dishonourable death; whereupon the man immediately committed suicide by hanging himself. Furthermore in the royal libraries may be seen memorials in writing of his hand, in which from the hour of nativity he has calculated the natural proclivities, and the character of certain kings and even from facial traits and from the lines of the hands he has foretold down to all the details events that were to happen in the near or in the remote future in a cunning fashion, and in a way in every respect consonant with the truth. Men there are, I make no doubt, who maintain that he fooled himself with idle tricks of magic; yet he used the night more than the day for these occupations of his as altogether for a relief from imperial affairs. For the most part his habit was to watch until past midnight, but then as a consequence to extend his night's rest until the third hour of the day.

Collections of picked gems and pearls he possessed in great number, and of immense value too, not so much to appease his zeal for collecting by their natural colour and the beauty of their form, but much more to make a show to foreign kings and to awake their desire, or rather their envy. For in the decoration of the crown and of the imperial cloak he is said to have spent three hundred thousand gold gulden in the purchase of pearls and cut stones and to have paid for the gold sewing and the finishers of the crown a sum of ten thousand gold gulden apiece. The trustworthiness of this statement is confirmed by the English jewelers, who, when they saw the emperor in the glory of his imperial dignity, with the mitre set in jewels, estimated his dress and crown at a million. How great his pleasure in these collections was, may be gathered, however, from the circumstance that at the buying of them he used all kinds



MEDIEVAL TOWN

(From a pen-and-ink drawing of 1491)

of artifice and always established the weight of the pearls with his own hands. When it was necessary to take precautions against the deceits of the dealers, he did not omit to test the gems and pearls, and when he discovered false pieces or pieces of imitation he rescinded the deal and sent the swindler about his business. Furthermore, he learned great skill in the transformation of metals and in their intermixture, and how to make orpiment from quicksilver by an admixture of powder, and to produce genuine gold from pure orpiment by smelting and by the addition of certain other ingredients, and how from the shavings of this to make a water that healed many diseases. In the pursuit of such occupations he closed his life at an advanced age.

The strictly appointed hours for fulfilling religious duties he observed punctually and with warm devotion, whenever his bodily condition permitted it; apart from this he also found time in his leisure hours at night as well as by day for directing his prayers to heaven. Such was the piety with which he always turned his thoughts to the divinity in heaven that not only did he have the houses of worship decorated with purple hangings and baldaquins, with golden apparel magnificently elaborated, with representations of weapons, pictures of the finest execution, with vestments, wax candles, and other ornaments for the sanctuaries, but he also constructed a whole number of new chapels from their foundations upward.

And, for that he devoted especial reverence to St. George, he determined that all men should regard him in all the distresses of war as a sacred protection and fellow combatant, and as such they should appeal to him. Hence it is that the most famous societies and knightly orders in the German lands have risen under the name of this saint and under his protection have executed all their glorious deeds both at home and in war. Certain orders of priests also the emperor inaugurated, which differed from the other ecclesiastical converts not so much in their garb, its colour and cut—for they wear two long linen bands in which crosses are inserted back and front—as in their customs and ceremonies. He also provided them in the most sumptuous way with perpetual rents and in the end tacitly allowed himself to be publicly described as one of these priests of St. George without fuller title. Upon no other enterprise did he ever bring so warm an interest to bear as upon the growth and development of this, his new foundation.

It was his habit, as often as he felt an inclination to eat, at every time and in every place, even whilst driving in a carriage, to consume sweet pears, peaches, or apricots. Sometimes he breakfasted so late in the morning that the food which had been brought up cooked had to be cooked all afresh to avoid its going bad. Rarely he indulged in great carousals, and when he did it was in order partly to make a show with his riches, or partly for imperial reasons that he sometimes invited certain princes, entertaining them at the board and cajoling them in the most endearing fashion with the choicest dainties. On such occasions he would thaw and be full of conversation, telling without exaggeration of his experiences and the vicissitudes of fortune, and giving a perfectly true account of the history of his ancestors. Moreover he had the pleasures of the table seasoned with comic presentations by jesters, just as also he would interrupt breakfast, the midday meal, or supper in this way and protract the conversation until far into the night. All the days of his life it must be admitted he was sober and drank no wine; only occasionally he relished the taste of the fresh grape juice when it was quite sweet from the wine-press, or the young wine of Pucinum. So also he had an especial liking for the grapes of Triest and Rætia, which he seemed not to suck dry but to eat up altogether. When he began to be oppressed with sleep, he would sleep as a rule not longer

than five hours, and even then not without interruption but in such a way that within this space of time he would wake several times. And when he could not recapture the sleep that had been broken into, he left his bed, seated himself on a stool, and summoned his personal attendant in order to hold converse with him. Then he made a fresh attempt to sleep, or wandered round the room until fatigue seemed to overmaster him. Thereupon he protracted his rest until the fifth or sixth hour of the day, and if he caught anybody who waked him he upbraided him roundly, into such an irritable mood was he put by staying up until early morning.

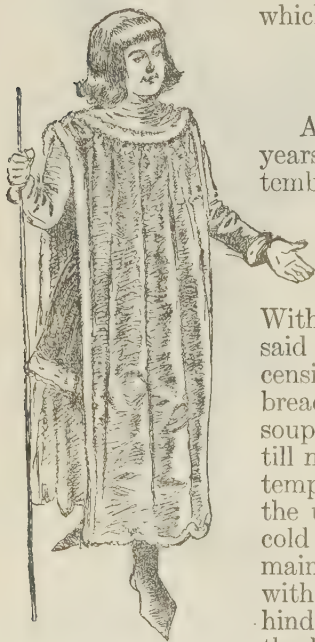
Now because marvels and prophecies usually denote the death of men of high degree, I deem it suitable at this place to introduce what marvels befell him, my king, before he died. From them he could foresee clearly and unmistakably his death and the dangers which threatened the empire in the future. First of all there fell a number of stones from heaven, and stones of immense weights, but one of them exceeded all the others in size. This one, triangular and showing on its surface traces of burning in its colour and in the form of the metal, may be seen to this day in the possession of the Sebusiani; it came thundering down through the air out of a bright sky and had powerfully agitated the minds of all the inhabitants. Then extraordinary stars, such as antiquity was accustomed to describe as comets, had shone in the sky. Furthermore the dwellings in which the emperor was wont to pass the night were so frequently struck with lightning and some of the places of preservation for his collections of gems caught fire and burned in such wondrous wise through the flashes, that the emperor no longer held such happenings for prophecies, but declared them to be the mischievous teasing of nature, such as she may daily be observed to offer. Also a number of household animals, with which the emperor always delighted in busying himself in all times of adversity, having the knack of enlivening himself through them, came to an end before his eyes through wonderful incidents. Thus amongst other occurrences, an ostrich was hurled over a bridge by a whirlwind, and to the greatest horror and sorrow of all broke its neck. All this kind of marvels the emperor had not needed to note any further, had not he finally encountered a prophetic indication unheard of and unprecedented which conveyed to him complete certainty concerning his end. One of his legs had been devoured all over by a continuous suppuration, and so ill luck would have it that, in consequence of the eating away of the lower thigh bone and the lesion of the joint, the whole leg had to be completely severed with an iron instrument from the sole of the foot to right above the knee cap.¹ This malignant blow of fate the emperor



MUSICIAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

[¹ He had a habit of thrusting back his right foot and closing the doors behind him with it; but one day, kicking out too violently, he so injured his leg that the physicians were obliged to amputate it.—BAYARD TAYLOR.^m]

bore with far less equanimity than all the pains which the saw caused him. How hardly he bore his ill fortune is clear from the complaints which he uttered, under the most excruciating pain, to the surgeons and physicians who were attending on him. For instance he said: "Woe to thee, Emperor Frederick, that thou must receive the abominable by-name of the Lame from all posterity, for that everything which may be set down of thy deeds to the last years of thy life will happen under the auspices of this foul title." Finally when the leg had been cut off and he had taken it in his hand he observed: "Now has a foot been taken at once from the emperor and the empire. On the whole and hearty condition of the emperor depended the welfare of the empire. Now both are robbed of all hope; both of us now have plunged from the summit of our fame into the depths!" That this premonition was no erroneous one is clearly proved by the subsequent vicissitudes of fortune to which affairs were subjected and the thousand dangers which beset him who bore the sovereign power.



COURT ATTENDANT OF
THE FIFTEENTH CEN-
TURY

Death of Frederick (1493 A.D.)

After he had governed the empire for fifty-four years, he died on the 14th before the Kalends of September, in his seventy-eighth year, his death being almost milder and gentler than can be imagined, for the flame of life in such an old man burns with but feeble glimmer, and as the days go on the natural heat of the body is wont to decline gradually.

With a marked preference he ate fresh fruits. On the said day he was going through the festival of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary and so took to himself only bread and water, but before partaking of the morning soup he was handed melons, and, being accustomed up till now to indulge his inclinations to eat when similar tempting fruit was offered him, he immediately conveyed the unripe fruit to his empty stomach. Through its cold juice the little warmth of vitality that still remained in him was soon completely extinguished. Thus without a murmur he breathed forth his soul and left behind him, as a legacy, a glorious memory, as it is writ in the history books, for that no emperor among the sovereigns from the time of Augustus onwards held the reins of government longer, with greater justice, and with equal gentleness. For after he had ruled for fifty-four years and restored peace to a great portion of the whole world he quitted this world and went up into heaven.

When he was dead, the bowels were at once taken from the body and the body — as is the custom with the corpses of princes — was embalmed. Then the bowels were placed upon the chief altar in the church at Linz, but the corpse was put in a coffin and conveyed thence by vessel up the Danube to Vienna and placed with the customary pomp in the cathedral of St. Stephen in the vault of the princes of Austria. Hereupon began the funeral rites, and it would have been hardly possible to add to the number of bishops and clergy who appeared and sang hymns and said numerous masses for the dead, nor to the magnificent aspect of the cathedral in which the solemn function took place, nor to the masses of servants who were present, each of whom was

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dressed in mourning and provided with a torch and could not give enough expression to his sorrow, nor finally to the number of candles which burned round the hearse. In the meanwhile numerous funeral orations and panegyrics were recited in honour of the dead man in which were expressed a deep regret, so that of all those thousands you could see no single one, into whose eyes the tears were not constantly coming. So great were the merits acquired by the emperor Frederick all over the world [concludes Grünbeck], that his inevitable death cannot be sufficiently mourned and lamented in Germany.^d

RANKE ON THE ALTERED CHARACTER OF THE EMPIRE

The most remarkable fact in the history of this century in Germany was that the imperial throne was no longer able to afford support and protection. The empire had assumed a position analogous to that of the papacy, but extremely subordinate in power and authority.

It is important to recollect that, for more than a century after Charles IV had fixed his seat in Bohemia, no emperor appeared endowed with the vigour necessary to uphold and govern the empire. The bare fact that Charles' successor, Wenceslaus, was a prisoner in the hands of the Bohemians, remained for a long time unknown in Germany; a simple decree of the electors sufficed to dethrone him. Rupert the palatine only escaped a similar fate by death. When Sigismund of Luxemburg (who after many disputed elections kept possession of the field), four years after his election, entered the territory of the empire of which he was to be crowned sovereign, he found so little sympathy that he was for a moment inclined to return to Hungary, without accomplishing the object of his journey. The active part he took in the affairs of Bohemia, and of Europe generally, has given him a name; but in and for the empire he did nothing worthy of note. Between the years 1422 and 1430 he never made his appearance beyond Vienna; from the autumn of 1431 to that of 1433 he was occupied with his coronation journey to Rome; and during the three years from 1434 to his death he never got beyond Bohemia and Moravia; nor did Albert II, who has been the subject of such lavish eulogy, ever visit the dominions of the empire. Frederick III, however, far outdid all his predecessors. During seven-and-twenty-years, from 1444 to 1471, he was never seen within the boundaries of the empire.

Hence it happened that the central action and the visible manifestation of sovereignty, in as far as any such existed in the empire, fell to the share of the princes, and more especially of the prince-electors. In the reign of Sigismund we find them convoking the diets, and leading the armies into the field against the Hussites; the operations against the Bohemians were attributed entirely to them.

In this manner the empire became, like the papacy, a power which acted from a distance, and rested chiefly upon opinion. The throne, founded on conquest and arms, had now a pacific character and a conservative tendency.

Yet the emperor was regarded, in the first place, as the supreme feudal lord, who conferred on property its highest and most sacred sanction; as the supreme fountain of justice, from whom, as the expression was, all the compulsory force of law emanated. It is very curious to observe how the choice that had fallen upon him was announced to Frederick III — by no means the mightiest prince in the empire; how immediately thereupon the natural relations of things were reversed, and "his royal high mightiness" promised confirmation in their rights and dignities to the very men who had just raised him to the throne. All hastened to obtain his recognition of

their privileges and possessions; nor did the cities perform their act of homage till that had taken place. Upon his supreme guarantee rested that feeling of legitimacy, security, and permanence which is necessary to all men, and more especially dear to Germans. "Take away from us the rights of the emperor," says a law-book of that time, "and who can say, This house is mine, this village belongs to me?" A remark of profound truth; but it followed thence that the emperor could not arbitrarily exercise rights of which he was deemed the source. He might give them up; but he himself must enforce them only within the narrow limits prescribed by traditional usage, and by the superior control of his subjects. Although he was regarded as the head and source of all temporal jurisdiction, yet no tribunal found more doubtful obedience than his own.



COURTIER OF THE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY

The fact that royalty existed in Germany had almost been suffered to fall into oblivion; even the title had been lost. Henry VII thought it an affront to be called king of Germany, and not, as he had a right to be called before any ceremony of coronation, king of the Romans. In the fifteenth century the emperor was regarded pre-eminently as the successor of the ancient Roman cæsars, whose rights and dignities had been transferred, first to the Greeks, and then to the Germans, in the persons of Charlemagne and Otto the Great; as the true secular head of Christendom. Emperor Sigismund commanded that his corpse should be exposed to view for some days; in order that every one might see that "the Lord of all the world was dead and departed."

"We have chosen your royal grace," say the electors to Frederick III (1440 A.D.), "to be the head, protector, and governor of all Christendom." They go on to express the hope that this choice may be profitable to the Roman church, to the whole of Christendom, to the holy empire, and to the community of Christian people. Even a foreign monarch,

Wladislaw of Poland, extols the felicity of the newly elected emperor, in that he was about to receive the diadem of the monarchy of the world. The imperial dignity, stripped of all direct executive power, had indeed no other significance than that which results from opinion. It gave to law and order their living sanction; to justice its highest authority; to the sovereignties of Germany their position in the world. It had properties which, for that period, were indispensable and sacred. It had a manifest analogy with the papacy, and was bound to it by the most intimate connection.

THE DOMINANCE OF PAPAL AUTHORITY

Hence we see that the German people thought themselves bound in allegiance to the papal, no less than to the imperial authority; but as the papal authority had, in all the long struggles of successive ages, invariably come off victorious, while the imperial had often succumbed, the pope exercised a far stronger and more wide-spread influence, even in temporal things, than the emperor. An act of arbitrary power, which no emperor could ever

[ca. 1450-1500 A.D.]

have so much as contemplated — the deposition of an electoral prince of the empire — was repeatedly attempted, and occasionally even accomplished, by the popes. They bestowed on Italian prelates, bishoprics as remote as that of Kammin. By their annates, pallia, and all the manifold dues exacted by the curia, they drew a far larger (Maximilian I said, a hundred times larger) revenue from the empire than the emperor; their vendors of indulgences incessantly traversed the several provinces of the empire. Spiritual and temporal principalities and jurisdictions were so closely interwoven as to afford them continual opportunities of interfering in the civil affairs of Germany.

Gregory VII's comparison of the papacy to the sun and of the empire to the moon was now verified. The Germans regarded the papal power as in every respect the higher. When, for example, the town of Bâle founded its high-school, it was debated whether, after the receipt of the brief containing the pope's approbation, the confirmation of the emperor was still necessary; and it was at length decided that it was not, since the inferior power could not confirm the decisions of the superior, and the papal see was the well-head of Christendom. The pretender to the Palatinate, Frederick the Victorious, whose electoral rank the emperor refused to acknowledge, held it sufficient to obtain the pope's sanction, and received no further molestation in the exercise of his privileges as member of the empire. The judge of the king's court having on some occasion pronounced the ban of the empire on the council of Lübeck, the council obtained a cassation of this sentence from the pope.

However great was the devotion of the princes to the see of Rome, they felt the oppressiveness of its pecuniary exactions; and more than once the spirit of the Bâle decrees, or the recollections of the proceedings at Constance, manifested themselves anew. We find draughts of a league to prevent the constitution of Constance, according to which a council should be held every ten years, from falling into utter desuetude. After the death of Nicholas V the princes urged the emperor to seize the favourable moment for asserting the freedom of the nation, and at least to take measures for the complete execution of the agreement entered into with Eugenius; but Frederick III was deaf to their entreaties. Æneas Sylvius persuaded him that it was necessary for him to keep well with the pope. He brought forward a few commonplaces concerning the instability of the multitude, and their natural hatred of their chief — just as if the princes of the empire were a sort of democracy; the emperor, said he, stands in need of the pope, and the pope of the emperor; it would be ridiculous to offend the man from whom we want assistance. He himself was sent, in 1456, to tender unconditional obedience to Pope Calixtus. This immediately revived the old spirit of resistance. An outline was drawn of a pragmatic sanction, in which not only all the charges against the papal see were recapitulated in detail, and redress of grievances proposed, but it was also determined what was to be done, in case of a refusal; what appeal was to be made, and how the desired end was to be attained. But what result could be anticipated while the emperor, far from taking part in this plan, did everything he could to thwart it? He sincerely regarded himself as the natural ally of the papacy.

The inevitable effect of this conduct on his part was, that the discontent of the electors, already excited by the inactivity and the absence of the emperor, occasionally burst out violently against him. As early as the year 1456 they required him to repair on a given day to Nuremberg, because it was his office and duty to bear the burden of the empire in an honourable manner;

if he did not appear, they at any rate, would meet, and do what was incumbent on them. As he neither appeared then nor afterwards, in 1460 they sent him word that it was no longer consistent with their dignity and honour to remain without a head. They repeated their summons that he should appear on the Tuesday after Epiphany, and accompanied it with still more vehement threats. They began seriously to take measures for setting up a king of the Romans in opposition to him.

From the fact that George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, was the man on whom they cast their eyes, it is evident that the opposition was directed against both emperor and pope jointly. What must have been the consequence of placing a utraquist at the head of the empire? This increased the zeal and activity of Pope Pius II (whom we have hitherto known as *Æneas Sylvius*) in consolidating the alliance of the see of Rome with the emperor, who, on his side, was scarcely less deeply interested. The independence of the prince-electors was odious to both. As one of the claims of the emperor had always been that no electoral diet should be held without his consent, so Pius II, in like manner, now wanted to bind Diether, elector of Mainz, to summon no such assembly without the approbation of the papal see. Diether's refusal to enter into any such engagement was the main cause of their quarrel. Pius did not conceal from the emperor that he thought his own power endangered by the agitations which prevailed in the empire. It was chiefly owing to his influence, and to the valour of Markgraf Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, that they ended in nothing.

From this time we find the imperial and the papal powers, which had come to a sense of their common interest and reciprocal utility, more closely united than ever.

The diets of the empire were held under their joint authority; they were called royal and papal, papal and royal diets. In the reign of Frederick, as formerly in that of Sigismund, we find the papal legates present at the meetings of the empire, which were not opened till they appeared. The spiritual princes took their seats on the right, the temporal on the left, of the legates; it was not till a later period that the imperial commissioners were introduced, and proposed measures in concert with the papal functionaries. It remains for us to inquire how far this very singular form of government was fitted to satisfy the wants of the empire.

STATE OF GERMANY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

We have seen what a mighty influence had, from the remotest times, been exercised by the princes of Germany. First the imperial power and dignity had arisen out of their body and by their aid; then they had supported the emancipation of the papacy, which involved their own; now they stood opposed to both. Although strongly attached to, and deeply imbued with, the ideas of empire and papacy, they were resolved to repel the encroachments of either; their power was already so independent that the emperor and the pope deemed it necessary to combine against them.

If we proceed to inquire who were these magnates, and upon what their power rested, we shall find that the temporal hereditary sovereignty, the germ of which had long existed in secret and grown unperceived, shot up in full vigour in the fifteenth century; and, if we may be allowed to continue the metaphor, after it had long struck its roots deep into the earth, it now began to rear its head into the free air, and to tower above all the surrounding plants.

All the puissant houses which have since held sovereign sway date their

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establishment from this epoch. In the eastern part of north Germany appeared the race of Hohenzollern; and, though the land its princes had to govern and defend was in the last stage of distraction and ruin, they acted with such sedate vigour and cautious determination that they soon succeeded in driving back their neighbours within their ancient bounds, in pacifying and restoring the marches, and in re-establishing the very peculiar bases of sovereign power which already existed in the country.

Near this remarkable family arose that of Wettin, which, by the acquisition of the electorate of Saxony, soon attained to the highest rank among the princes of the empire and to the zenith of its power. It possessed the most extensive and at the same time the most flourishing of German principalities, as long as the brothers, Ernest and Albert, held their united court at Dresden and shared the government; and even when they separated, both lines remained sufficiently important to play a part in the affairs of Germany, and indeed of Europe.

In the Palatinate we find Frederick the Victorious. It is necessary to read the long list of castles, jurisdictions, and lands which he won from all his neighbours, partly by conquest, partly by purchase or treaty, but which his superiority in arms rendered emphatically his own, to form a conception what a German prince in that age could achieve, and how widely he could extend his sway.

A similar spirit of extension and fusion was also at work in many other places. Jülich and Berg formed a junction, Bavarian Landshut was strengthened by its union with Ingolstadt; in Bavarian Munich, Albert the Wise maintained the unity of the land under the most difficult circumstances — not without violence, but, at least in this case, with beneficial results. In Würtemberg, too, a multitude of separate estates were gradually incorporated into one district, and assumed the form of a German principality.

Next to these princes were the spiritual lords (whose privileges and internal organisation were the same as those of the secular but whose rank in the hierarchy of the empire was higher), among whom nobles of the high or even of the inferior aristocracy composed the chapter and filled the principal places. In the fifteenth century, indeed, the bishoprics began to be commonly conferred on the younger sons of sovereign princes; the court of Rome favoured this practice, from the conviction that the chapters could be kept in order only by the strong hand and the authority of sovereign power; but it was not universal, nor was the fundamental principle of the spiritual principalities by any means abandoned in consequence of its adoption.

There was also a numerous body of nobles who received their investiture with the banner, like the princes, and had a right to sit in the same tribunal with them; nay, there were even families or clans, which from all time claimed exemption from those general feudal relations that formed the bond of the state, and held their lands in fee from God and his blessed Son. They were



NOBLEMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

overshadowed by the princely order; but they enjoyed perfect independence notwithstanding.

Next to this class came the powerful body of knights of the empire, whose castles crowned the hills on the Rhine, in Swabia and Franconia; they lived in haughty loneliness amidst the wildest scenes; girt round by an impregnable circle of deep fosses, and within walls four-and-twenty feet thick, where they could set all authority at defiance; the bond of fellowship among them was but the stricter for their isolation. Another portion of the nobility, especially in the eastern and colonised principalities in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, Meissen and the marches, were, however, brought into undisputed subjection; though this, as we see in the example of the Priegnitz, was not brought about without toil and combat.

The Cities

Still more completely independent was the attitude assumed by the cities. Opposed to all these different classes of nobles, which they regarded as but one body, they were founded on a totally different principle, and had struggled into importance in the midst of incessant hostility. A curious spectacle is afforded by this old enmity pervading all the provinces of Germany, yet in each one taking a different form. In Prussia, the opposition of the cities gave rise to the great national league against the supreme power, which was here in the hands of the Teutonic order. On the Wendish coasts was then the centre of the Hansa, by which the Scandinavian kings, and still more the surrounding German princes, were overpowered. The duke of Pomerania himself was struck with terror when, on coming to succour Henry the Elder of Brunswick, he perceived by what powerful and closely allied cities his friend was encompassed and enchained on every side. On the Rhine we find an unceasing struggle for municipal independence, which the chief cities of the ecclesiastical principalities claimed, and the electors refused to grant. In Franconia, Nuremberg set itself in opposition to the rising power of Brandenburg, which it rivalled in successful schemes of aggrandisement. Then followed in Swabia and on the upper Danube (the true arena of the struggles and the leagues of imperial free cities) the same groups of knights, lords, prelates, and princes, who here approached most nearly to each other. Among the Alps, the confederacy formed against Austria had already grown into a regular constitutional government, and attained to almost complete independence. On every side we find different relations, different claims and disputes, different means of carrying on the conflict; but on all, men felt themselves surrounded by hostile passions which any moment might blow into a flame, and held themselves ready for battle. It seemed not impossible that the municipal principle might eventually get the upper hand in all these conflicts, and prove as destructive to the aristocratical, as that had been to the imperial power.

In this universal shock of efforts and powers, with a distant and feeble chief and inevitable divisions even among those naturally connected and allied, a state of things arose which presents a somewhat chaotic aspect; it was the age of universal private warfare. The *Fehde* is a middle term between duel and war. Every affront or injury led, after certain formalities, to the declaration, addressed to the offending party, that the aggrieved party would be his foe and that of his helpers and helpers' helpers. The imperial authorities felt themselves so little able to arrest this torrent that they endeavoured only to direct its course; and, while imposing limitations or forbidding particular acts, they confirmed the general permission of the established practice.

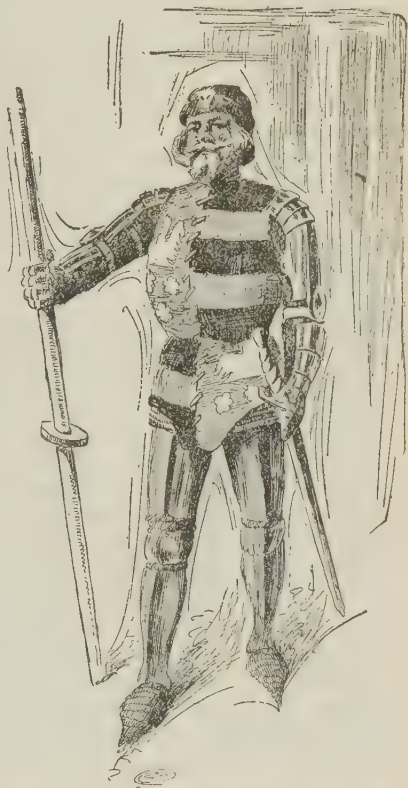
The right, which the supreme, independent power had hitherto reserved to

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itself of resorting to arms when no means of conciliation remained, had descended in Germany to the inferior classes, and was claimed by nobles and cities against each other; by subjects against their lords, nay, by private persons, as far as their means and connections permitted, against one another. In the middle of the fifteenth century this universal tempest of contending powers was arrested by a conflict of a higher and more important nature — the opposition of the princes to the emperor and the pope; and it remained to be decided from whose hands the world could hope for any restoration to order.

Two princes appeared on the stage, each of them the hero of his nation, each at the head of a numerous party, each possessed of personal qualities strikingly characteristic of the epoch — Frederick of the Palatinate and Albert of Brandenburg. They took opposite courses. Frederick the Victorious, distinguished rather for address and agility of body than for size and strength, owed his fame and his success to the forethought and caution with which he prepared his battles and sieges. In time of peace he busied himself with the study of antiquity, or the mysteries of alchemy; poets and minstrels found ready access to him, as in the spring-time of poetry; he lived under the same roof with his friend and songstress, Clara Dettin of Augsburg, whose sweetness and sense not only captivated the prince, but were the charm and delight of all around him. He had expressly renounced the comforts of equal marriage and legitimate heirs; all that he accomplished or acquired was for the advantage of his nephew Philip.

The towering and athletic frame of Markgraf Albert of Brandenburg (surnamed Achilles), on the contrary, announced, at the first glance, his gigantic strength; he had been victor in countless tournaments, and stories of his courage and warlike prowess, bordering on the fabulous, were current among the people — how, for example, at some siege he had mounted the walls alone and leaped down into the midst of the terrified garrison; how, hurried on by a slight success over an advanced party of the enemy, he had rushed almost unattended into their main body of eight hundred horsemen, had forced his way up to their standard, snatched it from its bearer, and, after a momentary realisation of the desperateness of his position, rallied his courage and defended it, till his people could come up and complete the victory. *Æneas Sylvius* declares that the markgraf himself assured him of the fact. His letters breathe a passion for war. Even after a defeat he had experienced, he relates to his friends with evident pleasure, how long he and four others held out on the field of battle; how he then cut his way through with great labour and severe fighting, and how he was determined to reappear as soon as possible in



COSTUME SHOWING ARMOUR OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

the field. In time of peace he busied himself with the affairs of the empire, in which he took a more lively and efficient part than the emperor himself. We find him sharing in all the proceedings of the diets, holding a magnificent and hospitable court in his Franconian territories, or directing his attention to his possessions in the Mark, which were governed by his son with all the vigilance dictated by the awe of a grave and austere father. Albert was the worthy progenitor of the warlike house of Brandenburg. He bequeathed to it not only wise maxims, but, what is of more value, a great example.

About the year 1461 these two princes, as we have said, embraced different parties. Frederick, who as yet possessed no distinctly recognised power, and in all things obeyed his personal impulses, put himself at the head of the opposition. Albert, who always followed the trodden path of existing relations, undertook the defence of the emperor and the pope; fortune wavered for a time between them. But at last the Jorsika, as George Podiebrad was called, abandoned his daring plans. Diether of Isenburg was succeeded by his antagonist, Adolf of Nassau; and Frederick the palatine consented to give up his prisoners: victory leaned, in the main, to the side of Brandenburg. The ancient authorities of the empire and the church were once more upheld.

At Ratisbon, some time later, in the year 1471, the allied powers ventured on an important step, for the furtherance of the war against the Turks, which they declared themselves at length about to undertake; they attempted to impose a sort of property tax on the whole empire, called the "common penny," and actually obtained an edict in its favour. They named in concert the officers charged with the collection of it in the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees; and the papal legate threatened the refractory with the sum of all spiritual punishments — exclusion from the community of the church.

These measures undoubtedly embraced what was most immediately necessary to the internal and external interests of the empire. But how was it possible to imagine that they would be executed? The combined powers were by no means strong enough to carry through such extensive and radical innovations. The diets had not been attended by nearly sufficient numbers, and people did not hold themselves bound by the resolutions of a party. The opposition to the emperor and the pope had not attained its object, but it still subsisted; Frederick the Victorious still lived, and had now an influence over the very cities which had formerly opposed him. The collection of the "common penny" was, in a short time, not even talked of; it was treated as a project of Paul II, to whom it was not deemed expedient to grant such extensive powers.

The proclamation of public peace also produced little or no effect. After some time the cities declared that it had occasioned them more annoyance and damage than they had endured before. It was contrary to their wishes that, in the year 1474, it was renewed with all its actual provisions. The private wars went on as before. Soon afterwards one of the most powerful imperial cities, Ratisbon, the very place where the public peace was proclaimed, fell into the hands of the Bavarians. The combined powers gradually lost all their consideration. In the year 1479 the propositions of the emperor and the pope were rejected in a mass by the estates of the empire, and were answered by a number of complaints. And yet never could stringent measures be more imperatively demanded.

Private Warfare

It is not necessary to go into an elaborate description of the evils attendant on the right of diffidation or private warfare (*Fehderecht*); they were probably

[ca. 1450-1500 A.D.]

not so great as is commonly imagined. Even in the century we are treating of, there were Italians to whom the situation of Germany appeared happy and secure in comparison with that of their own country, where, in all parts, one faction drove out another. It was only the level country and the highroads which were exposed to robbery and devastation. But even so, the state of things was disgraceful and insupportable to a great nation. It exhibited the strongest contrast to the ideas of law and of religion upon which the empire was so peculiarly founded.

One consequence of it was that, as every man was exclusively occupied with the care of his own security and defence, or could at best not extend his view beyond the horizon immediately surrounding him, no one had any attention to bestow on the common weal; not only were no more great enterprises achieved, but even the frontiers were hardly defended. In the east, the old conflict between the Germans and the Lettish and Slavonic tribes was decided in favour of the latter. As the king of Poland found allies in Prussia itself, he obtained an easy victory over the Teutonic order, and compelled the knights to conclude the Peace of Thorn (A.D. 1466), by which the greater part of the territories of the order were ceded to him, and the rest were held of him in fee. Neither emperor nor empire stirred to avert this incalculable loss. In the west, the idea of obtaining the Rhine as a boundary first awoke in the minds of the French, and the attacks of the Dauphin and the Armagnacs were foiled only by local resistance. But what the one line of the house of Valois failed in, the other, that of Burgundy, accomplished with brilliant success. As the wars between France and England were gradually terminated, and nothing more was to be gained in that field, this house, with all its ambition and all its good fortune, threw itself on the territory of lower Germany. In direct defiance of the imperial authority, it took possession of Brabant and Holland; then Philip the Good took Luxemburg, placed his natural son in Utrecht, and his nephew on the episcopal throne of Liège; after which an unfortunate quarrel between father and son gave Charles the Bold an opportunity to seize upon Gelderland. A power was formed such as had not arisen since the time of the great duchies, and its interests and tendencies were naturally opposed to those of the empire. This state the restless Charles resolved to extend, on the one side, towards Friesland, on the other, along the upper Rhine. When at length he fell upon the archbishopric of Cologne and besieged Neuss, some opposition was made to him, but not in consequence of any concerted scheme or regular armament, but of a sudden levy in the presence of imminent danger. The favourable moment for driving him back within his own frontiers had been neglected. Shortly after, on his attacking Lorraine, Alsace, and Switzerland, those countries were left to defend themselves. Meanwhile, Italy had in fact completely emancipated herself. If the emperor desired to be crowned there, he must go unarmed like a mere traveller; his ideal power could be manifested only in acts of grace and favour. The king of Bohemia,



PIKEMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

who also possessed the two Lusatias and Silesia, and an extensive feudal dominion within the empire, insisted loudly on his rights, and would hear nothing of the corresponding obligations.

The life of the nation must have been already extinct, had it not, even in the midst of all these calamities, and with the prospect of further imminent peril before it, taken measures to establish its internal order and to restore its external power — objects, however, not to be attained without a revolution in both its spiritual and temporal affairs.

The attempted reforms of the last part of his reign found a consistent opponent in the aged emperor. Frederick III had accustomed himself in the course of a long life to regard the affairs of the world with perfect serenity of mind. His contemporaries have painted him to us — one while weighing precious stones in a goldsmith's scales; another, with a celestial globe in his hand, discoursing with learned men on the position of the stars. He loved to mix metals, compound healing drugs, and, in important crises, predicted the future himself from the aspects of the constellations; he read a man's destiny in his features, or in the lines of his hand. In his youth his Portuguese wife, with the violent temper and the habitual opinions of a native of the south, urged him in terms of bitter scorn to take vengeance for some injury; he answered that everything was rewarded, punished, and avenged in time. In 1449, when the cities and princes, on the eve of war, refused to accept him as mediator, he was content; he said he would wait till they burnt each other's crops; then they would come to him of their own accord, and beg him to bring about a reconciliation between them — which shortly after happened. The violence and cruelties which his hereditary kingdom of Austria suffered from King Matthias did not even excite his pity; he said they deserved it, they would not obey him and therefore they must have a stork as king, like the frogs in the fable. His frugality bordered on avarice, his slowness on inertness, his stubbornness on the most determined selfishness; yet all these faults are rescued from vulgarity by high qualities. He had at bottom a sober depth of judgment, a sedate and inflexible honour; the aged prince, even when a fugitive imploring succour, had a personal bearing which never allowed the majesty of the empire to sink.¹

All his pleasures were characteristic. Once when he was in Nuremberg, he had all the children in the city, even the infants who could but just walk, brought to him; he feasted his eyes on the rising generation, the heirs of the future; then he ordered cakes to be brought and distributed that the children might remember their old master, whom they had seen, as long as they lived. Occasionally he gave the princes who were his friends a feast in his castle. In proportion to his usual extreme frugality was now the magnificence of the entertainment. He kept his guests with him until late in the night (always his most vivacious time); when even his wonted taciturnity ceased, and he began to relate the history of his past life, interspersed with strange incidents, decent jests, and wise saws. He looked then like a patriarch among the princes — all of them so much younger than himself.^e

[¹ Elsewhere Ranke says: "At the very time in which all the monarchies of Europe consolidated themselves, the emperor was driven out of his hereditary estates, and wandered about the other parts of the empire as a fugitive. He was dependent for his daily repast on the bounty of convents, or of the burghers of the imperial cities; his other wants were supplied from the slender revenues of his chancery. He might sometimes be seen travelling along the roads of his own dominions in a carriage drawn by oxen. Never, and this he felt himself, was the majesty of the empire dragged about in meaner form. The possessor of a power which, according to the received idea, ruled the world, was become an object of contemptuous pity."]

[1493-1496 A.D.]

THE REIGN OF MAXIMILIAN I

Frederick III died in 1493. Maximilian was proclaimed his successor on the imperial throne without a dissentient voice, and speedily found himself fully occupied.

France at that time cast her eyes upon Italy. Nepotism, the family-interest of the popes, who bestowed enormous wealth, and even Italian principalities, on their nephews, relatives, and natural children, was the prevalent spirit of the court of Rome. The pope's relations plundered the papal treasury, which he filled with the plunder of the whole of Christendom, by raising the church taxes, amplifying the ceremonies, and selling absolution.

France, ever watchful, was not tardy in finding an opportunity for interference. Charles VIII unexpectedly entered Italy at the head of an immense army, partly composed of Swiss mercenaries, and took Naples. Milan, alarmed at the overwhelming strength of her importunate ally, now entered into a league with the pope, the emperor, Spain, and Naples, for the purpose of driving him out of Italy, and Alexander VI astonished the world by leaguering with the arch-foe of Christendom, the Turkish sultan, against the "most Christian" king of France. Charles yielded to the storm, and voluntarily returned to France (1495 A.D.). Maximilian had been unable, from want of money, to come in person to Italy, and three thousand men were all he had been able to supply. He had, however, secured himself by a marriage with Bianca Maria, the sister of Galeazzo Sforza, and attempted, on the withdrawal of the French, to put forward his pretensions as emperor. Pisa (1496) imploring his aid against Florence, he undertook a campaign at the head of an inconsiderable force, in which he was unsuccessful.

A still closer alliance was formed with Spain. The marriage of Philip, Maximilian's son, with the Infanta Johanna, and that of his daughter Margaret, with the Infant Don Juan (1496) brought this splendid monarchy into



MAXIMILIAN I (1473-1531)

(After a woodcut portrait by Hans Burgkmair)

the house of Habsburg, the Infant Don Juan expiring shortly afterwards, and the whole of Spain falling to Philip in right of his wife.²

At this point the demands made upon the activity of King Maximilian came to the rescue of the imperial idea. As early as 1489 he promised to do all in his power to introduce a chamber of justice on the lines proposed, so that he had pledged himself morally. But after his father's death in the year 1493, when Europe was again plunged into the greatest agitation, he had to reconcile himself to still larger concessions. In this connection particular importance attaches to the diet at Worms of 1495. The prevalent idea was, after the imperial dignity had lost its significance as the central power, for the diet to make an attempt at founding a unity of a different kind. The intention of the representatives, particularly of their leader at that time, Berthold von Mainz, was to found a federation of all the parts of the empire and by this means to base the power of the realm, which could no longer be monarchical, on a more aristocratic-republican foundation. Their first idea was to form an imperial council to be made up of king, electors, and the different deputies from the provinces, who would have had the entire control of internal affairs. Maximilian's purpose, on the contrary, was to obtain supplies of money and men; not only the urgent assistance which was needed for the moment, but what he called a permanent source of support, a military constitution of supply. Both parties, as we have seen, desired unity, but the former more in the aristocratic, the latter in the monarchical sense. Naturally the former preponderated because it was in itself much the stronger. Moreover, even the estates proposed to found a military constitution, not on the basis of the feudal system, however, but on that of a general assessment. They had the generosity to make a preliminary grant to the king of the money which he demanded for his urgent need, to avoid his being placed in pawn as it were (such were the terms of their expression).

The cities, which particularly pressed for a public peace, only contributed at the instance of Berthold, and not without a certain amount of resistance. But as Maximilian still hesitated, and demanded again and again money and troops, and the establishment of "a permanent supply," they began to refuse him everything till peace and order should be reinstated. Committees were formed, proposals made and referred to experts. In consequence of the opposition, Maximilian was at last compelled to bow to necessity and accept them. The four items were the following: (1) The public peace (*Landfriede*), which differed particularly from the former *Landfriede* in that it was not established for a term of years, but was to be perpetual, "general, and continual." The punishment of outlawry was retained. (2) The chamber of justice, which was now to be constituted in a manner to which Frederick III would never have consented, both at the will and with the advice of the assembly and in final election on the spot; the president himself was even empowered to pronounce the ban of the empire on his own responsibility. (3) The "common penny," or the permanent main subsidy; a general poll-tax which never actually came into operation, but which was intended to represent one-tenth per cent. on the value of all property. (4) Not the council of regency, but for a month in every year an assembly of the estates of the empire, which on urgent occasions was even to be convened by the presidents. Obviously the result was now in favour of the estates. The imperial assembly would have had the control of the money and the conduct of foreign affairs, and a share of the judicial power would have passed over to a combination springing from the estates, as a consequence of the access of dignity bestowed upon the chamber of justice.

[1435-1504 A.D.]

It is no wonder that Maximilian did not like to further a constitution of this kind. He did not appear at the first imperial assembly. The consequence was that no executive measures could be carried in accordance with the previous resolution concerning the "common penny." Some princes had the generosity to return the money to their subjects; in the second year no one would pay it any longer. The further consequence of this was that the chamber of justice, which it had been proposed to pay out of this "common penny," could not be maintained, so that the public peace totally lacked effective execution. It was evident that the king was mostly at fault. As he had at the same time come off a loser in his wars both with Switzerland and Italy, he was obliged in the year 1500 at the Augsburg diet to consent to a council of the empire — or imperial regency, which he had always refused before; each elector was to send one representative, and each of his cities two. The chanceryship was to be filled by the elector of Mainz. The estates in return consented to a kind of military levy. Thereupon the newly constituted imperial council did in point of fact receive the ambassadors of France. But the king, who ought to have presided over this council, did not appear. He prevented the complete filling up of the places in the council; again the whole proceedings resulted in nothing. Nor did he summon a new diet. Instead of founding the empire at this time, as he has been so often credited with doing, he rather contributed towards its complete dissolution. He certainly founded a sort of chamber of justice, but quite of the old kind, made up of a few bishops and depending on perquisites; but, as nobody acknowledged it, it accomplished nothing.

In the year 1502, the electors agreed to assemble at least every year, each one to deliberate upon the interests of the empire with the estates situated nearest him. But Maximilian managed to undermine this intention by securing the nomination to the vacancy at Cologne of a prince who was absolutely devoted to him. He himself was so indignant that he sometimes declared he would throw down his crown at the feet of the representatives and trample it to atoms. The representatives, on their side, actually conceived the idea in 1503 of deposing the king. Thereupon he himself appeared, as Louis of Bavaria once did, in the assembly to frustrate this purpose. He was really, however, not so utterly powerless in the empire; he possessed a number of bishoprics and livings. Albert of Saxony and Henry of Calenberg were in his service. Furthermore it was a piece of good fortune for him that the Landshut quarrel broke out, in which he took a part so fruitful of results that he regained his former influence and prestige. This happened chiefly through that Swabian League which dates its formation from 1488.¹ Moreover his son Philip, whose father-in-law Ferdinand the Catholic was establishing his authority in Naples, was also victorious in the war in Gelderland, and an accommodation had just been made with the French. All these fortunate circumstances contributed to the gradual extinction of motives for forming a constitution in which the claims of the king and the estates of the realm should be equally balanced. The purely "representative" principle could no longer maintain the upper hand, but yet it was impossible to suppress it entirely.

[¹ This is known as "the great" Swabian League to distinguish it from the numerous others that are associated with the internal history of Swabia from 1376 onwards. The subject of the conflicting policies of the cities and the princes of Swabia and their respective relations with the emperor is yet another illustration of that anarchy which is the main characteristic of German history before the period of the Reformation, and which, it may be added, by no means disappeared entirely with the advent of that period.]

THE DIET OF COLOGNE (1505 A.D.)

At the diet at Cologne in 1505, the estates agreed to assist the king against Hungary in accordance with former proposals. Every thought of calling in the "common penny" was expressly discountenanced. But it was at once determined that the assistance granted was to be in money, and a tax was settled. The king promised to establish a chamber of justice and to negotiate a public peace in the manner resolved upon at Worms. In the diet at Con-

stance in the year 1507 these efforts were continued. The power of the king was already so consolidated that a French ambassador, who carried with him despatches addressed to the imperial estates, was arrested and treated pretty roughly. Here the former proposals were renewed and directed towards an expedition to Rome. Clearly the cities were drawn upon pretty heavily. All the electors together, including Bohemia, had to place in the field 760 horsemen, 557 infantry, and pay 16,230 gulden; the cities had to provide 632 horsemen, therefore almost as many as the electors, and on the other hand 1,335 infantry, two and a half times as many, and to pay 39,942 gulden.

Further, a firm foundation was laid for the chamber of justice, the nomination of its members divided between the king and the estates, the payment to be made out of penal money fines, and, if these were not sufficient, an imperial tax was to be raised. The president of the chamber was to have the right of pronouncing the ban of the empire. However the vote of supply was only granted for half a year, and the council was provisionally accepted for six years only. But still



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it was of the greatest importance that it really held sittings, and exercised a regular activity, which dates from this time.

These labours then were continued in the diet at Cologne in 1512. It was again agreed to retain the imperial chamber for another six years, and its reform was also resolved upon. The only thing wanted now was to provide for the execution of its decisions. For this purpose the empire was divided into ten circuits. Six circuits, exclusive of the king and the electors, had already been sketched out in 1500 at Augsburg. Two new ones were now formed out of the Austrian possessions, and two out of the electorates, one for the Rhine and one for Upper Saxony. They are called "circles" in the imperial decree.¹ In each circle there was to be a captain with his contingent of sub-

[¹ Ranke makes the distinction in the German between *Kreis* (translated "circuit") and *Cirke* (translated "circle").]

[1498-1499 A.D.]

ordinates. At every breach of the public peace the captain of the circle in which the perpetrators, their helpers and dependents lived, was to summon his contingent and consult with them, and take proceedings to maintain the public peace. Switzerland was excluded from this constitution of things — as she looked after herself. Other plans were also made; there was talk of a new universal tax such as had been resolved upon at Worms; of a scheme of appointing eight councillors to the king, above all of a closer union of the empire. The emperor expresses this very clearly in the recess: “We and the estates of the holy empire have contracted and pledged our common duty to carry out the following articles and intentions as a Christian body and assembly to and with each other.” The cities had been for some time excluded from the settlement, but now they were readmitted.

We must guard, however, against concluding that these resolutions were at once carried into effective operation. They were ideas and plans, the necessity of which was obvious to everyone, but to execute them presented the gravest difficulties. The circuits were in all probability not really established till about twenty years later; the captains were not appointed, neither were the councillors, who were considered of so much importance. Maximilian himself was in a perpetual dilemma between respect and contempt, fortune and misfortune, power and weakness. The fact was largely due to his foreign relations. In these he accomplished an incredible amount for his family and its power chiefly by treaties and marriage alliances; how remarkable it is that, on the contrary, when he strove for the rights of the empire, with an assiduity greater, though not always so well-matured and warlike, he failed in everything.^k

THE SEPARATION OF SWITZERLAND (1499 A.D.)

The empire, like the oak whose topmost branches first show symptoms of the decay spreading from its roots, first lost the finest of her German provinces, and her holy banner was hurled from those glorious natural bulwarks, whence, mid ice and snow, her victorious forefathers had looked down upon the fertile vales of Italy.

The Swiss confederation had been declared an integral part of the Swabian circle, but, influenced by distrust of the Swabian cities, which had ever preserved a false neutrality towards them, and of the princes and nobles, their hereditary foes, they refused to enter into the league. Their success against Burgundy had, moreover, rendered them insolent and presumptuous, whilst France incessantly incited them to declare themselves independent of the empire. France drew her mercenaries from the Alps, was a good paymaster, and flattered the rough mountaineers with a semblance of royal confidence; whilst the German princes, and even the emperor, thoughtlessly treated them with contempt. A dispute concerning landmarks that arose between the Grisons peasantry and the Austrian Tyrolese, and occasioned their enrolment in the confederation, brought the matter to an issue. The enraged emperor declared war (A.D. 1498) against the Swiss, in which he was seconded by the Swabian league. In 1499 the Swiss concluded a treaty with France, and, quitting their mountains, attacked the approaching foe on every side. Willibald Pirckheimer, who was present with four hundred red-habited citizens of Nuremberg, has graphically described every incident of this war. The imperial reinforcements arrived slowly and in separate bodies; the princes and nobles fighting in real earnest, the cities with little inclination. The Swiss were, consequently, able to defeat each single detachment before they could

unite, and were in this manner victorious in ten engagements. The emperor, on his arrival, publicly addressed an angry letter to the Swiss from Freiburg in the Breisgau. The Tyrolese failed in an attempt to take the Grisons in the rear across Bormio, and four hundred of the imperialists were, on this occasion, crushed by an avalanche. Pirkheimer saw a troop of half-starved children under the care of two old women seeking for herbs, like cattle, on the mountains, so great was the distress to which the blockade had reduced the Swiss. They, nevertheless, defended themselves on every side, and slew four thousand Tyrolese near Mals in the Vienstgau, in revenge for which four hundred Grisons peasants, detained captive at Meran, were put to death. The emperor went to Constance, where a letter from the confederation was delivered to him by a young girl.¹ Peace was, however, far from the thoughts of the emperor, who, dividing his forces, despatched the majority of his troops against Bâle, under the Count von Fürstenberg, whilst he advanced towards Geneva, and was occupied in crossing the lake when the news of Fürstenberg's defeat and death, near Dornach, arrived. The princes, little desirous of staking their honour against their low-born opponents, instantly returned home in great numbers, and the emperor was therefore compelled to make peace. The Swiss retained possession of the Thurgau and of Bâle, and Schaffhausen joined the confederation, which was not subject to the imperial chamber, and for the future belonged merely in name to the empire, and gradually fell under the growing influence of France, A.D. 1499.

OTHER WARS

Some years after the Swiss war, Maximilian was involved in a petty war of succession in Bavaria, A.D. 1504. Disturbances had also arisen in the Netherlands (A.D. 1494), where the people favoured Charles of Gueldres to the prejudice of the Habsburgs. Maximilian's son, Philip the Handsome, at length concluded a truce with his opponent, and went into Spain for the purpose of taking possession of the kingdom of Castile, whose queen, Isabella, had just expired, in the name of her daughter, his wife, Johanna. Ferdinand of Aragon, his father-in-law, however, refused to yield the throne of Castile during his life-time, and, in his old age, married a young Frenchwoman, in the hope of raising another heir to the throne of Aragon.

Maximilian beheld the successes of the French monarch in Italy, and Ferdinand of Naples dragged in chains to France, with impotent rage, and convoked one diet after another without being able to raise either money or troops. At length, in the hope of saving his honour, he invested France with the duchy of his brother-in-law, Sforza, and, by the treaty of Blois (A.D. 1504), ceded Milan to France for the sum of two hundred thousand francs. The marriage of Charles, Maximilian's grandson, with Claudia, the daughter of Louis, who it was stipulated should bring Milan in dowry to the house of Habsburg, also formed one of the articles of this treaty, and in the event of any impediment to the marriage being raised by France, Milan was to be unconditionally restored to the house of Austria. The marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand with Anna, the youthful daughter of Wladislaw of Hungary and Bohemia, was more fortunate. Ferdinand of Spain, unable to

¹ On being asked the number of the Swiss, she replied: "There are plenty to beat you; you might have counted them during the battle had not fear struck you blind"; and on an old soldier, stung by the sarcasm, drawing his sword upon her, she said, "If you are such a hero, seek men to fight with." Götz von Berlichingen, who was present, thus describes the emperor: "He wore a little old green coat, and little short green cap, and a great green hat over it." (Quite Tyrolean.)

[1504-1516 A.D.]

tolerate the Habsburg as his successor on the throne, entered into a league with France, who instantly infringed the treaty of Blois, and Claudia was married to Francis of Anjou, the heir-apparent to the throne of France. Maximilian, enraged at Louis' perfidy, vainly called upon the imperial estates of Germany to revenge the insult; he was merely enabled to raise a small body of troops, with which he crossed the Alps for the purpose of taking possession of Milan and of being finally crowned by the pope. The Venetians, however, refused to grant him a free passage, defeated him at Cator, and compelled him to retrace his steps. At Trient, Matthæus Lang, archbishop of Salzburg, placed the crown on his brow in the name of the pope, A.D. 1508.

The insolence and grasping policy of Venice had rendered her universally obnoxious. Maximilian had been insulted and robbed by her; Louis dreaded her vicinity to his newly-gained duchy of Milan; whilst Ferdinand, the pope, and the rest of the Italian powers viewed her with similar enmity. These considerations formed the basis of the league of Cambray, A.D. 1508, in which all the contending parties ceased their strife to unite against their common foe. The French gained a decisive victory at Agnadello. Vicenza was taken by the imperial troops, A.D. 1510. The Swiss, who had at first aided Venice, being forced to retreat during the severe winter of 1512, revenged themselves by laying Lombardy waste. Venice, deprived of their aid, humbled herself before the emperor, and the senator Giustiniani fell in the name of the republic at his feet, and finally persuaded both him and the pope to renounce their alliance with France. The new confederates were, however, defeated at Ravenna by the French under Gaston de Foix. The Swiss confederation, gained over by the bishop of Sion, who was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, now took part with the emperor and the pope, and, marching into Lombardy, drove out the French and placed Max Sforza on the ducal throne of Milan, A.D. 1512.

The emperor, although unable to offer much opposition to France in Italy, was more successful in the Netherlands, where, aided by the English, he carried on war against Louis and gained a second battle of spurs at Terouanne.¹ He also assembled a troop of lancers under George von Frundsberg, who besieged Venice, and fought his way through an overwhelming force under the Venetian general, Alviano, at Ceratia. Maximilian entered Lombardy in person (A.D. 1516) with twenty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were Swiss, under the loyal-hearted Stäpfer of Zurich, but was compelled to retreat, owing to want of money, and the superior numbers of Swiss in the service of France. Unable to save Milan, he made a virtue of necessity and ceded that duchy to Francis I, who had succeeded Louis. In his old age, he zealously endeavoured to raise means for carrying on the war against the Turks.² Anticipating the full co-operation of the European states he struck a medal, in which he was designated as lord of the West and East, and flattered himself with the prospect of again rendering Constantinople the seat of a Christian empire. The pope also entered into his views, sent him a consecrated hat and sword, declared the kingdom of the East an imperial fief, and appointed him generalissimo of the Christian army, which was to consist of Germans and French, while the English, Portuguese, and Spaniards were to furnish a naval armament.

¹ Peter Daniel says, in his *History of France*, "because our cavalry made more use of their spurs than of their swords." The Chevalier Bayard, on perceiving the impossibility of escape, took an English knight, who had just dismounted, prisoner, in order instantly to surrender himself to him. Maximilian, on being informed of this strange adventure, restored Bayard to liberty.

He laid his plan before the diet, and appealed to the states with his usual eloquence; but he was answered by remonstrances against the exactions of the pope; and a considerable sensation was excited by a writing attributed to Ulrich von Hutten, which was circulated among the members, describing the pope as a more dangerous enemy to Christianity than the Turks, and charging the court of Rome with having drained the states of Christendom by annates, reserves, tenths, and other exactions; discussion was deferred to a future meeting.

The same ill-success attended his attempts to secure the election of his grandson. He had already entered into secret negotiations with several of the electors, and Charles had sent into Germany a considerable sum to bribe the electoral college. By these means Maximilian secured the votes of Mainz, Cologne, the Palatinate, and Brandenburg; but he experienced an opposition from Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, who, as one of the vicars of the empire, wished for an interregnum, and the elector of Treves, who was devoted to France. In addition to these obstacles, the nomination of Charles was counteracted by Francis I, who aspired to the imperial dignity, and by the pope, who was unwilling to see the crowns of the empire and Naples united in the same person. In consequence of this opposition, the electors declined the proposal of Maximilian, by urging their usual plea that, as he had not been actually crowned at Rome, they could not infringe the laws of Germany by electing two kings of the Romans, and, having failed in all his endeavours to convince the electors of the validity of the bull of Alexander VI, which declared him as much emperor as if crowned at Rome, Maximilian was obliged to defer his project to a future occasion.

That occasion never arrived. Although no more than fifty-nine, he had long felt his health declining, and for the last four years he never travelled without a coffin, which he was occasionally heard to apostrophise. Soon after his arrival at Innsbruck, where he purposed to regulate the succession to his hereditary dominions, he was seized with a slight fever, which he hoped to remove by exercise and change of air. He accordingly descended the Inn, disembarked at Passau, and with a view to dissipate his melancholy, or to improve his health, proceeded to Wels in Upper Austria, where he amused himself with his favourite diversion of hawking and hunting. But the fatigues of the chase aggravated his complaint, and the immoderate use of melons brought on a dysentery. Being recommended by his physicians to fulfil the last duties of a Christian, he replied, "I have long done so, or it would now be too late." On the arrival of the friar, he sat up in his bed, received him with the most joyful expressions and gestures, and said to the bystanders, "This man will show me the way to heaven." After much pious conversation, during which he would not suffer himself to be called emperor, but simply Maximilian, he received the holy sacrament according to the ordinances of the church. He then summoned his ministers, and executed his testament. He ordered that all the officers of state and magistrates should continue to exercise their functions, until the arrival of one of his grandsons. From a principle of extreme modesty, which he carried so far that he never put on or took off his shirt before any person, he called a short time before his death for clean linen, and strictly forbade that it should be changed. He ordered the hair of his head to be cut off, and his teeth to be pulled out, broken, and publicly burnt in the chapel of his court. As a lesson of mortality, his body was to be exposed to view for a whole day, then to be enclosed in a sack filled with quicklime, covered with white silk and damask; to be placed in the coffin already prepared for its reception, and to be interred in the church of the palace at

[1519 A.D.]

Neustadt, under the altar of St. George, in such a situation, that the officiating priests might tread upon his head and heart. He expressed his hope that by these means his sinful body, after the departure of his soul, would be dishonoured and humiliated before the whole world. Having finished this business, he stretched out his hand to the bystanders, and gave them his benediction. As they were unable to conceal their emotions, and burst into tears, he said, "Why do you weep, because you see a mortal die? Such tears as these rather become women than men." To the prayers of the Carthusian he made audible responses, and when his voice failed, gave signs of his faith with his gestures. He died at three o'clock in the morning, on the 11th of January, 1519, in the sixtieth year of his age.⁹

RANKE'S ESTIMATE OF MAXIMILIAN

Maximilian was a man of schemes but not of achievements, full of talents and artistic capacities; a splendid sportsman and shot, a chamois-hunter by habit and inclination; indefatigable, mysterious, and withal popular, so that his person is associated with pleasant memories — but he never did or accomplished a single thing. He was inexhaustible in new ideas; for this reason he acquires much significance for the future of the empire, but not in virtue of direct institutions. The last years of his government lack a commendable orderliness even more egregiously than the first. In the year 1513 he summoned a diet which did not meet at all; in the year 1517 another one certainly met in Mainz, and which may be compared to the diet in Reineke Fuchs, so many were the grievances that poured in. Even the chamber of justice, which had only just been established and in whose proceedings Maximilian incessantly interfered, met with the most violent attacks.

The empire generally was in a state of ferment. Emperor and princes were at variance on every point as regarded their respective rights. Not one institution was really carried into effect. It was still not yet known what estates were immediate and what mediate. In all districts this was a source of many-sided dissatisfaction. The lists¹ which came into existence were for this very reason utterly useless. The nobility, particularly fearful of a widening authority especially in the princely jurisdiction, made alliances with one another or fought for fame and fortune in isolated groups. The cities also were in a state of considerable agitation. Oppression on the part of the princely power, the continual restlessness of the provinces, the restriction on their trade, which nevertheless increased with magnificent rapidity, and a number of internal troubles threw them into commotion. Most dangerous of all however was the profound disaffection amongst the peasantry. Even in the second half of the fifteenth, and almost in every year at the beginning of the sixteenth century we hear of insurrections amongst the peasantry, which were naturally fostered all the more by the fact that the peasants had now learned the art of war; and as they knew as well how to fight as the Swiss, they now claimed the same rights as the latter.

A period full of so much internal unrest as that of Maximilian's reign does not again occur in the whole of German history; even the present time cannot be compared with it. A firm government, which might have stemmed the discontent, had not been established. In these circumstances it was really the religious movement of the Reformation which, by providing the general

[¹ "Matrikeln" in the original; the assessments being made from the list of estates and no one knowing which were mediate and which were immediate estates, it is clear that the revenues were imperilled by this state of affairs.]

agitation with a new motive power, at once diverted it from the reign of politics and absorbed it in itself.

The glory which surrounds the memory of Maximilian, the high renown which he enjoyed even among his contemporaries, were not won by the success of his enterprises, but by his personal qualities. Every good gift of nature had been lavished upon him in profusion: health up to an advanced age, so robust that, when it was deranged, strong exercise and copious draughts of water were his sole and sufficient remedy; not beauty indeed, but so fine a person, so framed for strength and agility, that he outdid all his followers in knightly exercises, outwore them in exertions and toils; a memory to which everything that he had learned or witnessed was ever present; so singular a natural acuteness and justness of apprehension, that he was never deceived in his servants; he employed them exactly in the services for which they were best suited; an imagination of unequalled richness and brilliancy. He was a man, in short, formed to excite admiration and to inspire enthusiastic attachment; formed to be the romantic hero, the exhaustless theme of the people.

What wondrous stories did they tell of his adventures in the chase — how in the land beyond the Ens, he had stood his ground alone against an enormous bear in the open coppice; how in a sunken way in Brabant he had killed a stag, at the moment it rushed upon him; how, when surprised by a wild boar in the forest of Brussels, he had laid it dead at his feet with his boar-spear, without alighting from his horse! But above all, what perilous adventures did they recount of his chamois hunts in the high Alps, where it was he who sometimes saved from death or danger the practised hunter that accompanied him. In all these scenes he showed the same prompt and gallant spirit, the same elastic presence of mind. Thus too he appeared in the face of the enemy. Within range of the enemy's fire, we see him alight from his horse, form his order of battle, and win the victory; in the skirmish attacking four or five enemies single-handed; on the field defending himself in a sort of single combat against an enemy who selected him as his peculiar object: for he was always to be found in the front of the battle; always in the hottest of the fight and the danger. The Venetian ambassador cannot find words to express the confidence which the German soldiers of every class felt for the chief who never deserted them in the moment of peril. He cannot be regarded as a great general; but he had a singular gift for the organisation of a particular body of troops, the improvement of the several arms and the constitution of the army generally; the militia of the Landsknechts, by which the fame of the German foot soldiers was restored, was founded and organised by him. He also put the use of fire-arms on an entirely new footing, and his inventive genius displayed itself particularly in this department.

He had a matchless talent for managing men. The princes who were offended and injured by his policy could not withstand the charm of his personal intercourse. "Never," says Frederick the Wise of Saxony, "did I behold a more courteous man." The wild, turbulent knights, against whom he raised the empire and the league, yet heard such expressions from his lips that it was, as Götz von Berlichingen said, "a joy to their hearts; and they could never bear to do anything against his imperial majesty." He took part in the festivals and amusements of the citizens in the towns — their dances and their shooting matches, in which he was not unfrequently the best shot; and offered prizes, damask for the arquebusiers or a few ells of red velvet for the crossbow-men. At the camp before Padua he rode up to a sutler and asked for something to eat. John of Landau, who was with him, offered to

taste the food; the emperor inquired where the woman came from. "From Augsburg," was the reply. "Ah!" exclaimed he, "then there is no need of a taster, for they of Augsburg are God-fearing people." In his hereditary dominions he often administered justice in person, and if he saw a bashful man who kept in the background, called him to a more honourable place. He was little dazzled by the splendour of the supreme dignity. "My good fellow," said he to an admiring poet, "thou knowest not me nor other princes aright." All that we read of him shows freshness and clearness of apprehension, an open and ingenuous spirit. He was a brave soldier and a kind-hearted man; people loved and feared him.^e





CHAPTER VII

CHARLES V AND THE REFORMATION

[1519-1546 A.D.]

On one occasion only had the two men stood face to face who split the life of Germany into two halves, the two great opponents who are still fighting to this day in the spirit of that posterity which has sprung from them, the Burgundian Habsburger and the German son of the soil, Emperor and Professor; the one, speaking German only to his horse, the other translator of the Bible and creator of the new German written language; the one, the forefather of those who believe in the Jesuits, original founder of the dynastic policy of the Habsburgs, the other, the predecessor of Lessing, of the great German poets, historians, and philosophers.

It was a desperate hour in the history of Germany when the young Emperor, heir of half the earth, uttered at Worms the contemptuous words: "This man will never make a heretic of me!" for therewith began the struggle between his House and the spirit of national Germany: a struggle during three centuries, with victories and defeats on both sides and an issue predestined.—GUSTAV FREYTAG.

THE imperial throne, now vacant by the death of Maximilian, required a successor. The general agitation throughout Europe, as well as the confusion prevalent in Germany itself, where the *Faustrecht* [or "law of violence"] appeared immediately after the death of the emperor to resume its sway, demanded a monarch, endowed with energy and consequent power, in order to maintain the necessary equilibrium between the internal and the external government. The war still continued between Spain and France upon the subject of Italy, although neither of these powers possessed the right of decision in the cause of a country which knew not how to govern or even help

[1519 A.D.]

itself, such decision being vested in the hands of the emperor alone. In the east the Turks again threatened to devastate the country; and Hungary, reduced by maladministration as well as by the luxury and effeminacy of the people, was no longer able to serve as a bulwark against this formidable enemy; hence from this quarter likewise the emperor was called upon to come forth as the protector of Europe. In Germany itself, and in the very heart of the empire, feuds were raging with all their ungovernable fury. Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, having cause to revenge himself upon the free city of Reutlingen for some offence, fell suddenly upon that place, in the winter of 1519; and having made himself master of it, he continued to hold it in possession as his own. The Swabian League, however, which had been established by the emperor Maximilian, in order to maintain the tranquillity of the land, finding the duke paid no respect or attention to their repeated summons to surrender the town, advanced at once against him, and by their superior force not only regained possession of the place, but pursued the duke throughout his own territories so closely that he was compelled to quit them for safety.

Maximilian had, in the course of his reign, gained several voices in favour of his grandson Charles, already king of Spain; many princes, however, still thought consideration requisite before they could undertake to place the imperial power in the hands of a sovereign who already reigned over the half of Europe; for, as inheritor of the houses of Spain and Austria, Charles possessed, besides Spain and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the beautiful Austrian provinces, and all the patrimonial territories of Burgundy in the Low Countries. If to so much splendid power the additional lustre acquired by the possession of the imperial crown were to be added, it was to be feared — thus the princes thought — that his house might become too powerful, and thence conceive the proud and ambitious project of invading and destroying the liberty of the German princes, and seek accordingly to render the empire, without limitation, hereditary and independent.

From another side again, as his competitor for the imperial crown, came forth to oppose him the king of France, Francis I. The ambassadors from France presented to the assembled princes at Frankfort a document laudatory of their royal master, in which they thus alluded to the danger threatened by the incursions of the Turks: "He must indeed be wanting in understanding who, at a time when the storm has broken forth, should still hesitate to confide the steering of the vessel to the most skilful helmsman."

Nevertheless, in spite of the confidence with which the envoys spoke, the princes felt the danger of electing a French king to be emperor of Germany; and as the elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, to whom they had offered the crown, declined it with the magnanimous observation, in excuse, that the inferior power of his house was not equal to contend with the difficulties of the times, adding even his recommendation to them to elect the young Spanish king instead, the princes after further consideration remembered and admitted that at least he was a German prince, and the grandson of their late revered emperor Maximilian; they decided accordingly in his favour, and elected him to the imperial throne on the 28th of June, 1519. Before the election, however, his ambassadors were obliged by the princes to sign the following conditions; *viz.*, "That the emperor shall not make any alliance, nor carry on any war with a foreign nation, without the approbation of the princes, neither shall he introduce any foreign troops whatever into the empire; that he shall hold no diets beyond Germany; that all offices at the imperial court and throughout the empire shall be conferred upon native Germans;

that in all the affairs of the empire no other language but German or Latin shall be employed; that, in conjunction with the estates, he shall put an end to all the commercial leagues which, by means of their capital, have hitherto held so much sway, and maintained so much independence; that he shall not pronounce the imperial ban against any state of the empire without urgent reasons nor without a proper form of judgment; and, finally, that he shall come to Germany as speedily as possible, and make that country his principal seat of residence." These and other articles being sworn to by the ambassadors in the name of their royal master, they proceeded at once to hasten his arrival in the Germanic Empire.^b

The great contest had lasted for a year, and the tension it had evoked in Europe was by no means relaxed by its decision; the clash of warring interests had penetrated too deeply into the life of the Powers, and the discord was intensified rather than mitigated by the victory of the Catholic King.



FREDERICK THE WISE
(1463-1525)

It must be conceded that Charles did everything in his power to soothe the apprehensions bound up with his triumph. He seems to have learnt the certainty of his election as early as the 25th of June, by a letter from the elector of Mainz. In the early morning hours of the 6th of July a Flemish secretary delivered to Charles the elector's letters announcing his election. As soon as the momentous news was known all the grandees hastened to the court to kiss the hand of Charles; the nuncio and the ambassadors of England and Venice appeared to congratulate, only the French ambassador held conspicuously aloof. Nevertheless in the course of the next few days

Chièvres and Gattinara assured the ambassadors of France and Venice of Charles' desire, now that he had attained so high a dignity, to maintain peace in Christendom, to proceed against the infidels as a good Christian should, and above all to be on terms of good friendship with their two states. "Our king," they said, "loves peace and is prepared to do everything to maintain it." To the pope he was even more gracious. No sooner did he receive from his plenipotentiary in Germany the news of the result of the election than he laid it before the papal legate, and addressed a letter of thanks to the pope, in which he completely ignored all that the latter previously had done to oppose him and spoke of the resignation exercised by the pope at the last moment as a kindness for which he owed him the utmost gratitude. He promised ever to cherish such sentiments towards him that the pope should never regret the kindness which, in his paternal affection, he had shown him.^f

The Spaniards themselves were discontented at beholding their sovereign invested with the imperial dignity; they feared they might in consequence

[1520-1521 A.D.]

be reduced to the form of a secondary kingdom, subject to the rule of arbitrary governors. "What else had the empire now become," they said, "but the mere shadow of an immensely overgrown tree?" In such poor estimation was the ancient and, formerly, so venerated imperial crown now held in foreign countries.

The majority of his councillors advised and warned Charles not to abandon his hereditary kingdom for the sake of a possession so uncertain, and at least difficult to maintain; but his genius saw and acknowledged that this very circumstance paved the way for bold and independent action. It was at this time, whilst he was on his journey to Germany, there to take possession of the crown offered to him, that the important news arrived announcing the acquisition made in his name of a second empire, that of Mexico, then just discovered in the new world.

Charles landed in the Netherlands and continued his journey to Germany. He was crowned on the 22nd of October, 1520, at Aachen, with great pomp and magnificence, and he then appointed the 17th of April of the following year as the day for holding the first imperial diet at Worms. This diet was one of the most brilliant that had ever been held; it was attended by six electors and a numerous body of spiritual and temporal princes. The most famous transaction that occurred on this occasion was the trial of Martin Luther.^b But the diet was important for other reasons as well. The emperor was just then in a most critical situation. In Spain there was open rebellion and his viceroy was unable to cope with the commons who were abetting it. One of the first things to be done at the diet was to appoint a council of regency to govern Germany while Charles returned to Spain. At the outset the embarrassment of ruling his scattered dominions was apparent, and Charles' chief interest in Germany at the time was in getting from it men and money. As to the latter, Charles inherited from his grandfather little but debts, and he had to borrow 20,000 gulden from Franz von Sickingen, the knight whose castle of the Shrenberg threatened the imperial city where the diet was meeting.

But even of greater importance were the negotiations with the pope. Francis I, the disappointed rival, was threatening Italy, and Leo X (Giovanni dei Medici) was only too likely to be favourable. Besides, the pope felt uncomfortable in the grip of all the Spanish and imperial might which had its hold on the south and the north of Italy. The emperor's need for the alliance of the pope was very great, and not to be influenced by the protest of a German monk. On May 8th, 1521, a treaty was signed between Charles and Leo, which shows where Charles' interests lay at the moment of the Lutheran revolt. Milan and Genoa were to be freed from the French yoke and restored to the feudal dominions of the emperor, and both pope and emperor were to furnish troops and money. The emperor was to send Neapolitan troops to aid the pope in regaining Bologna; and Parma, Piacenza, and Ferrara were to be recovered for him. The pope was to support Charles in Naples against the Venetians — they were to have the same friends and enemies; and lastly, "the emperor was to support the pope against those fallen from the faith." The Edict of Worms against Luther was issued the same day.

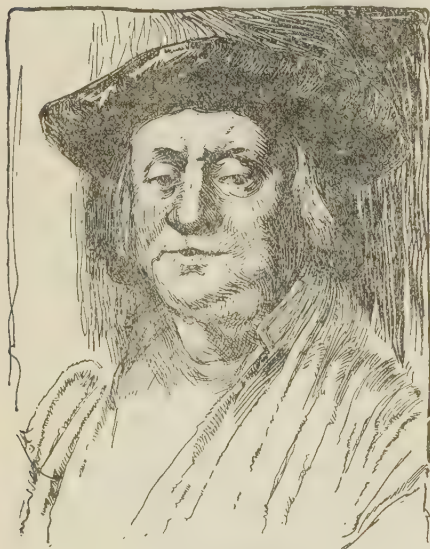
There are now two divergent interests in our story — the history of the emperor and his foreign policies, and the narrative of the revolt of Martin Luther. As the latter was destined to influence history far more deeply than the transitory successes of Charles, we leave aside the details of the long world-struggle of the greatest Habsburg for those of the origins of Protestantism. We have already given the main outline of the wars with Francis I

in the history of that monarch, and we turn from the path to the great victory of Pavia and the Treaty of Madrid, to the more genuinely German history of Luther.^a

THE APPEARANCE OF MARTIN LUTHER

Martin Luther, born at Eisleben on the 10th of November, 1483, became a monk in the monastery of the Augustin-Eremites at Erfurt (1505), in consequence of peculiar circumstances; he was early led to Augustinism and the study of the Bible by deep religious requirements, which could find no satisfaction in the mechanism of the church. Removed in 1508 to the Augustine monastery at Wittenberg, he laboured there, in the newly founded university (1502), first as bachelor, from 1512 as doctor, with especial zeal to promote the study of the Bible. He met with much success as a lecturer; by him and

some like-minded fellow-labourers the study of theology at Wittenberg was diverted from Aristotle and the schoolmen, to Augustine and Holy Scripture; and denying the sanctity of works, it made its animating central point the doctrine of salvation of man by faith in Christ alone. Such a practical and scriptural turn of mind had often existed silent and still in the church before, and so long as it was not directly assailed in its inmost sanctuary, holding fast its allegiance to an ideal church instead of to the real, it had overlooked the shortcomings of the latter, or excused them on the plea of human imperfectibility. Thus even Luther held fast to the church, without considering the internal difference between his point of view and that of the church; but at the same time his inward religious life and faith attained such rocklike steadfastness that, counting all outward



MARTIN LUTHER

things as nought, he was ready to face every danger and every onset in defence of the saving truth he had recognised.

At this time the Dominican Johan Tetzel [Dicze or Diez], as sub-commissary of Albert, the elector of Mainz, began to preach in the borderlands, as it was not allowed him to preach within the Saxon dominions, the indulgence prescribed by the pope for the advancement of the building of St. Peter's church; he sold indulgences with unheard-of exaggeration and incredible effrontery at Jüterbog (or Jüterbock) and Zerbst, not far from Wittenberg. Luther soon discovered in the confessional the corrupting consequences of this. His own words regarding the affair are worth quoting.

LUTHER'S OWN ACCOUNT OF TETZEL AND HIS INDULGENCES

It happened in the year 1517 [he tells us] that a preaching friar, Johann Tetzel by name, came hither, a noisy fellow, whom Duke Frederick had saved from drowning at Innsbruck, for Maximilian had commanded him to be

[1517 A.D.]

drowned in the Inn (you may imagine it was for his great virtue's sake).¹ Duke Frederick reminded him of it, when he began to trouble us at Wittenberg; he acknowledged it freely. The same Tetzel now hawked about the indulgence, and sold grace for money, dear or cheap as he best could. At the time I was a preacher here in the monastery, and a young doctor fresh from the anvil, glowing and bold in Holy Scripture. As many people went from Wittenberg to Jüterbog and Zerbst after the indulgence, I (so truly as Christ my Lord hath redeemed me) not knowing what the indulgence was — as, indeed, at that time no one knew — began to preach mildly that men might do better, forsooth, than purchase the indulgence. I had before this, here at the castle, preached to the same effect against indulgence, and had displeased Duke Frederick thereby, for he entertained a great affection for this foundation (which possessed a particularly ample indulgence). Now, to come to the true cause of the Lutheran teaching, I let all go on as it went. However, it comes to my mind how that Tetzel had preached loathsome and fearful articles, which I will now name, to wit: he had such grace and power from the pope that if any man had defiled or impregnated the Virgin Mary he could forgive the sin, as soon as a fitting sum was deposited in the chest. Item, the red indulgence-cross with the pope's banner, erected in the churches, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ. Item, if St. Peter were here now, he could have no greater grace or power than he had himself. Item, he would not change places in heaven with St. Peter: for he had released more souls with indulgence than St. Peter by his preaching. Item, when a coin was placed in the chest for a soul in purgatory, so soon as the penny fell ringing upon the bottom, the soul immediately started for heaven. Item, the grace of indulgence was the very grace whereby man was reconciled to God. Item, there was no need to feel grief, or sorrow, or repentance for sin, if a man bought the indulgence, or the letter of indulgence. Tetzel also sold the right to sin in future time. He pushed his traffic to a fearful extent; everything might be done for money.^h

A MODERN VIEW OF TETZEL (LEA)

Of course modern apologists have sought to prove that Luther calumniated Tetzel and his preachers in his reports of their assertions. We see no reason to doubt his accuracy. For centuries the *quastuarii* had been accustomed to use such arguments and promises; the people were accustomed to them, and Tetzel would never have acquired his reputation as a vendor of indulgences had he not vaunted his wares in the ordinary manner. We have good orthodox testimony that Arcemboldi, the papal commissioner for north Germany, was not over nice, committing a thousand knaveries and carrying off all the money of the country, and thus assisted in spreading the Lutheran revolt. (See Balan.^m) Luther, moreover, was altogether too shrewd to commence his assault by basing his case on calumnies; if he used these assertions as arguments it was because they were of common notoriety and could not be confuted; he was not particularly scrupulous in controversy, but in this case he was virtually taking his life in his hands, and it would have been the extreme of folly to depend on lies capable of easy disproof.ⁱ

[¹ Luther is alluding to the story that Tetzel had been condemned to death for seducing a married woman at Ulm, in 1512, but on the intervention of Frederick the Pious, elector and duke of Saxony, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, from which he was later pardoned. Grono in his defence of Tetzel finds the accusation incompatible with Tetzel's high commission, but Lea thinks rather that "no one at that time would have thought of visiting so heavily so trivial an offence."]

LUTHER ROUSES OPPOSITION

On the 31st of October, 1517, Luther affixed to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg ninety-five theses drawn up against the sale of indulgences as practised by Tetzel.

Although in his theses Luther assailed only the Thomist doctrine of indulgences, and did not pass on to many others of the schoolmen, still they produced an effect important in the highest degree, and roused the Dominicans especially to oppose them. The spirit of this order was particularly sensitive by reason of humiliations but lately undergone in the case of Savonarola and Reuchlin; and they considered themselves injured in the persons of St. Thomas and Tetzel at the same time. Tetzel at once assailed Luther with counter theses, for the defence of which he obtained the degree of doctor at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Sylvester Prierias wrote against him with similar zeal. Dr. Johann von Eck, vice-chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, united himself with them, and wrote *Obelisci* against Luther's theses. The tenor and the manner of these attacks could not discourage a Luther; they only kindled him into a noble indignation.

The Dominicans carried their complaints to Rome. Leo X, who regarded the whole matter as a mere monkish wrangle, suffered Luther to be summoned before him; but he was easily induced, out of consideration for Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, whom he wished to bend to his views for the approaching election of the Roman emperor, to commission his cardinal legate Cajetan at Augsburg to bring the new heretic to submission. However, this legate, before whom Luther made his appearance at Augsburg in October, 1518, could subdue the humble monk neither by his kindness nor by his threats. Moreover, the monk appealed, from the pope ill-informed to the pope better-informed; and afterwards, when the whole doctrine of indulgence, as developed down to this time, was confirmed from Rome by a bull, he issued an appeal from the pope to a general council (at Wittenberg, the 28th of November, 1518).

Sympathy with the bold champion had long been expressed only in a tone of fear and deprecation; gradually some few voices ventured to encourage him, especially among the humanists, and his associates and fellow-townsmen at Wittenberg; but in the young Melancthon, who was won over to the Wittenberg school in 1518, he found his most faithful helper in the great work for which he was destined, without as yet knowing it himself. His luminous and edifying works, by means of which he made the subject of controversy intelligible to a larger circle, and contrived to awaken the feelings of the people, with moral and religious addresses in the spirit of Augustine's system, to an inward religion, won for him more and more the hearts of the German nation.

The elector of Saxony was at this time a person of too great importance to the pope, in a political point of view, to be alienated for the sake of an insignificant monk. Leo X sent to him his chamberlain, Karl von Miltitz, with the golden rose, in order to win him over to his views with regard to the election of the Roman emperor, and to come to an understanding with him on the subject of Luther. Miltitz quickly saw upon his entrance into Germany (December, 1518) that nothing could be effected here by force, and so much the less when, on the death of Maximilian I which now followed (January 12th, 1519), the elector of Saxony became regent in northern Germany. He tried with Luther a flattering kindness, and thereby actually obtained, not indeed the recantation he wished for, but still the promise to

[1519 A.D.]

be silent if his enemies kept silent, and to declare openly his obedience to the see of Rome. Under existing circumstances Miltitz thought he might venture to be satisfied with this result in this troublesome matter. He rebuked Johann Tetzel, the real author of the difficulty, at Leipsic, with such sternness for his shameless proceedings that he died [so it was said] of fear. Luther gave the promised declarations, and the matter seemed to be brought to an end.^k

LUTHER BECOMES A HERETIC

The question of indulgences was one that was still open to such university disputations as Luther invited in his theses. It had never been settled authoritatively by the church beyond the bull *Unigenitus* of Clement VI, which, however, covered but part of the ground. So long as Luther's attack upon abuses was confined to this debatable subject, even so keen an enemy of Rome as Hutten saw nothing in it. It was a great sight, he wrote, to watch the monks tearing each other! The humanists cared little about the whole matter.

But an entirely different question arose in 1519, when Luther turned from such fairly safe matter of controversy in theology to the ground of church history and attacked the primacy of the "bishop of Rome." When he did this, Luther was no longer a theologian, he was a rebel against the institution which for a thousand years had administered the sacraments of salvation. This was the crisis; the theses, tentative and faltering, were as nothing compared to it. It was brought about through a sentence Luther let fall in a defence of his thesis, which he sent to the archbishop of Brandenburg. There Luther stated that the primacy of the bishop of Rome had not existed before St. Gregory's time. This weak spot was at once picked out by Dr. Eck, a famous disputant of the time, who had challenged Luther's cause in the person of his friend Carlstadt. Luther had bound himself to Miltitz to remain silent. He now felt himself absolved from the promise by Eck's attack, and set to work to defend his statement. As he studied church history, and found how often the primacy of Rome had been ignored in the early history, he came to the rather unwarranted conclusion that that primacy had not existed before the great age of Hildebrand. This was the decisive moment. All Luther's friends wanted him to refrain from attack on such grounds. Spalatin, who was the intermediary with the elector Frederick, "was in an agony of apprehension."¹ What was the use of this rebellious attitude? How could evils in the selling of indulgences be bettered by unnecessary statements about the pope's early primacy? By entering upon this new field, Luther was making himself a heretic; but, once convinced, nothing could stop him. His own heroic mood was the source of Protestantism. He wrote that though his friends forsook him, as the disciples forsook Christ, "yet Truth left alone will save itself by its own right hand -- not mine, nor yours, nor any man's; but last of all, if I perish, the world will lose nothing."

In this mood he threw down his defiance to the pope, in *De Potestate Papæ*, which contained his point of view for the disputation. The pope's power was not rooted in divine right, he said, but should be accepted as a matter of expediency. It was, therefore, only valid in so far as it justified itself. The church was not the sacerdotal framework of the sacraments, but the "ecclesia" was the faithful; faith would bring all the rest -- keys, sacraments, and power. "Last of all, I say that I do not know whether the

¹ Charles Beard: *Life of Martin Luther*.

Christian faith can bear it, that there should be any other head of the universal church on earth than Christ himself."

When Luther went to Leipsic to uphold such views against Eck, he was going to the university which had been founded by those who fled from the contamination of John Huss at Prague. The memory of the Hussite wars was still fresh in men's minds; and the terror of the rumbling wagons of Procopius had not yet died out. To go into such a city and openly proclaim such doctrines was certainly the act of a brave man, whatever one may think of his conclusions. But the students of Wittenberg did not propose to let their professor suffer violence. A hundred of them escorted his carriage, armed, and with all the state they could display. The cavalcade that entered Leipsic was sufficiently imposing to ensure as fair a trial as possible. Eck was a skilful debater. The other points in dispute, questions of grace and the Augustinian doctrines of free-will, were comparatively unimportant. The primacy of the pope was the main point. Eck managed to bring Luther to a declaration that several of Huss' doctrines had been unjustly condemned, then that the council of Constance had erred. This was sufficient. Luther was clearly a heretic. He had already denied the final authority of the pope. Now he was driven to refuse that authority to a general council. What was left but individual judgment and its interpretation of divine revelation? Luther stood confessed an anarchist in the church-state. Eck had all he wanted. He went to Rome for the bull of excommunication, while Luther went back to Wittenberg to write against "the Babylonian Captivity of the church," and to appeal to the "Christian nobility of the German nation" (June, 1520) — a trumpet blast of war.

The "Address to the German Nobility" summarises the evils which Germany has suffered through Roman interference. It points out the economic distress that had come through extortions of the papacy for the maintenance of the splendour of the pontifical court. It lashes the misgovernment of bishops with sinecures or pluralities, the arrogance and wealth of the cardinals. It appeals for the abolition of all the economic claims of Rome which, as he saw them, were responsible for so much misery. This stinging attack was not couched in elegant humanistic Latin, but written in plain German. No such work had ever appeared in Europe before. The "Babylonian Captivity" (October, 1520) was, on the contrary, in Latin, though like all of Luther's works soon translated. It rejected the sacramental system and transubstantiation. Only baptism and the Lord's Supper remained true sacraments in Luther's eyes, and as to the latter the presence of Christ was in the bread as fire in hot iron — the substance did not change. The great revolt was now begun. It remained to check it or watch the overthrow of the church in Germany. Luther felt himself summoned as the soldier of God to war against the wiles and deceit of the devil, by which the church was corrupted; and together with this character, which he maintained immovably, he assumed the unconquerable courage, the rocklike trustfulness, and the cheerful confidence with which he steadfastly pursued his aim from this time forth through every danger.

LUTHER DEFIES EXCOMMUNICATION, AND PROCEEDS TO WORMS (1521 A.D.)

As soon as the election of Charles V to the empire was decided by the influence of Frederick the Wise, counteracting the pope's wishes (June 28th, 1519), the curia had no motives of interest to withhold it from proceeding in Luther's case. Accordingly, when Eck betook himself to Rome in 1520, to

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carry on his work with the help of the Dominicans, Luther might certainly foresee a sentence of excommunication. However, Frederick the Wise, supported also by Erasmus' opinion, remained determined to protect the most revered teacher of his rising university against unjust violence. But Luther had already found in other parts of his German fatherland most determined friends; several knights offered him refuge and protection against persecution. Thus he was possessed of the outward means for expressing in his works his present acquaintance with the state of the church and its relation to Christian truth. This he did with the most unrestrained boldness in the work, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung* (June, 1520), with reference to the external constitution of the church, and in the *Præludium de Captivitate babylonica Ecclesiæ* (October, 1520), with reference to the Catholic doctrine of sacraments.

The bull of condemnation against Luther, which was prepared in Rome on the 15th of June, 1520, appeared yet more the organ of personal hatred, from the fact that Dr. Eck was entrusted with the publication of it, and arbitrarily extended its application to several of Luther's friends, distinguished by name. In Germany the bull was received with an almost universal antipathy, in some places with resistance. Luther declared it a work of anti-christ, renewed his appeal to a general council, and at length, on the 10th of December, 1520, formally abjured the papal see, and at the same time publicly burned the bull, together with the books of the papal law.

A fresh bull of the 3rd of January, 1521, pronounced upon Luther and his adherents sentence of excommunication, with all the penalties enforced against heretics, and of interdict upon their place of residence; the papal legate Alexandro, at the diet of Worms, called in the secular arm to the execution of the decree. But so greatly were circumstances altered by the prevailing excitement, that the diet determined first to hear the men condemned by the pope, and at the same time drew up 101 grievances against the Roman see. Luther proceeded with the emperor's safe conduct to Worms, welcomed everywhere on the way with great respect and sympathy; here he testified before the emperor and the empire, April 18th, 1521, that he could not recant. His courage made a deep impression; but the existing constitution was too powerful; after he had been dismissed in safety, the ban of the empire was passed against him and his adherents on the 26th of May.

LUTHER AT THE WARTBURG (1521-1522 A.D.)

In order to protect him therefrom, the elector had him seized on his return home, and secretly conveyed to the castle of the Wartburg.^b

Removed from the world and from public intercourse with men; protected from the pursuit of his enemies and the menacing consequences of the ban of the empire, he there under the name of Junker Görg (Younker George) passed ten months, during which he was busied incessantly with the great work of church reform. The governor of the castle with the feelings and sympathy of a friend looked after his maintenance most conscientiously, while at the same time he anxiously endeavoured to prevent his residence there from being discovered and so becoming known to the outside world. Luther was consequently obliged to present an appearance in accordance with the name and rank he had assumed. "I have laid aside the habit of a monk and put on the attire of a knight, and let my beard and hair grow, so that you would scarcely recognise me: in fact I no longer recognise myself." Thus wrote Luther to Spalatin in the same letter in which he informs him of the

experiences and adventures on his homeward journey, and in a letter of the 26th of May to Melanchthon we read: "I have no more to write, for I am a hermit, an anchorite, a real monk, but not with the tonsure or habit of one; I should appear before you as a knight and you would hardly recognise me." Two pages were deputed to serve him; with these exceptions nobody saw him during the first months of his concealment; and even later on he had seldom



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intercourse with anyone else. On the other hand, he was soon allowed to correspond with his friends, but it appears that the governor at first carefully scrutinised this correspondence. A letter to Amsdorf of the 12th of May contains the following communication, "that he had already lately written to his friends in Wittenberg but had listened to better advice, and torn up all letters, as it had not been safe as yet to write"; and in a later letter to Spalatin we read: "I have scarcely been able to manage to send this letter, because there is so much fear that the public will get to know where I am. Therefore if you think this may be to the honour of Christ let it remain or become doubtful whether friend or foe has me in charge, and keep silence, for it is not necessary that anybody but yourself and Amsdorf should know more than that I am still living."

In all his letters Luther avoids mentioning his real abode. He writes "out of my desert; out of my hermitage; on the mountain; in the air-preserves; in the region of the birds; amongst the birds who sing on all the trees most sweetly and praise God day and night with all their might." Most of the letters, however, are dated from his "hermitage" or from "Patmos," the name which he preferred later on to give to the Wartburg. Once he tried to deceive his adversaries by a trick as to

his concealed place of abode. In a letter to Spalatin he enclosed another which his friend was to lose with intentional carelessness so that it might fall into the hands of his opponents. He particularly wished it to get into the hands of Duke George in Dresden, for the latter would be certain to delight in revealing and publishing the secret.

Luther's sudden disappearance had certainly excited much anxiety and astonishment. Many of his supporters were greatly afraid that his crafty opponents had made away with him; others, however, hoped and wished that he was being concealed by friends. There was in Eisenach, where all sorts of things were told of Luther, a firm belief and report that he had been made a prisoner by friends from Franconia. On the other hand, his enemies and persecutors were soon seized with fear and anxiety lest the excitement of the

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people against them should become still more dangerous and violent, and they wished him back again in public life."^a

LUTHER'S POWER INCREASES

Meanwhile the execution of the sentence of annihilation was crippled by the war in which the emperor was immediately afterwards entangled with France. Only in the dominions of the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, the elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Bavaria, Duke George of Saxony, and certain ecclesiastical princes was the Edict of Worms carried into execution, so as to furnish martyrs for the new doctrine, and thereby increase the enthusiasm in its favour. In the rest of the German dominions the edict was not observed, partly because the princes were favourably inclined to Luther's cause, partly because they were withheld through fear of rebellion. At Wittenberg the alteration of the constitution of the church according to the new principles was forthwith commenced, and Melancthon supplied the new church with the first systematic statement of its doctrines.

It was no cause for wonder that the new and unaccustomed freedom made many men giddy. In Wittenberg a party had existed since the beginning of December, which wished, like the Taborites, to restore suddenly and by force the original simplicity of divine worship. A body of students and townsmen began to hinder the celebration of mass and the chanting of hours, and threatened the barefooted friars. Only the reformer himself, in whom discretion, enthusiasm, and energy were united in such an extraordinary manner, could protect his work from sinking into an empty fanaticism. He suddenly came forth from his concealment in March, 1522; his powerful preaching scared the false prophets, and quieted men's minds. Soon after, he offered to his German fatherland the precious fruit that had grown in his retirement at the Wartburg, his translation of the New Testament, which furnished every man of the people with the means of becoming certain of his faith, and of being able to give a reason for it.

Adrian VI, a pious and earnest man, who mounted the papal throne after Leo X (1522), thought that, the more sincerely he acknowledged and promised to redress the errors which had crept into the external constitution of the church, so much the more decidedly he might venture to claim the execution of the existing law of heresy against Luther's doctrinal errors. But the public declarations which he caused to be made with this end in view, at the diet of Nuremberg (December, 1522), produced no other effect than a fresh and importunate claim for the redress of the grievances of the German nation already repeated so often before. In return for the earliest efforts for reform at Rome, Adrian VI was rewarded with hatred, resistance, and an early death (September 14th, 1523). His successor, Clement VII, immediately returned to the old papal course, and demanded by his cardinal-legate Campeggio, at the diet of Nuremberg (January, 1524), the unconditional suppression of heresy. The legate obtained only an unsatisfactory decree to observe as far as possible the Edict of Worms.^b

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

Meanwhile a political ferment, very different from that produced by the Gospel, had long been at work in the empire. The people, bowed down by civil and ecclesiastical oppression, bound in many countries to the seigniorial

estates, and transferred from hand to hand along with them, threatened to rise with fury and at last to break their chains. This agitation had shown itself long before the Reformation by many symptoms, and even then the religious element was blended with the political; in the sixteenth century it was impossible to separate these two principles, so closely associated in the existence of nations. In Holland, at the close of the preceding century, the peasants had revolted, placing on their banners, by way of arms, a loaf and a cheese, the two great blessings of these poor people. "The alliance of the shoes" had shown itself in the neighbourhood of Speier in 1502. In 1513 it appeared again in Breisgau, being encouraged by the priests. In 1514 Würtemberg had seen the "league of Poor Conrad," whose aim was to maintain by rebellion "the right of God." In 1515 Carinthia and Hungary had been the theatre of terrible agitations. These seditions had been quenched in torrents of blood; but no relief had been accorded to the people. A political reform, therefore, was not less necessary than a religious reform. The people were entitled to this; but we must acknowledge that they were not ripe for its enjoyment.

Since the commencement of the Reformation, these popular disturbances had not been renewed; men's minds were occupied by other thoughts. Luther, whose piercing glance had discerned the condition of the people, had already from the summit of the Wartburg addressed them in serious exhortations calculated to restrain their agitated minds: "Rebellion," he had said, "never produces the amelioration we desire, and God condemns it. What is it to rebel, if it be not to avenge oneself? The devil is striving to excite to revolt those who embrace the Gospel, in order to cover it with opprobrium; but those who have rightly understood my doctrine do not revolt."

Everything gave cause to fear that the popular agitation could not be restrained much longer. The government that Frederick of Saxony had taken such pains to form, and which possessed the confidence of the nation, was dissolved. The emperor, whose energy might have been an efficient substitute for the influence of this national administration, was absent; the princes, whose union had always constituted the strength of Germany, were divided; and the new declarations of Charles V against Luther, by removing every hope of future harmony, deprived the reformer of part of the moral influence by which in 1522 he had succeeded in calming the storm. The chief barriers that had hitherto confined the torrent being broken, nothing could any longer restrain its fury.

It was not the religious movement that gave birth to political agitations; but in many places it was carried away by their impetuous waves. Perhaps we should even go farther, and acknowledge that the movement communicated to the people by the Reformation gave fresh strength to the discontent fermenting in the nation. The violence of Luther's writings, the intrepidity of his actions and language, the harsh truths that he spoke, not only to the pope and prelates, but also to the princes themselves, must all have contributed to inflame minds that were already in a state of excitement. Accordingly, Erasmus did not fail to tell him: "We are now reaping the fruits that you have sown." The multitude, seeing their desires checked in one direction, gave vent to them in another. "Why," said they, "should slavery be perpetuated in the state, while the church invites all men to a glorious liberty? Why should governments rule only by force, when the Gospel preaches nothing but gentleness?" Unhappily, at a time when the religious reform was received with equal joy both by princes and people, the political reform, on the contrary, had the most powerful part of the nation against it; and while

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the former had the Gospel for its rule and support, the latter had soon no other principles than violence and despotism.

Luther, who had rejected the warlike enterprises of Sickengen, could not be led away by the tumultuous movements of the peasantry. He ever firmly maintained the distinction between secular and spiritual things; he continually repeated that it was immortal souls which Christ emancipated by his Word; and if, with one hand, he attacked the authority of the church, with the other he upheld with equal power the authority of princes. "A Christian," said he, "should endure a hundred deaths, rather than meddle in the slightest degree with the revolt of the peasants." He wrote to the elector: "It causes me especial joy that these enthusiasts themselves boast, to all who are willing to listen to them, that they do not belong to us. The Spirit urges them on, say they; and I reply, it is an evil spirit, for he bears no other fruit than the pillage of convents and churches; the greatest highway robbers upon earth might do as much."

The insurrection began in the Black Forest, and near the sources of the Danube, so frequently the theatre of popular commotions. On the 19th of July, 1524, some peasants of Thurgau rose against the abbot of Reichenau, who would not accord them an evangelical preacher. Ere long thousands were collected round the small town of Tengen, to liberate an ecclesiastic who was there imprisoned. The revolt spread with inconceivable rapidity from Swabia as far as the Rhenish provinces, Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. In the month of January, 1525, all these countries were in a state of rebellion.

About the end of this month, the peasants published a declaration in twelve articles, in which they claimed the liberty of choosing their own pastors, the abolition of small tithes, of slavery, and of fines on inheritance, the right to hunt, fish, and cut wood, etc. Each demand was backed by a passage from holy writ, and they said in conclusion, "If we are deceived, let Luther correct us by Scripture."

The opinions of the Wittenberg divines were consulted. Luther and Melancthon¹ delivered theirs separately, and they both gave evidence of the difference of their characters. Melancthon, who thought every kind of disturbance a crime, oversteps the limits of his usual gentleness, and cannot find language strong enough to express his indignation. The peasants are criminals, against whom he invokes all laws human and divine. If friendly negotiation is unavailing, the magistrates should hunt them down, as if they were robbers and assassins. "And yet," adds he (and we require at least one feature to remind us of Melancthon), "let them take pity on the orphans when having recourse to the penalty of death!" Luther's opinion of the revolt was the same as Melancthon's; but he had a heart that beat

[¹ Philip Melancthon (Philip Schwarzerd was his German name), a native of Bretten, in the Rhenish palatinate, was born 16th February, 1497. He was the son of an armourer, called "the locksmith of Heidelberg." Melancthon was not only profound and thorough in his studies, but also many-sided. With his extraordinary natural gifts, and in the condition in which science then was, he found it possible to embrace, in the circuit of his learning, the several faculties of medicine, law, and theology. His decided preference was always for the latter, although he never became an ecclesiastic. In this respect Melancthon forms a connecting link between Erasmus and Luther. He exhibits a more decided theological tendency than the one, and possesses, on the other hand, a wider culture and greater elegance of style than the other. Erasmus himself highly esteemed the learning of Melancthon, and publicly testified his appreciation of it. "Immortal God," he exclaims with reference to the youth who had excited his admiration, "what promise is there in this young man, this *boy*! His attainments in both literatures are equally valuable. What ingenuity and acumen, what parity of language, what beauty of expression, what a memory for the most unfamiliar things, what a wide extent of reading!"—HAGENBACH, c]

for the miseries of the people. On this occasion he manifested a dignified impartiality, and spoke the truth frankly to both parties.

But the revolt, instead of dying away, became more formidable. At Weinsberg, Count Ludwig of Helfenstein and the seventy men under his orders were condemned to death by the rebels. A body of peasants drew up with their pikes lowered, whilst others drove the count and his soldiers against this wall of steel. The wife of the wretched Helfenstein, a natural daughter of the emperor Maximilian, holding an infant two years old in her arms, knelt before them, and with loud cries begged for her husband's life, and vainly endeavoured to arrest this march of murder; a boy who had been in the count's service, and had joined the rebels, capered gaily before him, and played the dead march upon his fife, as if he had been leading his victims in a dance. All perished; the child was wounded in its mother's arms, and she herself thrown upon a dung-cart, and thus conveyed to Heilbrunn.

At the news of these cruelties, a cry of horror was heard from the friends of the Reformation, and Luther's feeling heart underwent a terrible conflict. On the one hand the peasants, ridiculing his advice, pretended to receive revelations from heaven, made an impious use of the threatenings of the Old Testament, proclaimed an equality of ranks and a community of goods, defended their cause with fire and sword, and indulged in barbarous atrocities. On the other hand, the enemies of the Reformation asked the reformer, with a malicious sneer, if he did not know that it was easier to kindle a fire than to extinguish it. Shocked at these excesses, alarmed at the thought that they might check the progress of the Gospel, Luther hesitated no longer, no longer temporised; he inveighed against the insurgents with all the energy of his character.

Neither gentleness nor violence could arrest the popular torrent. The church-bells were no longer rung for divine service; whenever their deep and prolonged sounds were heard in the fields, it was the tocsin, and all ran to arms. The people of the Black Forest had rallied round Johann Müller of Bulgenbach. With an imposing aspect, covered with a red cloak, and wearing a red cap, this leader boldly advanced from village to village followed by the peasantry. Behind him, on a wagon decorated with ribands and branches of trees, was raised the tricolour flag, black, red, and white — the signal of revolt. A herald, dressed in the same colours, read the twelve articles, and invited the people to join in the rebellion. Whoever refused was banished from the community.

Ere long this march, which at first was peaceable, became more disquieting. "We must compel the lords to submit to our alliance," exclaimed they. And to induce them to do so, they plundered the granaries, emptied the cellars, drew the seigniorial fish-ponds, demolished the castles of the nobles who resisted, and burned the convents. Opposition had inflamed the passions of those rude men; equality no longer satisfied them; they thirsted for blood, and swore to put to death every man who wore a spur.

At the approach of the peasants, the cities that were unable to resist them opened their gates and joined them. In whatever place they entered, they pulled down the images and broke the crucifixes; armed women paraded the streets and threatened the monks. If they were defeated in one quarter, they assembled again in another, and braved the most formidable forces. A committee of peasants was established at Heilbrunn. The counts of Löwenstein were taken prisoners, dressed in smock-frocks, and then, a white staff having been placed in their hands, they were compelled to swear to the twelve articles. "Brother George, and thou, brother Albert," said a tinker of Öhringen to the

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counts of Hohenlohe, who had gone to their camp, "swear to conduct yourselves as our brethren; for you also are now peasants; you are no longer lords." Equality of rank, the dream of many democrats, was established in aristocratic Germany.

Many nobles, some through fear, others from ambition, then joined the insurgents. The famous Götz von Berlichingen, finding his vassals refuse to obey him, desired to flee to the elector of Saxony; but his wife, who was lying-in, wishing to keep him near her, concealed the elector's answer. Götz, being closely pursued, was compelled to put himself at the head of the rebel army. On the 7th of May the peasants entered Würzburg, where the citizens received them with acclamations. The forces of the princes and knights of Swabia and Franconia, which had assembled in this city, evacuated it, and retired in confusion to the citadel, the last bulwark of the nobility.

But the movement had already extended to other parts of Germany. Speier, the Palatinate, Alsace, and Hesse accepted the twelve articles, and the peasants threatened Bavaria, Westphalia, the Tyrol, Saxony, and Lorraine. The markgraf of Baden, having rejected the articles, was compelled to flee. The coadjutor of Fulda acceded to them with a smile. The smaller towns said they had no lances with which to oppose the insurgents. Mainz, Treves, and Frankfurt obtained the liberties which they had claimed.

An immense revolution was preparing in all the empire. The ecclesiastical and secular privileges, that bore so heavily on the peasants, were to be suppressed; the possessions of the clergy were to be secularised, to indemnify the princes and provide for the wants of the empire; taxes were to be abolished, with the exception of a tribute payable every ten years; the imperial power was to subsist alone, as being recognised by the New Testament; all the other princes were to cease to reign; sixty-four free tribunals were to be established, in which men of all classes should have a seat; all ranks were to return to their primitive condition; the clergy were to be henceforward merely the pastors of the churches; princes and knights were to be simply the defenders of the weak; uniformity in weights and measures was to be introduced, and only one kind of money was to be coined throughout the empire.

Meanwhile the princes had shaken off their first lethargy, and George Truchsess von Waldburg, commander-in-chief of the imperial army, was advancing on the side of the Lake of Constance. On the 2nd of May he defeated the peasants at Beblingen, marched on the town of Weinsberg, where the unhappy count of Helfenstein had perished, burned and rased it to the ground, giving orders that the ruins should be left as an eternal monument of the treason of its inhabitants. At Fürfeld he united with the elector palatine and the elector of Treves, and all three moved towards Franconia.

The Frauenburg, the citadel of Würzburg, held out for the princes, and the main army of the peasants still lay before its walls. As soon as they heard of Waldburg's march, they resolved on an assault, and at nine o'clock at night, on the 15th of May, the trumpets sounded, the tricolour flag was unfurled, and the peasants rushed to the attack with horrible shouts. Sebastian von Rotenhan, one of the warmest partisans of the Reformation, was governor of the castle. He had put the fortress in a formidable state of defence, and having exhorted the garrison to repel the assault with courage, the soldiers, holding up three fingers, had all sworn to do so. A most terrible conflict then took place. To the vigour and despair of the insurgents the fortress replied from its walls and towers by petards, showers of sulphur and boiling pitch, and the discharges of artillery. The peasants, thus struck by their unseen enemies, were staggered for a moment; but in an instant their fury grew more

violent. The struggle was prolonged as the night advanced. The fortress, lit up by a thousand battle-fires, appeared in the darkness like a towering giant, who, vomiting flames, struggled alone amidst the roar of thunder for the salvation of the empire against the ferocious valour of these furious hordes. Two hours after midnight the peasants withdrew, having failed in all their efforts.

They now tried to enter into negotiations, either with the garrison or with the truchsess, who was advancing at the head of his army. But this was going out of their path; violence and victory alone could save them. After some little hesitation, they resolved to march against the imperial forces, but the cavalry and artillery made terrible havoc in their ranks. At Königshofen, and afterwards at Engelstadt, those unfortunate creatures were totally defeated. The prisoners were hanged on the trees by the wayside. The bishop of Würzburg, who had run away, now returned, and traversed his diocese accompanied by executioners. Götz von Berlichingen was sentenced to imprisonment for life. The markgraf Kasimir of Ansbach put out the eyes of eighty-five insurgents, who had sworn that their eyes should never look upon that prince again; and cast this troop of blinded individuals upon the world. The wretched boy who had played the dead march on his fife at the murder of Helfenstein was chained to a post; a fire was kindled around him, and the knights looked on laughing at his horrible contortions.

Public worship was everywhere restored in its ancient forms. The most flourishing and populous districts of the empire exhibited to those who travelled through them nothing but heaps of dead bodies and smoking ruins. Fifty thousand men had perished, and the people lost nearly everywhere the little liberty they had hitherto enjoyed. Such was the horrible termination of this revolt in the south of Germany.²

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE

Let us now turn from theological and politico-social disputes to a more peaceful picture—namely, that of the family. Luther's form here appears invested with an entirely new greatness. The quondam monk is revealed to view as a house father and house priest, as the founder of the German parsonage. In June, 1525, amid the storms of the sacramental controversy and the Peasant War, Luther was married to Katharine von Bora. Katharine von Bora (Bore) belonged to the ancient and noble family of the Von Hugewitzes, and in early youth was placed in the noble Cistercian nunnery of Minptsehen, not far from Grimma, in Saxony. On the night of Good Friday, April 4th, 1523, Katharine, and eight other young ladies, to all of whom the veil had grown too burdensome, were, not without the knowledge of Luther, abducted from their convent by Leonard Koppe, a burgher of Torgau, assisted by a few of his friends. From Torgau the fugitives proceeded to Wittenberg, where Luther provided for their accommodation. Katharine was received into the house of Philip Reichenbach, the burgomaster. Luther had at first so little intention of marrying her as to take all possible pains to find her a worthy husband. A wooer soon announced himself in the person of Henry Baumgärtner, a patrician of Nuremberg. This individual, however, changed his mind in the sequel; and Luther, after having fruitlessly admonished him that he must make haste if he wished to marry Fräulein von Bora, as another suitor had presented himself in the interval, proposed for her hand, through his friend Amsdorf, in behalf of one Glatz, a preacher of Orlamünde, who had signified his desire to make Katharine his wife. But the lady, with perfect

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frankness, declared that she could not make up her mind to bestow her heart and hand upon any save Nicholas Amsdorf or Luther himself. The latter, who a year previous to this, in 1524, had laid aside his monkish habit, thereby plainly declaring his absolution from the vow of celibacy, took the matter into consideration and prayed over it. Having, in his own conscience, become firmly convinced of the propriety of the step which he contemplated, he proceeded without delay to its execution. On the Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, June 13th, 1525, accompanied by his friends, Dr. Bugenhagen, the painter Lucas Kranach, and a jurisconsult named Apelles, he repaired to Reichenbach's house and there solicited the hand of Katharine in marriage. She at first regarded his petition as a jest, but speedily betrayed the earnestness of her own desire. Friend Bugenhagen then joined the hands of the contracting parties, and thus accomplished the betrothal at once. A fortnight afterwards Luther gave a marriage entertainment, at which his parents were present.¹ The town councillor of Wittenberg sent him a wedding gift of fourteen measures of different kinds of wine, among which were Malvoisie and Rhine wine. Katharine was twenty-six years of age at this time, and Luther forty-two. Judging from her portrait by Lucas Kranach (to be found, together with that of Luther, in the Museum of Bâle), her face must have been not exactly handsome, but cheerful, prepossessing, and good-humoured. She impresses one as a good German wife and housekeeper.

Notwithstanding Luther's small income he was exceedingly hospitable and beneficent. He kept a free table for poor students. His house was open to all who were oppressed, to every stranger as well as to every friend. He not only frequently recommended poor persons to the elector, or to other beneficent individuals, but he also himself set an example in affording them aid. Upon one occasion when a poor man sought his presence and complained of his destitution, Luther's ready money was exhausted, and his wife was confined to her bed. Not willing, however, to dismiss the man without relieving his wants, the Reformer procured him some money which had been presented to his children by their god-parents, and gave this to the poor fellow. To his wife, who looked somewhat grave when she discovered what her husband had done, he said, "Dear Kate, God is rich, He will give us some more." Wherever he could dry tears, cause joy, create happy faces around him, he did so, and did so for the most part in secret, without regard for reward or thanks. As he was driving once with Doctor Jonas and a few other friends, Luther gave an alms and Jonas did the same. "Who knows," said the latter, "when God will return me this!" But Luther laughed heartily at him, saying, "As if God did not give it to you at the first! We ought to give freely, simply, of pure love, willingly."

This anecdote leads us to Luther's circle of friends, concerning one of whom we must say a few words more. Melancthon was married before Luther, in November, 1520. The name of his wife also was Katharine. She was a daughter of the burgomaster Jerome Krapp, and was born in the same year with her husband. His wedding day was the only day when the con-

[¹ Melancthon expressed himself concerning Luther's marriage in a confidential letter which shows respect neither for Luther nor for Katharine von Bore. He puts the chief blame for the marriage on the escaped nun who was living with Luther. "Luther," he wrote to Camerac, "is an exceedingly light-minded (*leichtfertig*) man, and the nuns have pursued him with all sorts of deceits. At the same time the frequent living with nuns has weakened him, although he is a strong man." Thereby he believes that Luther has fallen into an "inopportune change of life." He hopes, however, that marriage will make him more moral. The letter, in Melancthon's text, is given in the *Sitzungsberichten der münchener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1876, 601-604.—JANSSEN.]

scientious teacher permitted himself to intermit his lectures. His wife is described as simple in her manners, pious, and charitable. Housekeeping cares were often a heavy burden to the professor, on account of his inadequate salary. The good couple frequently deprived themselves of the most necessary articles, in order that they might be able to help the poverty-stricken ones who daily applied to them. The happy father was warmly attached to his children, of whom he had four — two sons and two daughters. Upon one occasion, when a French savant visited the famous "teacher of Germany," he found him with a book in one hand, while he rocked the cradle with the other. In hours of spiritual conflict, he, like Luther, found comfort in his children.

Passing from this glimpse of the quiet domestic life of the Reformers, we must direct our eyes once more toward the field of conflict, again fixing our attention on the cause with which they were occupied.^e

RELIGIOUS LEAGUES AND THE DIET OF SPIRES (1526 A.D.)

By this time several states of Germany, determined to resist the progress of the new opinions, had constituted a religious league. Their example was soon followed by negotiations of John the elector of Saxony, and the landgraf Philip of Hesse — two of the most powerful princes of the empire, and alike devoted to the cause of reformation. The treaty into which they entered is commonly called the League of Torgau, where it was ratified, May 4th, 1526, although in truth concluded at Gotha in the previous February. Other princes, more particularly those of lower Germany, united in the compact, and on the 12th of June they all agreed at Magdeburg to stand by each other with their utmost might, in case they were violently assaulted "on account of the Word of God or the removal of abuses." In this temper they proceeded to the diet of Speier [also Spires or Speyer], which opened a few days afterwards (June 25th) with fresh discussions on the state and prospects of the German church.

But the resolutions of the empire were again defeated by the obstinate adherence of Charles V to the established usages of Christendom. His failure to comply with the predominating wishes of this diet destroyed, perhaps forever, the religious unity of the German states. The emperor had been entangled on the one side in a quarrel with Clement VII, which terminated in the storming of Rome (May 6th, 1527), and the surrender of the pontiff.¹ On the other side, the fall of Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in his efforts to withstand the armies of the mighty Ottoman at Mohács (August 29th, 1526), diverted the attention of the archduke Ferdinand (brother and representative of Charles). The months consumed in gaining his objects proved a breathing-time to the reformers.

NEW DIET OF SPEIER (1529 A.D.) AND THE NAME "PROTESTANTS"

But the storms of war passed over, leaving Charles and Ferdinand at liberty again to vindicate the old opinions. A fresh diet was convoked at Speier, for March 15th, 1529. On this occasion the imperial message, breath-

¹ The state of feeling in the army is illustrated by the following from von Ranke: "Soldiers dressed as cardinals, with one in the midst bearing the triple crown on his head and personating the pope, rode in solemn procession through the city, surrounded by guards and heralds; they halted before the castle of St. Angelo, where the mock pope, flourishing a huge drinking-glass, gave the cardinals his benediction; they even held a consistory, and promised in future to be more faithful servants of the Roman Empire: the papal crown they meant to bestow on Luther."

[1529 A.D.]

ing anger and intolerance, added to the flames already burning among the adversaries of the Reformation, and impelled them to resume more vigorous measures. After a sharp struggle the pacific edict of the former diet of Speier (1526), by virtue of which important changes had been consummated in numerous provinces of Germany, was absolutely repealed (April 5th); and the reformers, pleading that such revocation violated both the laws of the empire and the sacred rights of conscience, fearlessly drew up the document¹ which has obtained for them and their posterity the name of *Protestants* (April 19th). The resolution which they manifested at this crisis was indeed remarkable, sufficient even to convince the ministers of Charles V that nothing but the convocation of some free council in Germany itself was likely to compose the multiplying discords.

The force, however, of such protests was materially abated by contentions in the camp of the reformers. The alienation that grew up between the Saxon theologians (of northern and middle Germany) and the Swiss (including also parts of southern Germany) was peculiarly apparent when the landgraf Philip of Hesse, anxious either to confirm his own belief respecting the Eucharist, or to strengthen the defences of the Reformation in its threatened conflict with the emperor, secured a meeting of the Protestant chiefs at Marburg (October 1st, 1529).



ERASMUS

CONFERENCE OF MARBURG (1529 A.D.)

These "princes of the Word," as a contemporary poet calls them, included Luther, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Zwingli, Melancthon, Schneck, Brenz, Hedio, Osiander, Justus Jonas, Myconius, Johannes Sturm (of Strasburg), and others. Zwingli cleared himself from the suspicions which hung over his orthodoxy respecting the Divinity of Jesus Christ; he also professed his agreement with the Wittenbergers on original sin and the effects of baptism. It was otherwise when the theologians entered on the fifteenth article of the series before them, that relating to the Eucharist. Both parties felt the difference to be fundamental, and they separated, not indeed without assurances of mutual charity, but with a firm conviction that their principles would not allow them to work together.

This fruitless conference is on other grounds remarkable, as giving birth to the first series of dogmatic definitions (fifteen in number), on which the Articles and other symbolical writings of the Lutherans were generally

¹ It proceeded from the elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the landgraf of Hesse, and the count of Anhalt. Fourteen of the cities also joined in this protest. In answering the argument of the imperial party with respect to the interpretation of the Bible, they contended that, so long as the church itself was the subject of dispute, the best method of expounding hard texts of Scripture was to call in the help of clearer passages.

modelled. Subscription to the series, as revised and augmented at the convent of Schwabach (October 16th, 1529), was made an indispensable condition of membership in the reforming league.¹

THE TREND OF POLITICAL EVENTS; THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

During this time the emperor Charles had not been without occupation abroad. He had proceeded from the diet in Worms to the Netherlands and thence revisited Spain, where he remained nearly eight years; his penetrating glance embraced the whole of Europe. His immediate attention, however, was more especially directed to the movements of Francis, king of France, who, as a dangerous neighbour and rival, availed himself of every opportunity to gain some advantage over him. The story of the rivalry of the two monarchs has been told in our histories of Spain and France, and need not be repeated here. After the final humiliation of Francis, in 1529, Charles was prepared to make his first visit to his Italian states.^a He landed in August, 1529, in Genoa, and continued his progress on to Bologna with the pomp worthy of an emperor. Here he had appointed a meeting with Pope Clement, which took place in great solemnity. The former enmity was altogether forgotten; the emperor, following the example of his ancestors, dropped on his knee and kissed the foot of the holy father, and the latter solemnly crowned him emperor and king of Lombardy.

Thus was celebrated the coronation of the greatest and most powerful monarch who had borne the crown since Charlemagne, and who was, likewise, the last emperor to visit Italy. Charles appeared now to the Italians, who had only known him hitherto as a prince to be dreaded, in the character of a mild and noble ruler, and their fear was changed into the most sincere veneration. The emperor would not even retain Milan for himself, but, before he left Italy, restored it into the hands of Francesco Sforza, who received it as a fief of the empire.

In the following year, 1530, the grand diet was held in Augsburg, to which the emperor himself repaired from Italy as he had announced. Even before he arrived, he was met on the road by several deputies from both parties, who sought to gain his preference; he referred them, however, to the approaching diet itself, without declaring his sentiments on the subject. On the 22nd of June, in the evening, he made his entry into the city with great pomp, surrounded by the numerous electoral and other princes and nobles. No longer now the young and inexperienced prince, as when ten years before he first appeared in Germany, the emperor at this moment stood unrivalled by any contemporary monarch, unsurpassed by his predecessors since the dominion of the great Charlemagne, and admired universally for his distinguished qualities. In Francis I of France he had humbled one of the most haughty and ambitious of his foreign enemies, and Rome itself had not been able to withstand his mighty power. His noble figure and dignified carriage produced their imposing effect upon all — whether friends or foes — who approached his presence. Melancthon, who had come to Augsburg in the suite of the elector of Saxony, thus expresses himself in a confidential letter upon the subject of the emperor: "But the individual most worthy of remark in this assembly is certainly the emperor himself. His uninterrupted success has no doubt excited wonder even in your country; but far more to be admired is his great moderation, amidst all this good fortune, which seems to come at his bidding, for neither by action nor word does he indicate in the slightest degree the effect it may have upon his feelings."

[1530 A.D.]

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530 A.D.)

In spite, however, of the veneration with which the emperor's personal character was regarded, the preponderance of his own power, and that of the Catholic princes generally, the Protestant princes, who were all present, maintained their ground of opposition with so much determination and firmness that they succeeded in effecting their object even in matters of merely external ceremonies of worship, and obliged him to revoke several of his edicts. Thus when he had ordered that all the princes present should join in the celebration of the festival of Corpus-Christi-day (the day after his arrival), the whole number of German princes, mounting their horses at dawn of day, proceeded in solemn state to the palace, where, demanding an audience of the emperor, they firmly declared they would not attend; and he found it expedient to abandon his purpose. With equal resolution they protested against the ordinance prohibiting their clergy from preaching in Augsburg, and withdrew only after he had revoked it and substituted another, in which he ordered that no sermon should be preached on either side, and that on Sundays the gospel and epistles alone should be read.

At the head of the rest of the Protestant princes was John, elector of Saxony, a man whose remarkable zeal and firmness in the cause of reform acquired for him the surname by which posterity has distinguished him. When even threatened by the emperor with his refusal to invest him with the enfeoffment of the electorate of Saxony, as yet not conferred, he still maintained his position. This prince possessed a simple but resolute mind, which, when once under the influence of conviction, was impressed by no fear, regardless of no sacrifice. At the same time, he did not conceal from himself the fact that with his inferior power it must be impossible for him to contend against the mighty and preponderating force of the emperor; but the question he put to himself was whether he should renounce "the almighty power of God or the world;" the answer to which removed all doubt from his mind and heart. He was likewise much encouraged and confirmed in his conviction by the letters of Luther, who, on account of the ban still in force against him, was able to proceed only as far as Coburg, from which place he watched with the greatest anxiety and expectation the important proceedings that were taking place in Augsburg; but, at the same time, with an indomitable resolution inspired by his faith and zeal in the great cause. It is said that at this time he composed his beautiful hymn *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott* (A mighty fortress is our God). When now the question of the religious disputes was at length discussed before the diet of Augsburg, the Protestant princes laid before the assembly their confession of faith, exhibiting in succinct but comprehensive language all the articles in which the new church differed from the old. This was completed by Melancthon from the seventeen articles prepared by Luther at Schwabach, and from other writings which the Protestant princes had brought with them; thus was produced the Augsburg Confession which from that moment has formed the basis of the Protestant church. It was read publicly before the diet by Bayer, the chancellor of Saxony, on the 25th of June, and its reading occupied several hours.^b

The general tone of this confession is humble, modest, and apologetic; yet so violent were some of the opponents of the Reformation, who had listened to the reading of it, that they urged the emperor to gird on his sword immediately and execute the Edict of Worms. Instead of this, however, Charles adopted the advice of the more moderate members of his party. He directed a committee of divines, then present at Augsburg, four of whom, Cochläus,

Eck, Wimpina, and Faber, were among the ablest champions of scholasticism, to write a confutation of the Lutheran document. Their answer was eventually recited before the diet on the 3rd of August; and soon after, on the opening of a conference (August 16th) between the leading theologians of each party, many of the serious differences on points of doctrine were so far adjusted that the rest appeared to those engaged in it no longer incapable of reconciliation. Such hope, however, weakened by the opposition of the sterner Lutherans, vanished altogether when Campeggio, the papal legate, reasserted all the strongest arguments in favour of the jurisdiction of the Roman church.

Inflamed by his representations, and more conscious as the interviews proceeded that real harmony was unattainable, the diet finally issued another edict enjoining the reformers, at least until a council could be summoned, to appoint no more married priests, to practise auricular confession with the same minuteness as in former years, to abstain from mutilations of the canon of the mass and from all language tending to disparage private masses, and even to acknowledge that communion in one kind is quite as valid as in both. A threat was at the same time suspended over them, importing that if they continued firm in their resistance after May 5th, 1531, the unreforming states would instantly adopt coercive measures.

The necessity of acting still more vigorously in self-defence now led to the formation of the Smalkaldic or Smalcaldic League (March 29th, 1531), by which the Protestants bound themselves for six years to help each other in maintaining the distinctive ground which they had occupied in the Augsburg confession. They next endeavoured to fortify their position by political alliances with France, and other powers antagonistic to the house of Austria.⁴



WARRIOR OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

FERDINAND CHOSEN KING OF THE ROMANS

Meantime the emperor, on leaving the diet of Augsburg, had proceeded to Cologne, where he summoned the electoral princes to meet him. He there proposed to them that they should select, as king of the Romans, his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had already ceded his hereditary lands in Austria — and who since the extinction of the royal house of Bohemia and Hungary, in the person of Louis II, who was killed when fighting against Suleiman II, in the battle of Mohács, in 1526, had acquired the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, by the rights founded upon ancient treaties of inheritance — in order that he might be enabled to maintain good order throughout the empire during the frequent absence of the emperor. The electors consented, and Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen); the elector of Saxony, who caused his protestation against this election to be handed in by his son, and the dukes of Bavaria, who had for a long time been jealous of the power of the Austrian house, and who on this occasion joined in alliance with their enemies in

[1531-1534 A.D.]

matters of religion, the princes of the Smalkaldic League, were the only two parties who made any opposition, and refused to acknowledge Ferdinand.

The new king of the Romans was extremely desirous of preserving tranquillity in Germany, as his new kingdom of Hungary was at this time hard pressed by the Turks, and his chief source of assistance must be derived from the German princes. The Protestants, however, refused to give their co-operation until peace had been secured to them in their own country, and its continuance sworn to be maintained. The emperor accordingly now concerted fresh measures, in order to promote a state of union, and at length, after the most warm and urgent exhortations from Luther in favour thereof, they produced the provisional religious Peace of Nuremberg, in 1532. The emperor declared, in contradiction to the opinion of the Catholic majority, that, in virtue of his imperial power, he would establish a general peace, according to which no person should be attacked or condemned on account of his faith, or any other religious matter, until the approaching assembly of the council, or the meeting of the estates of the empire. Nay, he promised likewise to suspend all proceedings taken by his imperial chancellor in matters of faith against the elector of Saxony, until the next council.

The subsidiary troops against the Turks were now collected and formed an army of such force as had not been produced for a length of time, the Protestant princes and cities themselves sending very large contributions. The danger appeared, indeed, extremely urgent, for the sultan had advanced with a force of three hundred thousand men to attack the Austrian territories from four points; and to oppose him the emperor had only seventy-six thousand men at command. However, the first attempts they made very soon showed the Turks with what men they had to deal. Ibrahim Pasha, who led the vanguard, considered he was bound for honour's sake to punish the little town of Güns, in Hungary, which to his mortification had closed its gates against him, thinking that it would easily fall into his hands on the first assault; but its brave commandant, Jurischtisch, with his small garrison, repulsed all his attacks, and kept him before the walls for the space of a fortnight. At this sudden and unexpected check upon his march, Suleiman calculated what the great city of Vienna might cost him, especially as now the emperor had come to its aid; and perceiving, in addition, that the German princes, whom he thought to find in a state of dissension, had now become reunited, he resolved at once to sound a retreat. Thus the whole of Europe, to its great surprise, saw the great Suleiman quickly abandon an expedition which it had cost him three years to prepare.

The emperor was now enabled to turn his attention to other affairs, and proceeded, first of all, to Italy, for the purpose of arranging with the pope upon the subject of the convocation of the grand council. But he found that the pope was by no means in earnest about the matter, neither was it, at this time, at all desired by the papal court; and Charles accordingly departed for Spain without doing anything.

THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM; THE ANABAPTISTS

During the absence of the emperor in Spain, and whilst Ferdinand was engaged in employing all his means to establish his dominion in Hungary, the doctrine of the reformers spread more and more in Germany, and party spirit daily increased. The Protestants went so far, in the year 1534, as to declare to the imperial chamber that they would no longer obey its decrees: because contrary to the conditions of the Treaty of Nuremberg, it pronounced

judgment against them in cases which referred to the restitution of confiscated church property; and which proceeding rendered completely invalid the laws for the perpetual peace of the country as established by the emperor Maximilian.

Another subject of dispute was the territory of Würtemberg. Ulrich, duke of Würtemberg, had, just after the death of Maximilian, and before the election of Charles V, been driven out of his country by the Swabian League, on account of a feud which had existed between him and the town of Reutlingen. The league ceded the land, which was burdened with a heavy debt, to the emperor, and the latter transferred it, in 1530, to his brother Ferdinand, together with his Austrian states. It appeared now as if that country was destined to form forever a portion of the Austrian possessions; but the deposed duke, who was now wandering through the empire a fugitive, seeking to enlist his friends in his cause, found at length a protector in his relation Philip, landgraf of Hesse. Ulrich had already adopted the Lutheran faith, and Philip now formed the determination to re-establish him in his possessions even by force of arms. He accordingly raised an army of twenty thousand men, marched unexpectedly into the very heart of Würtemberg, defeated the Austrian governor of the country at Lauffen, in 1534, and restored the reconquered duchy to Ulrich. It was expected that this bold act would produce a sanguinary war; but this time the storm passed over. Charles and Ferdinand were both too much occupied elsewhere to augment their already extensive power by the addition of a foreign country; whilst, on the contrary, the other members of the Smalkaldic League, who had taken no share in this act of the landgraf, endeavoured to bring the matter to a peaceful adjustment. Thence was effected, under the mediation of the elector of Saxony, the Peace of Cadan in Bohemia, by which Duke Ulrich received back his land as an *arrière fief* of Austria; the religious peace as signed at Nuremberg was confirmed, and Ferdinand was formally acknowledged Roman king by the elector of Saxony and all his family. And in order to maintain at least the imperial sovereignty, it was decided that the landgraf and Duke Ulrich should ask pardon of the emperor personally, and of the Roman king by deputy, for having disturbed the peace of the land.

Another circumstance occurred which threatened important and serious results, but still did not interrupt definitively the peace of the empire — *viz.*, the contentions of the anabaptists in Münster, in 1534 and 1535. The principles of Thomas Münzer upon Christian liberty and equality, and upon the community of possessions, as well as upon his faith in immediate divine revelations, were not as yet eradicated, and had still been preserved, especially in Holland, among the so-called anabaptists. They demanded that mankind should do penance and be baptised anew in order to avert the wrath of God. Two of their fanatic preachers, Jan Matthys, a baker of Haarlem, and a tailor, Jan Bockhold or Bockelsohn, of Leyden, proceeded, in the early part of the year 1534, to Münster, at the time that an ecclesiastic, called Rothmann, had just introduced the doctrine of Luther; they gained him over to their sect likewise, and with the aid of the populace and other anabaptists from the vicinity, drove out of the city all the wealthy citizens, created fresh magistrates, and established a community of possessions. Each person was required to deposit in a general treasury all he possessed, whether in gold, silver, or other precious articles, whilst the churches were despoiled of their ornaments, pictures, and images; and all the books they contained, except the Bible, were publicly burned. Everywhere, as in all such scenes of fanaticism, the most licentious acts were committed, and passions the most violent and brutal

[1534-1535 A.D.]

raged throughout the city. Under the sanction of their creed of Christian liberty, each man was authorised to take to himself several wives, and their chief, John of Leyden, set the example by marrying three at once. Finally, one of his partisans, who made a boast of having especially received a divine communication, John Dusentschur of Warendorf, saluted him as king of the whole globe, and as such appointed to restore the throne of David; and twenty-eight apostles were selected and sent forth to preach this doctrine to the whole world, and to bring the inhabitants thereof to acknowledge the newly appointed king. These agents, however, wherever they arrived, were immediately seized as rebels and executed.

The bishop of Münster, supported by the landgraf of Hesse, and several other princes, advanced, in the year 1534, with a large army against the city. In the first assault, however, that they made on the 30th of August, they were repulsed most valiantly by the fanatic anabaptists; but the more slow and not less fatal attacks of famine, to which the latter were gradually reduced by the besiegers, who cut off the supplies, could not be overcome. Want increased from day to day, and diminished more and more the zeal of the people. The new king resolved to establish his royal authority more firmly by terror, and even beheaded one of his wives with his own hand in the public market-place, because she gave vent to the expression that she could not possibly believe that God had condemned such a mass of people to die of hunger, whilst the king himself was living in abundance. At length, however, after a great number had really perished through starvation, two citizens led the bishop's troops, on the night of the 25th of June, 1535, into the city; and after a sanguinary battle, John of Leyden, and his executioner, Knipperdolling, together with his chancellor, Krechtling, were made prisoners, and having been publicly exhibited in several cities of Germany as a spectacle, they were tortured with burning pincers and put to death by having their hearts pierced with a red-hot dagger. Their bodies were then placed in iron cages, and suspended from the steeple of the church of St. Lambert, in the market-place of Münster, and the form of Catholic worship and the authority of the bishop were immediately re-established in that city.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHARLES V

Meantime the emperor had proceeded upon an expedition the results of which crowned him with lasting honour and fame. A pirate, Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa, born of obscure parents in the island of Lesbos, but one of the most daring and extraordinary men of his day, had established himself on the north coast of Africa. To join him in his depredations he had gained over a numerous body of Moors, who, driven out of Spain by King Ferdinand the Catholic, burned with the desire of revenging themselves upon the Christians; and thus strengthened, this desperate pirate infested the Mediterranean seas in every direction. His cruelty and audacity rendered him the terror of all the inhabitants along the coasts; whilst in the African peninsula he held in his possession Algiers and Tunis, and the Turkish sultan, Suleiman himself, had confided to his charge the whole of his fleet, in order to employ it against the Christians, of whom already some thousands languished as captives in the hands of the barbarians.

As protector of entire Christendom, Charles felt he could no longer endure the existence of such outrage and cruelty, especially as the fugitive and rightful king of Tunis, Hassan, had come to him for protection. He embarked, therefore, with an army of thirty thousand men, including eight thousand

German troops, under the command of Count Max of Eberstein, and a fleet of five hundred vessels, the latter being under the orders of Doria, and the army commanded by the emperor himself in person and the marquis de Vaston. They arrived before Tunis in the summer of 1535, and captured the citadel of Goletta, which defended the port, on the first assault; all the ammunition was seized, and more than two thousand Turks put to the sword. The army of Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa, which was drawn up ready for battle on the plain in front of the city, was attacked at once and completely put to rout. The victorious troops now took possession of the city, and proceeded immediately to open the prisons of their suffering fellow Christians; and Charles, to his inexpressible joy, was enabled to set at liberty no less than twenty-two thousand of these objects of severe oppression, who now, with tears of joy and gratitude, were restored to their relations and friends. The emperor himself declared that glorious day to be one of the most happy and delightful of his entire life. His fame spread far and wide throughout every country; and this he truly merited by the courage and perseverance he had evinced in this perilous but heroic undertaking; whilst, at the same time, he proved by his example how easily these barbarian corsairs of the African coasts might, with a bold and resolute spirit, be overcome. He restored the fugitive king, Hassan, to his throne of Tunis; but, at the same time, prohibited him from all capture or imprisonment of Christian slaves, and as a pledge of his obedience the emperor retained possession of the citadel of Goletta. Khair-ed-Din, after his defeat, had fled to Algiers, whither Charles resolved to pursue him in the ensuing year.

A fresh war, however, with the king of France prevented him from executing this intention. This prince, on the death of Francesco Sforza, had renewed his claims to Milan, and in order to ensure for himself an open road to Italy, he unexpectedly attacked and took possession of the duchy of Savoy, upon whose duke he also made claims. Charles saw at once the necessity for war, and resolved to fix the scene of contest in the south of France. Unwarned by the disastrous results which attended his first expedition, under the duke de Bourbon, he undertook another in 1536, and having advanced as far as Marseilles he once more laid siege to that city. He however found that it was much too strongly fortified to hold out any chance of success, whilst the whole of the neighbouring country was laid waste by the French themselves; whence want of supplies and disease forced the emperor, after having remained two months before the place, to withdraw his troops and make as good a retreat as he could, but in which he nevertheless lost much of his ammunition and luggage.

By the mediation of the pope, a suspension of arms, during ten years, took place in Nice, in the year 1538, and soon afterwards the two monarchs had an interview at Aigues-Mortes, on the Rhone. The proposal for this meeting was first made by the king of France; and although the imperial council considered it unsafe for the emperor to trust himself upon French ground, Charles, notwithstanding the doubts they expressed, resolved, were it even for the novel and extraordinary nature of the project — to him so pleasing — to accept the invitation. When he arrived in the harbour the king himself embarked in his state barge to receive him, and conducted him ashore. Here a splendid dinner was prepared and served up, which was followed by a grand fête, at which the royal personages presided until midnight. On the following morning the dauphin himself attended upon the emperor and handed him the water and towel for his toilet, and, indeed, both sides rivalled each other in marks of mutual friendship and civility. And in



CHARLES V AND FRANCIS I IN THE CHURCH OF ST. DENIS,
JANUARY, 1540

(From the painting by Gros)

[1538-1541 A.D.]

all this there was no hypocrisy; they were both desirous of a lasting peace, and in the following year, 1539, Francis gave an additional proof of his good intentions and sincere wishes. The city of Ghent, in Flanders, owing to some new impost, had risen in revolt against the emperor Charles, and offered to place itself under the protection of the king of France; but the latter immediately communicated the circumstance to the emperor himself, and proposed at the same time, in order to reach the scene of contention in Flanders with more expedition, that he should take the shortest route from Spain through France.

This offer was accepted by Charles without any mistrust, and as he proceeded on his journey through the kingdom he was everywhere received with the greatest honours, and at every city or town he entered the keys of each place were presented to him, whilst in Fontainebleau, where the king had previously arrived, he was detained by magnificent fêtes during the space of an entire fortnight, and when he reached Paris he was equally well entertained during another week. His presence in Ghent very soon appeased the rioters; and whilst he was still there, Charles received the most urgent appeals from Germany, hoping that he would quickly reappear in that country, where his presence was become more necessary than ever, in order to put down the disorders which had daily increased.

He acceded to their wishes and, in the year 1541, presided at the diet of Ratisbon. On this occasion, and subsequently for several years, he endeavoured by writings, religious discussions, and his own persuasive eloquence to reunite the contending parties; and, at the same time, the maintenance of internal peace in Germany was the desire and aim of his government, as well as the necessary principle of his reign, threatened as he was on the one hand by invasions from the Turks, and forced on the other hand to carry on wars with the French.

Charles quitted the diet at Ratisbon, and proceeded to Italy, whence he set out on his expedition to Algiers, as previously determined upon. His enterprising mind, ever delighting in new and brilliant exploits, aspired to the realisation of a project, at once grand and commensurate with his powers — the annihilation of the corsairs of the barbarian states of Africa; the accomplishment of which he now felt himself especially called upon to effect, inasmuch as the audacious Barbarossa had again excited general indignation by his recent piracies on the coast of Spain. This new expedition, however, commenced under very unfavourable circumstances; the season for the navigation of the Mediterranean had already become extremely tempestuous, and the experienced admiral Andrea Doria himself prognosticated a disastrous voyage. Charles, however, would not consent to its being postponed, and they accordingly set sail. The fleet arrived on the 20th of October, 1541, before Algiers, and the troops were forthwith landed. Towards the evening, however, before the artillery, baggage, and provisions could be brought on shore, a tremendous gale arose, and did much damage to the ships, several of which were wrecked on the coast.

All thoughts of conquering Algiers were of course abandoned, and the grand object now was the preservation of the army; for the light cavalry of the Turks made their appearance on the following day and pressed hard upon the ranks of the jaded troops. In this trying and dangerous moment, however, the emperor Charles displayed the energy and perseverance for which, as a warrior, he was ever distinguished. During a march of three entire days, through water and mud, he led his troops, amidst the harassing attacks of the enemy, along the whole extent of the coast as far as the bay

of Metafuz, where the remnant of the dispersed fleet had assembled. Without distinction he shared with his common soldiers the most severe privations and fatigue, and thence it was that he succeeded in reviving their spirits and stimulating their courage, till at length they reached their destination and re-embarked. The emperor set sail for Italy, where, having arrived safely, he disembarked, and proceeded at once to Spain.

The king of France had availed himself of Charles' absence in order to renew hostilities. All his experiments of friendly understanding with Charles

did not suffice to banish from his recollection the duchy of Milan; and now he thought the moment had arrived when he must succeed in reconquering it, and for this purpose he renewed his alliance with the Turks. Whilst, therefore, Charles, after his return from Algiers, sought a little repose from the fatigues of that sad expedition, Francis forthwith entered the field against him; the incapacity of his generals, however, when brought to compete with the experience and superiority of the Spanish leaders, combined with disease and the scarcity of supplies for the troops, operated so much against him that the whole of his five armies could effect nothing in the first campaign, and they were forced to return home dispirited and disappointed.

In the following year, 1543, Charles set out for Italy, and thence, suddenly crossing the Alps, proceeded to the lower Rhine, where the duke of Cleves had made an alliance with Francis I; and this prince, who had recently begun to encourage the doctrines of Luther, was selected as the first to feel the imperial authority. The appearance of the emperor in this country was quite unexpected. It was reported among the people that he had been shipwrecked on his return from



CHEVALIER IN HALF ARMOUR

Algiers and had perished. Believing this statement, they treated the news of his arrival in Germany as a mere fable. The garrison of the small town of Düren, on being summoned by Charles to surrender, replied: "They were no longer in dread of the emperor, as he had long since become food for the fishes." When, however, the Spaniards scaled the walls, cut down all before them, and set fire to the town, alarm and terror spread throughout the whole country. They said the emperor had brought with him a species of wild men, half black and half brown, with long, sharp nails at their fingers' ends, which enabled them to climb the loftiest walls, together with huge teeth with which they tore everything asunder.

It is unnecessary to say that the beings thus marvellously described were no other than the old warriors of Charles, who, by constant exposure to the sun, had become dyed completely brown, and reckless of all danger, when making an assault on a fortified town, usually fixed their daggers or lances in

[1543-1544 A.D.]

the fissures of the walls, and thus formed for themselves the means of ascent to the ramparts. The terror, however, which their appearance created very soon brought under subjection the entire country; and the duke of Cleves was obliged humbly to sue for pardon on bended knee. This was granted to him by the emperor, but under the condition that he should not forswear his religion; that whatever changes he had introduced should be immediately abolished, and the original regulations re-established, and that he should not enter upon any alliance in opposition to the emperor.

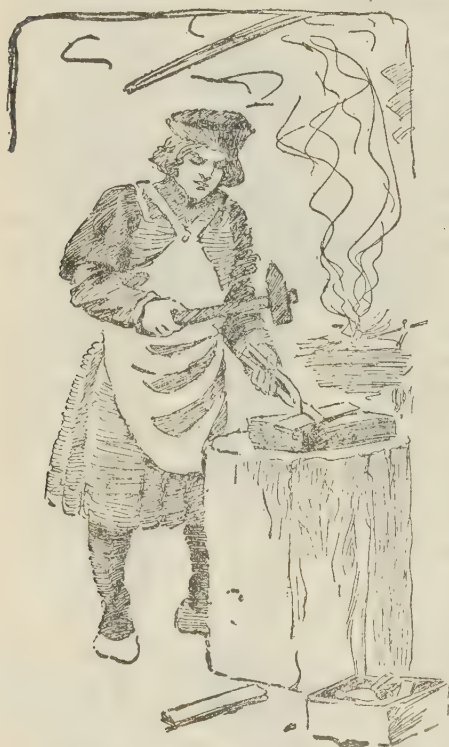
No action or engagement of any importance took place with the French this year; but for the ensuing one Charles collected a very large army, and after he had held a new diet in Speier, in the winter of 1543, and had secured to himself the co-operation of all the German princes, he marched in the following spring into the enemy's country at the head of a numerous body of chosen troops. The flower of this army consisted of thirty thousand Germans, the result of the good understanding which the emperor had established at this last diet between himself and the Protestant princes, and more especially the elector of Saxony and the landgraf Philip. The first place he took was St. Dizier, whence he marched direct for Paris; and having taken possession of Épernay and Château-Thierry, he was within a march of only two days from the capital, whence the inhabitants, already alarmed at his approach, took to flight. Now, however, Francis made proposals of peace, which the emperor accepted at once, being anxious for a reconciliation with his rival, as affairs in Germany grew more and more complicated, and, on the 24th of September, 1544, the Peace of Crespy was signed — the last that Charles signed with the king of France. By this treaty little alteration was made in the main points of dispute; as before, Burgundy remained in the possession of France, and Milan was retained by the emperor. Francis, however, pledged himself this time to support the emperor, not only in checking the Turks but in restoring the unity of faith.^b

INTERNAL CONDITION OF GERMANY

Although the times were stormy and agitated, and party strife threatened to divide the nation against itself, yet industry and commerce still remained in a satisfactory condition. The Hansa, it is true, went under because it was wanting in public spirit and patriotism; but on the other hand the traffic of the south German cities increased considerably, one of their most flourishing branches of industry being the manufacture and export of linen goods. Not only in the cities but also in the rural districts both men and women were engaged in this useful industry and earned a bountiful living. The wares found their way into all parts of the world and amongst others over the Alps into Italy, while through Frankfort they were forwarded northwards. In order that the industry might receive the greatest possible stimulus, capitalists formed themselves into companies to provide the necessary funds for the manufacture. In the district round the Lake of Constance and in Swabia, many of the peasants devoted the winter season to the preparation of yarn and to weaving. As, besides this branch of industry, precious metals, dyes and hardware were exported, the active commerce remained considerable.

Nuremberg and Augsburg displayed the greatest commercial energy, and were the richest of the imperial cities and the centres of industrial life. Augsburg was not only at the head of the trade with Italy, but also exported goods on its own account direct to the East Indies. The profits were so great that the emperor Maximilian I was astounded at the prosperity of his free city of

Augsburg, where amongst others the rich family of the Fuggers rose from the position of mere linen merchants to the rank of princes. In Nuremberg, on the other hand, the growth of commerce and industry was accompanied by that of the fine arts. Pre-eminent among his compeers towered the celebrated painter Albrecht Dürer, who was justly admired in his own country and abroad, for his works displayed above everything the German vigour and exalted dignity of the national artistic genius. At his side stood the excellent sculptor Adam Krafft and the master-founder Peter Vischer; the latter's masterpiece, the tomb of St. Sebaldus, still exists in Nuremberg, while extant works of the former artist testify to the originality of his creative genius. The ancient imperial city was proud to include besides these the glass painter Veit Hirschvogel and the artists Lindenast and Veit Stoss among her citizens.



ARTISAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In Saxony there was brisk rivalry with the cities of southern Germany in the growth of commerce, industry, and the fine arts, the mainspring of which was the productiveness of the mines, which continued to yield precious metals in abundance. While the old mineral veins of Freiberg maintained their ancient fame, new ones were started near Marienberg which were extraordinarily productive. Even in the Fichtelgebirge the gold mine near Kronach was worked, not without profit, while the Mansfeld silver mines led to a vigorous trade with Venice. Just as scientific life in Saxony was powerfully stimulated by the University of Wittenberg and extended its influence thence over all Germany, art was also worthily represented by the genius of the painter Lucas Kranach.

Simultaneously with painting and sculpture, there came a revival of poetry, on which the Reformation exercised a remarkable influence. The productions of the Middle Ages stood out as models of excellence in these serious times of intellectual struggle, and served to cultivate taste. But while the *minnelied*, full of jest and joyousness, was sung for the social delight of the higher classes, now national life expressed itself principally through the awakened consciousness of the middle classes. It was in the cities, on the minds of thoughtful artisans, that the rousing voice of Dr. Martin Luther made the most powerful impression. The purifying of morals, the incitement of independent thought in the lower classes, and freedom in the pursuit of knowledge were all characteristic of the Reformation, and thus it was that the latter awoke the poetical instincts of the middle classes to fulness of life. A worthy artisan, Hans Sachs of Nuremberg, stood out as a living example of the union of the noble art of poetry with a handicraft. Joyfully impressed by the teaching of Luther, his soul turned to poetry as a means of assisting the

[1498-1544 A.D.]

work of the Reformer. But as the impulse was of a deep, moral character, his simple verses became imbued with a solemn earnestness and their effect was extraordinary.

The real significance of the Reformation of the church now became outwardly apparent, for the middle classes searched the Holy Scriptures for themselves, and strove earnestly by example, speech, and song after moral excellency and purity. The intimacy of family life developed more and more fully among the German artisan class, and purity of religion and an honest life came to be regarded as a stern duty. Even if this tendency did border on pedantry and mystic obscurity, its effect was none the less invigorating to the middle classes, and subsequently it became the only safeguard which preserved the nation, when it fell a prey to ever-growing inward decay, from complete dissolution.

THE NEW PENAL CODE OF 1532

At the time when religious peace was proclaimed at Nuremberg in 1532, the imperial diet at Ratisbon inaugurated an improvement in legislation which was of the highest importance for Germany — namely, the introduction of a new penal code. When the trials by ordeal, which were in olden times called to the assistance of both accusation and defence, fell into disuse, the nations, following the example of Roman law, had recourse to the cruelties of the torture. As we have already seen, this system was in use from the earliest times with serfs; but from the fifteenth century the practice became more general. Torture now became a regular test which was also employed to extort confession from the freeman. Desire for revenge, hatred and superstition, and all the evil passions gained in the torture chamber a fearful weapon against their victims, and cruelty very soon became so general and horrible that the human soul revolted against it.

If the mere use of torture was in itself a barbarity, one can gauge the magnitude of the evil when one remembers that the courts of justice were often guilty of revolting abuses. The punishments meted out in the courts both as to life and limb were no less arbitrary than the criminal procedure. The sentence of death was pronounced upon the innocent with a truly hardened unscrupulousness, and this became such a crying abuse that all friends of humanity raised a vehement protest against it. When the imperial supreme court was instituted, appeal was made to it against the arbitrary sentences of death which were customary in all the courts of justice of the separate states, whether of the cities of the empire or of the principalities. Thus we see that the unity of the empire was at all times in the history of Germany regarded as the only protection and refuge for the oppressed.

Unfortunately, the imperial court had not sufficient power to check the injustices of the intermediate courts. The supreme court therefore appealed to the imperial diet, and urgently implored redress by way of legislation. Already in the reign of the emperor Maximilian I, this court had represented to the imperial diet at Freiburg in 1498 that complaints were being lodged daily against princes, imperial cities, and other sovereignties because they condemned men to death without guilt, just cause, or reason. The imperial diet postponed the examination of the matter to some future meeting, and as usual nothing was done. When the court reiterated its remonstrance still more urgently at the imperial diet of 1500 held at Augsburg, the reform of the penal code was at length promised in the decree of dissolution. The promise would probably have remained an empty one, but for the timely interference

[1507-1532 A.D.]

of a friend of mankind. Johann, baron of Schwarzenberg, minister of the prince-bishop of Bamberg, drew up in 1507 a scheme for a new penal code, which, according to the standard of morality and civilisation then prevailing, was distinguished for its discrimination and humanity. This excellent man endeavoured to make this code the foundation of the general law of the empire; but, soon convinced that nothing was to be expected from the firmly rooted red-tapeism of the imperial diet, he used the whole weight of his influence to raise his code temporarily to the force of law in the bishopric of Bamberg. This wise determination was carried out and the Schwarzenberg code was proclaimed by princely decree to be the law of the land in the grand chapter of Bamberg.

After it had been circulated through the press in 1508 and 1510, it was received with such approval that the markgraf of Brandenburg caused the same law to be introduced in 1516 into the principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth. From that time the fame of the Schwarzenberg code rose so high that in 1521. it was, with a few alterations, made the foundation of the deliberations for the revision of the law by the regency of the empire then in session at Nuremberg. Finally, there was presented to the imperial diet in 1529 the draft of a new penal code which in all essentials was identical with that of Schwarzenberg, that is to say with the Bamberg and Brandenburg codes. After three years more of deliberation, that draft was finally proclaimed the law of the empire by the imperial diet at Ratisbon in 1532. This bore the title *The Criminal or Penal Code of the Emperor Charles V*, and is known as the Carolina.

The new code had sprung, not only from deep special knowledge, but also from keen discernment into the requirements and possibilities of the time. It was a work of slow maturity, and therefore universally beneficial. Fixed regulations are prescribed for procedure in penal cases as well as for the kind and measure of the penalty, without unduly restricting the discretionary powers of the judge. Yet the Carolina must appear hard and even cruel, judged by the present standard of morality, and nothing testifies more convincingly to the progress of civilisation than facts of this order. It is clear that the new code was framed with humane intentions, for concessions relatively great for those times were made to the accused, in order to protect innocence, and compassion with the unfortunate criminals is often expressed — the condemned being alluded to as "the poor one." Nevertheless, even in this comparatively mild penal code, torture is still preserved and it seems, as it were, to revel in the great variety of the capital punishments. Thus is the erroneous old commonplace about the "good old times" refuted. And yet even this Carolina was an important step in progressive legislation, as is shown by the circumstance that it remained in force for three hundred years.^d



NOBLEMAN OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

[1540-1545 A.D.]

THE EMPEROR AND THE SMALKALDIC LEAGUE

Both the emperor and his brother Ferdinand were strenuous in their endeavours to reunite both parties, and for this object they established from time to time successive religious conferences: at Hagenau, in 1540; at Worms, in 1541, where Melancthon and Eek stood opposed to each other; and in the same year likewise at Ratisbon, at which the emperor himself presided and took an active part therein. All, however, was in vain; the new doctrine was too widely separated from the old, and in it were now involved too many interests: on all sides too many worldly considerations were brought into operation, and amidst the wild party passions and distractions of that period it was impossible to obtain for the subject that calm and profound investigation so necessary and so desirable.

These attempts at reconciliation producing little or no results, the emperor, as usual, had recourse either to a general council, confirming in the interval the Treaty of Nuremberg; or, of his own authority, issuing, even against the voice of the Catholic majority, decrees by which all the Protestant churches in the land were recognised by the state. Thus it occurred at the diet of Ratisbon, in 1541, before Charles' expedition to Algiers; thus likewise at Speier, in 1542, by the mediation of Ferdinand and the elector of Brandenburg, in order to collect all the forces of the empire against the Turks; and finally, in 1544, at the second grand diet in the same city, at which the emperor and all the seven electors were present, when he prepared his second expedition against Francis I of France. The personal relations between the emperor and the two Protestant leaders, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, had never been upon a more favourable footing; so much so, indeed, that the question of a marriage between a son of the elector and a daughter of Ferdinand had already formed a subject of discussion, whilst the landgraf received from the emperor a promise that in the next campaign against the Turks he should be appointed commander-in-chief in lieu of himself.

And yet, in spite of all this, the Protestants about this time sought to aid themselves by force of arms. Duke Henry the younger, of Brunswick, a zealous Catholic, and of impatient and violent spirit, was at enmity with the elector of Saxony and the landgraf of Hesse, more particularly on account of their religion; and each party attacked the other in fierce pamphlets abounding in passionate invective and furious abuse. In addition to this the two towns of Brunswick and Goslar, which formed a part of the league of Smalkald, invoked the protection of the Protestant provinces against their own duke, who oppressed them in every possible way, and whom the emperor himself as well as King Ferdinand had repeatedly, although in vain, reproached for his unjust violence against those towns. At length, in 1542, the league raised an army, invaded the territory of the duke, conquered and drove him from the country, and held possession thereof. The duke appealed to the emperor for succour; he, however, only referred the matter to the consideration of the next diet.

Accordingly at the diet of Worms, held in 1545, it was decided that, until the affair was equitably adjusted, the emperor should hold the estates of Brunswick under his own immediate dominion. This arrangement, however, by no means accorded with the demands of the impatient and haughty duke, who would willingly have found himself at the head of the Catholic party, to pretend to make use of threats in the name of the emperor was, he said, "just like hunting with a dead falcon." In his zeal he was misled into an act

for which he stood committed in the eyes of Francis I, king of France. This monarch had confided to his charge a considerable sum of money, for the purpose of collecting a body of troops for his service; as soon, however, as the duke had succeeded in this object he marched them into his own duchy, in the autumn of 1545, in order to regain it from his enemies. The no less bold and energetic landgraf Philip, however, was soon on the alert with his army, and the elector of Saxony with Duke Maurice having joined him with their forces, they surrounded the duke so completely in his camp of Kale-feld, near Nordheim, that he was forced to yield himself a prisoner, together with his son. The landgraf led them away as captives to the castle of Ziegenhain, and the emperor took no further interest in the matter, beyond advising him to treat his prisoners with lenity and according to their rank as princes.

Meantime the before-mentioned diet of Worms, although it operated once more towards the maintenance of religious peace, presented, nevertheless, stronger indications of the growing schism, and the complaints of both parties became more and more urgent. The Catholics did not fail to complain of the confiscation of their ecclesiastical possessions in the Protestant countries, and the Protestants on their side refused to acknowledge the decrees pronounced by the imperial chamber in these and similar matters, inasmuch as the Catholics would only permit judges of the ancient faith to preside there. Distrust had now increased to such an extent that but a small number of Protestant princes appeared at all at the diet. The grand medium for reconciliation, from which Charles had formerly hoped so much, *viz.* a general council of the church, was now ineffectually employed; for it was now too late to resort to it, neither was it regulated in a just and equitable form. The court of Rome had eventually given its consent to such an assembly, and had convoked the council for the 15th of March, 1545, at Trent, in the Tyrol, which was solemnly opened on the 13th of December of the same year. The Protestants, however, refused to recognise its authority for deciding in their affairs, giving as their reasons that the council was convoked on the frontiers of Italy, in a country totally unacquainted with the customs of Germany, and which consequently could not fail to have an injuriously preponderating influence; and further that the pope, who had already condemned them as heretics, or at least had treated them as accused of heresy, presided at the said council as their judge. If, therefore, this council was to be regarded as an independent one, they must enjoy equal rights with the others.

Some time previously, Frederick, the elector palatine, who had then recently gone over to the new church doctrine, made a proposition which might have produced advantageous results if everyone had been animated with good faith and influenced by pure principles. He proposed "to convoke a national or general council of Germany, and to transmit to Trent the convention therein concluded between all parties, as being the opinion of the entire body of the German nation." The same idea had been vainly suggested, even prior to this, by John Frederick of Saxony, who proposed that the said council should meet in Augsburg. This expedient, free from all foreign influence, and by which the nation would have been so represented as to express its wants fairly and directly, appeared the only one which must have proved beneficial and have led to a conclusion of religious disputes.

The anxiety felt by the emperor and the Catholics, lest the Protestants should acquire a superiority throughout the empire, was not without foundation. Three out of the four lay electorate princes in the imperial council had already adopted the new doctrine (although the elector palatine and the elector of Brandenburg had not as yet joined the league of Smalkald), and now

[1545 A.D.]

even one of the three prelates, Hermann, the venerable elector of Cologne, declared himself more and more decidedly in favour of the new cause. He was desirous, with the sanction of his states and a portion of his chapter, to introduce into his bishopric the most searching and important reforms, and had already entered upon the grand work himself, having invited Melancthon from Wittenberg to aid him therein. The university and the corporation of Cologne, however, together with the opposition party of the chapter, were against all such reforms, and appealed to the emperor and the pope for their authority against these measures. This university had, previously to the Reformation, in the time of Jacob Hoogstraten, taken an active part in the dispute against the humanists — the professors and restorers of the study of the ancient languages — and especially against Reuchlin; whilst it was one of the first to condemn the dogmas of Luther.

In this increasing complication of affairs, where no longer the least hope of conciliation remained, the emperor, more and more urged to hostile measures by Rome and Spain (the duke of Alva having now arrived in Germany from the latter country), considered himself at length called upon to employ as a last resource the force of arms, and thus promptly and definitively to decide the question. His chancellor, Granvella, held, therefore, secret counsel with the pope's legate, Cardinal Farnese, on the possibility of carrying on a war against the Protestants; he gave him to understand that the pope must necessarily join in active co-operation, as the emperor himself was exhausted, and the Catholic princes were without energy; and the cardinal, in his joy to find the emperor now seriously determined to proceed to extremities, made the most flattering promises. In order to be unoccupied with any foreign enemy, Charles now concluded a truce with the sultan, and with Francis I he likewise made peace.

We are now arrived at a critical period of Charles' life. In forming the resolution to accomplish with the sword that which he had so long endeavoured to effect by peaceful means, he fell into a great error, falsely imagining that the mighty agitations of the mind could be checked and held in chains by external power. From that moment, on the contrary, he was himself vanquished by that very overwhelming epoch, the course of which until then he had appeared to direct and hold in rein; it was henceforth no longer in his power to restrain its career. His genius, impaired with increasing years, and over which about this time the Jesuits had gained an influence not to be mistaken, became more and more clouded and prejudiced against all that was new and vigorous in life, and thus in his gloomy and morose spirit he thought he was able to cut with the sharp edge of his sword the knot he found it so difficult to loosen. This mistaken idea of the emperor Charles at the closing period of his reign resembles a tragedy, in which we find a noble mind forced to bend and sink beneath the heavy burden to which fate has subjected it.

These latter years, it is true, may be included amongst the most brilliant of his life, by their external successes produced so rapidly; but it was precisely this good fortune which made him lose sight of the exact point of moderation which, down to this moment, he had so happily maintained, and whence he was soon laid low by the iron hand of destiny, and all his plans, formed with so much trouble and anxiety, were completely annihilated. Nothing else now remained for him but to collect his reduced powers in order to withdraw in time from the whirlpool before him, and whilst he threw aside the shining brilliancy of earthly grandeur, to preserve at least the independence of his spirit. And, assuredly, by this last resolution the emperor

Charles secured to himself his dignity as a man, whilst he conciliated the voice of posterity.

THE DEATH OF LUTHER

Shortly previous to the commencement of the sanguinary war of religion, Luther, the founder of the grand struggle, breathed his last^b (February, 18th, 1546). We may fitly bring the present chapter to a close by citing a few of the multitudinous estimates that have been passed upon the personality of the famous reformer.^a

Luther stands forth [says Schaff] as the great national hero of the German people, and the ideal of German life. Perhaps no other civilised nation has a hero who so completely expresses the national idea. King Arthur comes, perhaps, nearest to Luther amongst the English-speaking race. He was great in his private life, as well as in his public career. His home was the ideal of cheerfulness and song. He was great in thought, and great in action. He was a severe student, and yet skilled in the knowledge of men. He was humble in the recollection of the designs and power of a personal Satan, yet bold and defiant in the midst of all perils. He could beard the papacy and imperial councils, yet he fell trustingly before the cross. He was never weary, and there seemed to be no limit to his creative energy. Thus Luther stands before the German people as the type of German character. Goethe, Frederick the Great, and all others in this regard pale before the German reformer. He embodies in his single person the boldness of the battle-field, the song of the musician, the joy and care of the parent, the skill of the writer, the force of the orator, and the sincerity of rugged manhood with the humility of the Christian.

As there is a constant danger that the Germans will deify Luther, so, on the other hand, for a long time, the English race failed to recognise his true worth, and to appreciate the manliness of his character. Such writers as Coleridge, Julius Hare, and Carlyle have given to us a better and truer conception and admiration of him. Carlyle says of him, "I will call this Luther a true great man — great in intellect, in courage, affection, and integrity; one of our most lovable and precious men; a right spiritual hero and prophet, and, more, a true son of nature and fact, for whom these centuries, and many that are to come yet, will be thankful to heaven."^c

LUTHER'S LIMITATIONS

Luther had the instincts of a statesman [says Creighton] as well as the zeal of a teacher. He saw the paramount importance of the maintenance of order and was not misled by his sympathies. For himself, he had always inculcated civil obedience, and had striven against confusion; prophets of murder had arisen in spite of his attempts, and none withstood them more diligently than he. But he exhorted the nobles to lay aside their tyranny, to deal reasonably with the peasants and consider their demands when they were just. To the peasants he spoke with equal force: they took God's name in vain by making him the author of confusion; he allowed no man to judge and avenge his own cause. He bade them endure, and pray, and trust in God's help. Even as he wrote, the issue of events was doubtful, and Luther knew that his words would give dire offence to the insurgents. "I go home," he wrote, "and with God's help will prepare for death, and await my new

masters, the murderers and robbers. But rather than justify their doings I would lose a hundred necks."

But Luther was not called upon to suffer martyrdom for his moderation. Rebellion was stamped out in blood. Luther rejoiced in the triumph of authority, and threw himself unreservedly on the side of repression. His denunciations of the "robbing, murdering peasants" lost all sympathy with their grievances. They were guilty of every sin, and clothed their sins with the pretence of God's law. Luther, who had exhorted his countrymen to cast off the yoke of their ecclesiastical superiors, could find no punishment too severe for them when they attempted to diminish the burdens wherewith their temporal superiors oppressed them. His utterances caused much disappointment and indignation. He was called a hypocrite and a flatterer of princes. But he only repeated his general principle: "It is better that all the peasants should be slain than the magistrates and princes, because the peasants take the sword without God's authority."

The limits of his principles and of his influence had been painfully manifested. His utterances had been harsh and unsympathetic: he had no better advice to give than patience under old wrongs, and submission to grievances for God's sake. There was nothing that was new, and little that was hopeful, in such a message. Still Luther's attitude encouraged the nobles of Germany, and saved the country from disorder, which must have proved fatal to the future of the Reformation. Luther carried with him the good sense of Germany, and proved that his teaching was free from revolutionary fanaticism. But he lost greatly in personal importance, and could no longer claim to command the movement which he had originated. There was henceforth a difference between the Lutheran movement and Luther. The simplicity of an ideal had passed away, and the sternness of practical life had been disclosed. Germany was reduced to desolation; on all sides were heard the mutterings of discontent. The new ideas were no more powerful than the old to bring an immediate remedy to the woes of society. With sombre resoluteness men ranged themselves on one side or the other, in the conflict which was now inevitable; and both sides felt that the struggle would be long and stubborn.^p

LUTHER'S PERSONALITY

Is it acuteness of perception or inventive genius that we admire in Luther? [asks Hagenbach]. He was the inventor of neither gunpowder nor printing, nor did he discover a fresh path across the waters, or a new quarter of the globe, like Columbus and Vasco da Gama. His telescope searched out no hidden star in the heavens; his microscope described no previously unknown plant or insect on the earth; no law of mechanics or physics is called by his name.

May we, then, behold in him the thinker who, in the invisible realm of the intellect, opened new paths for speculation or led the way to new views of supersensual matters? This last he certainly did, after his own fashion, without intending it. But philosophical thought, research, investigation, as such, was not his business. If the name of philosopher had been applied to him, he would have protested against it. We know in what estimation he held the "old storm-brewer," Reason, and her priestess, Philosophy, and what opinion he entertained of that master of thought, Aristotle; and Luther, judging thus, must be content if the wisdom of this world pass him

by unheeded, and if the history of philosophy omit to mention him or notice him only as a psychological problem.

Since, then, it is neither the man of learning, nor the philosopher, nor the sage, nor the saint, that we revere in him, in our effort to classify him we must perhaps have recourse to the word genius, a convenient category which we are wont to employ whenever our ordinary standard for the measurement of greatness is insufficient. And it is, in truth, the presence of genius which impresses us when we contemplate the character of Luther. In whatever sphere of life we meet him, on whatever side we view him, flashes of intellect scintillate from him. His style may in some instances be ponderous, but he never becomes tedious. We are invariably refreshed if we read aught that has flowed from his pen, or hear any anecdote concerning him. The most unimportant things are handled by him, in his letters, in such a manner as to awaken our interest. We become interested in every individual who has once come in contact with Luther.

It will, perhaps, be said that his was a thoroughly poetic nature. And this is true. It is not, however, to Luther as a poet that our thoughts fly as quickly as his name is mentioned. Some of his devotional songs — for instance, that powerful hymn, *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, etc. — live, it is true, not only in the church but in the nation. But of independent poetical productions, of artistic creations in the service of art, Luther neither was nor cared to be the author. Profoundly poetical as his whole nature was, as is manifest from his charming mingling of jest and earnest, the like of which is to be met with in no other man except Shakespeare, Luther was called to something else than poetry — we may with propriety say to something higher. The poetical vein in his composition was ever in the service of the reformer. Yet even as a poet, how superior Luther is to the other poets of his time, who either studied in Latin verses, imitated the ancient classics, or, in the broad and easy style of Hans Sachs, practised the master-song, giving birth to productions that were naïvely entertaining, but destitute of all elevation of sentiment. That which gives elevation to the poetry of Luther is, again, the religious element in his character.

It is, then, a genius presided over by religion and supported by a German spirit and nature, which so peculiarly affects us as we gaze upon Luther. He is the man of faith and the German, the man of the German people. The two characteristics are inseparably intertwined. Divest Luther's character of either its religious or its national impress, and the man becomes but a lifeless mask and his whole history a falsehood. Nay, it is not any abstract greatness that we reverence in Luther; it is Luther himself in his whole essence, in his complete and solid personality, before whom we involuntarily bare our heads.^e

LUTHER AND HIS PROTESTANT BIOGRAPHERS

The biographic lacuna, as far as the critical history of Luther is concerned [says Gauss], becomes all the more obtrusively potent in view of the fact that few, if any, single characters since the close of the Middle Ages afford more autobiographic, plastic, dramatic elements and data. Luther was no taciturn, self-absorbed misanthrope; no solitary, self-communing spirit. He was not only a man of strong passions, unbending spirit, violent temper, of irregular, wayward and undisciplined will, of insurgent, radical originality, of half-formed ever changing theories, of continually excited nerves and seething blood, but of a most blunt, fearless, brutal frankness. He was fearless to the

border of irresponsible rashness, blunt to the exclusion of every qualm of delicacy, audacious to the scorn of every magnanimous restraint, coarse beyond the power of reproducible Anglo-Saxon, lubricous to a degree that even pales Rabelaisian foulness. His was a volcanic, torrential personality.^r

CRITICAL VIEWS OF LUTHER

Luther was ceaselessly engaged [says Janssen] in a struggle with himself and his conscience, from which, on his own confession, he tried to escape by excessive drinking, by games and amusements, by thinking of a beautiful maiden, or by falling into a violent fit of anger. He was accustomed always to get into a rage over the church, its doctrines and institutions, and especially over the papacy.

Luther's language was so intemperate that Wilibald Pirkheimer said of him that he seemed to have fallen into absolute madness with his impetuous daring tongue or else to be led by an evil spirit.

"Luther observes no bounds," wrote Böllinger, one of the most respected theologians of the new faith in Switzerland; "yea, his writing is more often nothing else than a blustering and scolding so that if God has advised him of a good cause, he surrounds it with so many evil and wild words that the good is not especially respected. In a flash he gives all to the devil who do not submit to him on the spot. Thus in all his attacks there is much of an inimical spirit and little of a friendly or fatherly attitude."^q

LUTHER'S GENIUS

It is evident of itself [says Schlegel] that a man who accomplished so mighty a revolution in the human mind, and in his age, could have been endowed with no common powers of intellect, and no ordinary strength of character. Even his writings display an astonishing boldness and energy of thought and language, united with a spirit of impetuous, passionate, and convulsive enthusiasm. The latter qualities are not, indeed, very compatible with a prudent, enlightened, and dispassionate judgment. The opinion as to the use which was made of those high powers of genius must of course vary with the religious principles of each individual; but the extent of those intellectual endowments themselves, and the strength and perseverance of character with which they were united, must be universally admitted. Many who did not adhere afterwards to the new opinions still thought, at the commencement of the Reformation, that Luther was the real man for his age, who had received a high vocation to accomplish the great work of regeneration, the strong necessity of which was then universally felt: for no well-thinking man then dreamed of a subversion of the ancient faith.

If, at this great distance of time, we pick out of the writings of this individual many very harsh expressions, nay, particular words which are not only coarse but absolutely gross, nothing of any moment can be proved or determined by such selections. Indeed, the age in general, not only in Germany but in other very highly civilised countries, was characterised by a certain coarseness in manners and language, and by a total absence of all excessive polish and over-refinement of character. But this coarseness would have been productive of no very destructive effects; for intelligent men well knew that the wounds of old abuses lay deep, and were ulcerated in their very roots; and no one was therefore shocked if the knife, destined to amputate abuses, cut somewhat deep.

Luther acquired, too, the respect of princes, even of those opposed to him. Thus when, shortly after the commencement of the Reformation, a general insurrection of peasants broke out, which renewed all the excesses of the Hussites, Luther, so far from exciting the rebels, like some of the new gospelers, opposed them with all the powers of his commanding eloquence, and all the weight of his high authority; for he was by no means in politics an advocate for democracy, like Zwingli and Calvin, but he asserted the absolute power of princes, though he made his advocacy subservient to his own religious views and projects. It was by such conduct and the influence which he thereby acquired, as well as by the sanction of the civil power, that the Reformation was promoted and consolidated. Without this, Protestantism would have sunk into the lawless anarchy which marked the proceedings of the Hussites, and to which the war of the peasants rapidly tended; and it inevitably would have been suppressed, like all the earlier popular commotions; for under the latter form Protestantism may be said to have sprung up several centuries before.

None of the other heads and leaders of the new religious party had the power, or were in a situation to uphold the Protestant religion — its present existence is solely and entirely the work of the deed of one man, unique in his way, and who holds unquestionably a conspicuous place in the history of the world. Much was staked on the soul of that man, and this was in every respect a mighty and critical moment in the annals of mankind and the march of time.⁹





CHAPTER VIII

A DISSOLVING EMPIRE

[1546-1618 A.D.]

From the middle of the fifteenth century on, Germany progresses rapidly towards a crisis that can only be compared, in its world-wide importance, with the crusades and the French Revolution. The Holy Roman Empire, as it still was officially called, although it embraced little territory that was not German, had come to be scarcely more than a lofty conception. — HENDERSON,^b

WHILST the diet of Ratisbon was still sitting, in 1546, where for the last time the Protestants urged "a lasting peace and equal rights for the evangelical and Catholic estates, together with an equitable council of the German nation," the emperor had already collected an army, and concluded a treaty of alliance with the pope. He determined, in combination with the holy see, to adopt extreme measures against Hermann, the archbishop of Cologne, who was at once formally deposed from his electorate. This and other acts alarmed the confederates of Smalkald; and they demanded from the emperor the object of his military preparations. He replied briefly that all those who submitted to his authority would find him influenced by the same gracious, paternal, and good intentions he had hitherto shown; but, on the other hand, all such as acted in opposition to him must expect to be treated with the greatest severity. And shortly after this, when the messenger returned from Rome with the treaty signed by the pope, he issued his declaration of the 26th of June, 1546, that, as hitherto all the diets had produced no effect, it was his desire that all should await with patience the determination he might adopt upon the subject of religion, whether for peace or war. This declaration showed evidently that it was the emperor's intention to have recourse to

war, and the Smalkaldic League immediately prepared to take up arms in their defence. The marked contrast, however, between the two great leaders held out but little prospect of brilliant results.

The elector of Saxony, who adhered to his faith with his whole soul, and was but little influenced by anything external beyond it, would not for a moment admit any political calculation to connect itself with his cause, but rested solely upon his conviction that God would not forsake his gospel. Previously, he had already refused the alliance of the kings of England and France, because they both appeared to him unworthy to defend the doctrines he held to be the most pure, and he even considered that he was bound to refuse the co-operation of the Swiss, because they deviated from him in their belief in the doctrine of the Eucharist. The elector, whose ideas were extremely circumscribed, had never for a moment suspected the existence of the plans so long contemplated by the emperor; on the contrary, he always continued to nourish in his heart, even to the last moment, the most sincere and genuine veneration for the ancient, sacred name and person of the emperor. And, indeed, had it not been for his able chancellor, Brück, to whom he confided everything, and who, fortunately, knew better than himself how to bring into connection the maxims of state policy with the strict principles of religion, so firmly advocated by his master, the league would have suffered still more severely.

Philip of Hesse was not wanting, either, in attachment and zeal for his faith; but there were other motives besides of an external character by which he was influenced in the part he had chosen. He had from the first been excited by the most burning ambition, and had it not so happened that a combination of events had cut him off from all friendly connection with the imperial throne, he would doubtless have occupied a distinguished position amongst the councillors and generals of the emperor. Finding himself, however, placed by fate at the head of the opposite party, his bold and enterprising genius prompted him to employ every expedient against the emperor; for which purpose he was gifted with powers far more comprehensive than the elector of Saxony. He would willingly, in several cases, have taken up arms where the circumstances were favourable, in order to obtain for himself and his co-religionists at once those rights for which they were otherwise forced to wait until granted them by the emperor. We have seen already how he twice boldly took the field at all hazards — at one time in favour of Ulrich of Würtemberg, and at another against the duke of Brunswick; but whenever he urged the policy of undertaking more extensive expeditions, he found himself always checked by the elector, who was ever anxious not to infringe the laws; whence it was alone the common danger which held in union two minds so different in character, and almost wholly opposed to each other. This inequality of thought and feeling, however, could not fail to produce necessarily great confusion and opposition in moments of decisive action.

This was the weak side of the Smalkaldic League; but for this, its power under good and wisely concerted direction would have been sufficiently effective to have obtained complete success in a legitimate defence against the emperor. And in such case, to have proceeded upon the principle and feeling with which the elector of Saxony acted would have been highly praiseworthy and honourable; for thence the Protestant party would have been able to defend its liberty of faith with advantage, without the interference of foreigners, which was always destructive to Germany; it would have preserved the respect and reverence due to the imperial majesty — so long, at least, as the latter did not transgress the limits of justice; and without having recourse

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to the dishonest artifices of that policy which honours truth in proportion only as it accords with its own interest. But the league was unhappily devoid of unity of action and cordial co-operation, as well as of fixity of purpose in the execution of its plans. A considerable number of princes had refused to join its ranks, and even opposed it by attaching themselves to the emperor's party. Maurice, the young duke of Saxony, although himself a Protestant and cousin of the elector, as well as heir to the landgraf Philip, was in secret communication with the emperor; whilst the markgraf of Brandenburg, John of Küstrin, abandoned the league, and Albert of Bayreuth also, openly entering the service of the emperor, acted with him in concert against it.

MAURICE OF SAXONY

Maurice of Saxony was one of the most remarkable and distinguished men of his day. Young, bold, and active, he already possessed the keen glance and quick perception of the more experienced warrior, and had at command that searching, comprehensive view of circumstances which enabled him to execute his purposes with characteristic promptitude. His whole appearance, likewise, displayed the perfect man; and his eye of fire and penetration, together with the entire expression of his noble, daring countenance, indicated his heroic character. The emperor Charles himself, who always ranked the Germans far behind his subjects of the southern climes, and accordingly held but few of them in much respect, soon learned to know the young duke's character, and quickly penetrating into all that was grand and noble in his nature he singled him out at once as worthy of especial regard and esteem beyond all his other courtiers.

Maurice, whose keen glance penetrated far more deeply into future events than that of his cousin the elector, discovered very soon that the latter could not possibly maintain the contest against the superior address and tact of the emperor, and he accordingly formed at once the resolution of making himself the chief of the house of Saxony. In doing this, he may, perhaps, have justified himself by the plea that there was no other means of saving it; still his justice and truth were put thereby severely to the test. He would not join the league of Smalkald, because he wished to attach himself to the emperor and preserve his alliance until, by the attainment of his object, he should be at liberty to act with independence.

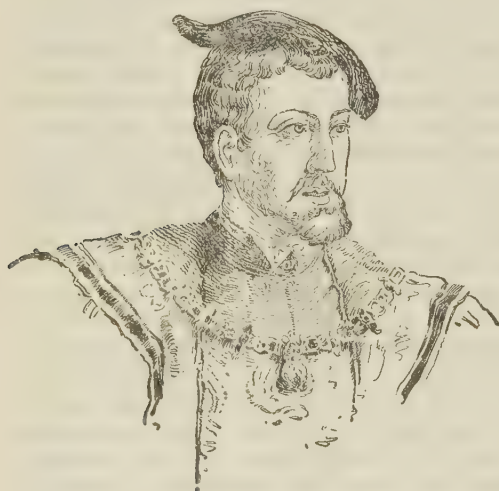
On the formation of the league he gave his advice against it, and when invited to join it he refused and declared that he would only take up arms in defence of his own lands. He was, however, already, at the moment he made this declaration, in secret understanding with the emperor; but to what extent and how closely he was allied, and under what stipulations, has not been clearly shown, unfortunately, however, there is every probability to suppose that the reward held out to him was the prospect of receiving the electorate. Such being the case, what an inward struggle must it have cost him, and how painfully must it have agitated his whole soul, when the unsuspecting elector, just before he set out on his expedition against the emperor, confided into his hands the whole of his lands, in order to protect and watch over them as his substitute during his absence, to be faithfully restored to him on his return! Nevertheless, no external sign betrayed this inward contention, and wisdom triumphed over truth; and, in order not to betray himself, he accepted the protectorate of the electoral territories.

The emperor exerted every effort in order that the approaching war should not assume the character of a purely religious war. In a proclamation to

the principal Protestant cities, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm, printed in Ratisbon, he assures them positively that the preparations for war made by his imperial majesty were by no means adopted for the purpose of oppressing either religion or liberty, but solely in order to bring to submission a few obstinate princes, who, under the cloak of religion, sought to seduce over to their party other members of the holy empire, and who had lost all sense of justice and order, as well as respect for the imperial dignity.

The straightforward good sense of the German citizens told them plainly that a part of this proclamation was nothing but mere empty words, whilst they felt the danger with which they were themselves threatened by the overthrow of the princes. They held themselves, therefore, firmly attached to their league with the Protestant states. An unexpected event which now took place rendered perfectly useless all the pains that Charles had taken to

conceal the object in view. He had scarcely concluded his alliance with the pope, the nature of which was exactly the opposite of what he had so lately assured the cities in question, when the pope made it publicly known, and issued a bull throughout Germany, in which he represented the emperor's expedition as a holy undertaking for the cause of religion: "The vineyard of the Lord," it says therein, "shall now be purified, by fire and sword, of all the weeds which have been sown by the heretics throughout the Germanic Empire." By the terms of the compact itself, the pope promised to assist the emperor with twelve thousand Italian foot soldiers, and fifteen hundred light



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cavalry troops, which he undertook to maintain at his own cost for the space of six months. Besides this, he gave 200,000 crowns towards the general outlay of the war, and authorised the emperor to draw the moiety of the revenues from the ecclesiastical possessions in Spain, and to dispose of Spanish monastic property to the amount of 500,000 scudi. In return for which Charles promised that he would compel, by force of arms, all the rebels in Germany to return to their obedience to the holy chair of Rome; that he would restore the ancient religion, and that, without the consent of the holy father, he would enter into no treaty with those of the new heresy, that might be disadvantageous or injurious to the Romish church.

This manifesto, contrary to the wish of Charles, gave a religious character to the war, and such was the pope's desire. In the Protestant countries, however, the most bitter and indescribable exasperation was excited, and if the leaders had only known how to avail themselves of that moment, by directing the entire strength of the mass thus aroused, the emperor, with his Spaniards and Italians, must have been completely overcome. For the other German princes, and even the Catholic princes, held themselves generally quiet; dreading lest, after overthrowing the Protestants, the emperor should exercise sole dominion over the whole empire.

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The army furnished by the cities of upper Germany marched first into the field — a well-appointed and select body of troops under the command of a man distinguished for his military skill and well-tryed experience, Sebastian Schertlin, of Burtenbach near Augsburg. This brave officer and knight was remarkable for his resolution and firm, undeviating principles of action; he would never brook half measures, but always manœuvred for the total defeat and destruction of his enemy. He had served in all the campaigns against the Turks and the French, and had shared in the battle of Pavia and the storming of Rome under the duke de Bourbon. He was now soon joined by the corps of Ulrich, duke of Würtemberg, under the command of the brave John of Heydeck. Schertlin speedily drew up his plan of the war, according to which he commenced operations by at once seeking to annihilate the emperor's forces at the very onset of their formation; for Charles, who still remained stationary in Ratisbon, had as yet at the utmost only from eight to ten thousand men, whilst he still awaited the troops collecting in Germany and those that were marching to his aid from Italy and the Netherlands.

Schertlin advanced against the town of Flüssen on the river Lech, in Swabia, one of the principal military dépôts of the emperor; but the troops on his approach evacuated the place, and retired into Bavaria, and just as he was about to march in pursuit of them a messenger arrived from the council of the city of Augsburg, in whose service he was more especially engaged, with instructions not to enter the territory of the duke of Bavaria, who was a neutral power. The house of Bavaria had threatened to join the emperor in case they did not leave the country unmolested; at the same time it may be observed that, if it was resolved to remain entirely neutral, it ought assuredly not to have permitted the troops of the emperor to pass through its territory. But there was at that moment a secret compact concluded between the Bavarian house and the emperor, by which the former agreed to furnish at least a certain contribution in money. It was, therefore, with no little pain and mortification that Schertlin found himself thus suddenly checked and forced to make a halt on the very banks of the river Lech, without being permitted to cross it and destroy the enemy thus slipping through his fingers; especially as his plans embraced far more important and decisive results, it having been his determination, after having defeated the troops now before him, to proceed by forced marches to Ratisbon itself. The army there collected being but small, the emperor would have been forced to take to flight, in which case he must have lost the whole of upper Germany. Referring to this subject Schertlin wrote that assuredly Hannibal himself had not experienced greater regret and mortification, when compelled to withdraw from Italy, than he had endured when forced at that moment to retire from the Bavarian territory.

The brave Schertlin now proceeded at once to carry into execution the plan he had formed immediately after the failure of his first project, which was to oppose the march of the pope's troops across the Tyrolese mountains into Germany. Never had such a well-appointed army been formed in Italy as that which now marched forth to join the emperor's force; the soldiers, under chiefs long distinguished for courage and experience, being all united in one zealous, enthusiastic feeling against the Protestants. Schertlin, by forced marches, soon gained the passes and made himself master of the important defile of Ehrenberg. Thence he marched against Innsbruck, and had he been allowed to proceed he would have obtained his object and commanded the whole country; but here he received fresh orders from the leaders of the league, by whom he was now instructed to evacuate the land, inasmuch as

King Ferdinand, to whom it belonged, had not as yet declared war against the Smalkaldic League. Thus was evinced already, even at the commencement of operations, all that doubt and fear amongst the confederates whence might easily be foreseen the most unfortunate and disastrous results. For it was the height of folly and madness, after the war had become inevitable, to show consideration towards those who, although as yet not declared enemies, were nevertheless known to be decidedly hostile. Nevertheless, the general was obliged again to obey superior orders, and was thus unable to avail himself of the advantages he already possessed, or might at any future period gain.

THE SMALKALDIC WAR OPENS (1546 A.D.)

Meantime the Saxon and Hessian troops were brought into the field, and directed their march towards upper Germany. The two chiefs of the league addressed, on the 4th of July, a letter to the emperor stating that they were not conscious of having committed any act of disobedience, of which they had been accused by the emperor. If, however, they had laid themselves open to such reproach, it was only just and equitable that they should be heard beforehand; and if this did take place, then they would make it clear in the eyes of all that the emperor undertook the war merely at the instigation of the pope, in order to oppress and crush the doctrine of the evangelists, and the liberty of the Germanic Empire. This last and most grave accusation, now made for the first time against the emperor by his opponents, was soon eagerly caught at and disseminated throughout the world. This one sentence, if it was held to be truly expressed, must have produced a startling change even in the Roman Catholics themselves, must have subdued all their zeal and rendered them less desirous to behold the emperor succeed in overcoming his adversaries.

Charles, indeed, immediately afterwards, by committing a most rash act, appeared to confirm the accusation thus made against him; for when the document from the leaders of the league was laid before him, he would not even touch it, but proceeded at once, on the 20th of July, to reply to it by a declaration of the imperial ban against the two princes of Saxony and Hesse. He therein charged them with disobedience to the imperial authority, and a design to deprive him of his crown, his sceptre, and all authority, in order to invest themselves therewith, and finally to subjugate everyone to their tyrannical power. He called them "rebels, perjurers, and traitors," and absolved their subjects from all obligation of homage and obedience to them. Thus severely did he express himself in reply to their address, although quite in conformity with the excitement and violence of that turbulent period. By this, his last act, however, the emperor violated the ancient rights of the empire, according to which he was not empowered to declare the ban against any state without the counsel and judgment of the princes. No exact estimate, therefore, can be made of the extent to which the emperor might have been carried, had circumstances continued favourable; for to minds like his, which subject themselves entirely to the dictates and guidance of prudence, circumstances constitute the only measure of restriction. They undertake only what appears to them practicable, and Charles accordingly was cautious in not attempting what he could not complete. He held the sway over so many extensive states, and had opposed to him so many powerful adversaries in Europe, that he felt it quite impossible to devote that continual and exclusive care to Germany which a plan of absolute sovereignty, to be carried out successfully, strictly demanded; hence he wisely abstained from the attempt.

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Nevertheless, Charles gave ample evidence of his character as a proud and mighty emperor, ruler of half the world, by acting in particular circumstances, when everything depended upon prompt measures of execution, independent of all forms of law; whence it may be said that the violation of the rights and privileges of the empire rested more in his intentions than in his plans.

Meantime he entered upon this opening scene of the Smalkaldic War in conscious superiority of mind and true heroic independence. Although having at command but a small body of troops, and threatened by an army of at least fifty thousand men, the most complete and formidable force that Germany had produced for several years, he only replied to the declaration of the princes by the said document of excommunication, and then proceeded from Ratisbon to Landshut in order to be more immediately at hand to receive the succours marching from Italy. To remove, however, all doubt or fear from the minds of his partisans, he declared to them that he would never abandon the German soil, but would adhere to it living or dead. His best guarantee was the state of dissension existing in the camp of the allies. Schertlin with the municipal troops had now joined the army of the two dis-united princes. The citizen-general now advised that they should march with their combined forces against Landshut, and there surround the emperor at once; but, as usual, they could come to no determination, and the valuable opportunity was lost once more. The emperor, on the contrary, lost no time in making the most of these valuable moments; he collected around him all the reinforcements as they arrived from Italy and Spain, as well as the auxiliary troops from Germany, and when he found himself in sufficient strength, he ascended the banks of the Danube as far as Ingolstadt. There he encamped, and strongly fortified himself; for as yet he could not venture to enter the open field and attack the enemy, preferring to await the arrival of Count Buren, who was advancing to join him with a considerable body of troops from the Netherlands. The allies had followed him to his present position, and now they at length determined to attack his camp, as yet not quite secured, with their artillery, and thus force him to draw up in line of battle.

Accordingly, on the 31st of August, they advanced at break of day, and forming themselves into a half circle occupied all the heights in the rear of the camp with their planted cannon. The allied troops were animated with courage and a desire for battle; and at this favourable moment a bold and decisive assault, conducted with prompt and energetic effect, would have procured for the allies an easy but complete and glorious victory. For the emperor was far inferior in force, and his camp was as yet only defended by a simple trench. The idea of such an assault was not unthought of by the allies; according to some accounts the landgraf Philip, according to others General Schertlin, had suggested it at the very moment when the fire from his twelve heavy cannon was dealing destruction amongst the emperor's Spanish arquebusiers, and sending them back flying into the camp. But again this time irresolution and disunion among the leaders rendered futile the decision which ought to have been put into force immediately. The emperor, who with the greatest sang-froid encouraged his troops, and himself defied all danger, now gained time to complete the fortifications of his camp, and was soon enabled to witness in perfect security how vain were the efforts of the enemy to point their cannon with any effect against him. From this moment Schertlin, as he himself relates, placed no longer faith in this war, declaring that he saw no serious efforts being made to render it an honourable and legitimate war.

The princes continued during five entire days to cannonade the imperial

camp, without producing any desired result; and when they heard that Count Buren, with his auxiliary troops from the Netherlands, had already crossed the Rhine, they raised the siege, and suddenly retired with their whole army in order to march against him. The emperor could scarcely believe his eyes, when he beheld the powerful army of his enemy thus retire without having effected anything; and mounting his horse he rode out of his camp escorted by the duke of Alva and others of his staff, to observe their retreat more closely.

Meantime, the princes, notwithstanding their rapid march, were unable to prevent the junction of Count Buren with the emperor, who, being now so much reinforced, proceeded at once to march in advance, taking possession of one place after another along the Danube, and making himself complete master of that river. When at length he approached and threatened Augsburg, the citizens summoned their general, Schertlin, to their aid and protection. The allies, however, notwithstanding they had not understood properly how to avail themselves of their superiority, maintained the war by an obstinate resistance until November, so that the emperor could not bring them to a general action; whilst, in the meantime, the Spaniards and Italians of his army already suffered greatly from disease and fatigue.

The allies suffered likewise from the severe weather, to which was added the want of supplies, both in provisions and money, and the army now began to show signs of discouragement and dejection, because the leaders were incapable of inspiring confidence; the Swabian division of the army was more especially disgusted with the war, because the whole burden was thrown upon its shoulders, whilst the two armies had now been encamped face to face for more than six weeks, without doing anything. The princes at length sent a despatch to the imperial camp, in which they declared themselves ready to negotiate for peace, or at least a suspension of arms. By this act, however, they only betrayed and acknowledged at once their weakness, and yielded themselves as conquered without striking a blow. Rejoicing triumphantly, the emperor commanded the document to be read before the whole army drawn up in order of battle, and for all reply he briefly announced to the princes, through the markgraf of Brandenburg, that his majesty knew of no other way by which peace was to be restored than by the submission of the electors themselves and their adherents to the imperial authority, together with their entire army, their lands, and subjects.

Upon receiving this reply, the allied princes broke up and separated on the 22nd of November, at Giengen, and each returned to his own territories.

The presence of the elector of Saxony had been more especially claimed by his country through a message despatched to him in his camp, announcing that Duke Maurice had, with the exception of a few small places, taken entire possession of the whole land. For the emperor had authorised his brother Ferdinand, as king of Bohemia, to execute, in conjunction with Duke Maurice, the sentence of the ban adjudged against the elector; and such was the position of affairs that it appeared, if Maurice did not himself take immediate possession of the electorate, it would most probably be lost forever. Such at least was the representation made by Maurice when he summoned together the states of the country, in order to obtain their sanction for such proceeding; for without that he could not have commenced upon such an important undertaking. He employed all his powers of speech and argument, in order to give his conduct and wishes the semblance of right and justice. The sudden arrival, however, of Ferdinand, with his Hungarian light cavalry, which he had brought with him from Bohemia, produced a decided effect; their savage

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appearance spread universal terror, and it was regarded as a happy relief to yield to the Saxon warriors of Maurice. The entire electorate, therefore, with the exception of Wittenberg, Eisenach, and Gotha, was speedily in the hands of the ambitious duke. The voice of the people, nevertheless, loudly condemned his proceedings; he was looked upon by them as a renegade in the cause of the new doctrine of faith; and by the clergy, both in the pulpit and in their various writings, he was most severely censured and lashed.

The elector himself now, in December, 1546, returned to Saxony, full of sadness and dejection. He soon succeeded, however, in reconquering his lands, and in seizing a portion of the duke's territory, after he had overthrown and taken prisoner, in Rochlitz, Albert, markgraf of Brandenburg, who had been sent to the aid of his friend, Duke Maurice, by the emperor. Maurice was likewise left without any assistance from Bohemia, as the estates of that country refused to fight against their co-religionists in Saxony, referring, at the same time, to a treaty of inheritance which existed between the crown of Bohemia and the electoral house of Saxony; whilst Ferdinand himself began to feel rather uneasy on account of his own kingdom. That country had already ripened into a state of open revolt, and the states had even proceeded to collect a considerable army, in order, as they pretended, to protect the Bohemian territory against the attack of the unchristian Spanish and Italian forces. Whence it resulted that Maurice, of his own land, only retained possession of the towns of Dresden, Pirna, Zwickau, and Leipsic, and he was reduced to place all his hopes in the emperor Charles.



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SURRENDER OF THE CITIES

Meantime Charles was occupied in bringing to subjection the Protestant cities in the south of Germany. This, however, was deemed no easy undertaking, these places being exceedingly strong and able to resist his arms for a length of time; whilst, in the interval, the princes of the north could avail themselves of the opportunity, and make their preparations for a fresh campaign. It seemed, however, as if both courage and resolution had suddenly deserted them altogether; for wherever the emperor presented himself the cities submitted to him at once without offering any resistance. Bopfingen, Nördlingen, Dunkelsbühl, and Rothenburg threw open their gates without its being necessary for him to unsheathe the sword at all; whilst Ulm itself, powerful as that city was, despatched messengers to meet him, who on their knees, and in the open field, besought his pardon in the Spanish tongue. This act was especially, and with justice, most severely condemned by the allies. The city was also obliged to pay over to him as a fine 100,000 florins. Frankfort paid likewise a sum of 80,000 florins, Memmingen 50,000 florins, and the smaller towns paid sums in proportion; and now the turn came for Augsburg. This city was protected by walls almost invulnerable, mounted with two hundred pieces of artillery, and provided with a strong garrison, and

a warlike population; if, therefore, it had only maintained its ground with determined bravery, it must thereby have revived once more the sinking courage of the entire body of the allied forces. But the rich members of the municipality took fright when they found the danger so close to their own door; and one of them, Anthony Fugger, proceeded as deputy to wait upon the emperor in his camp, and returned with the conditions exacted: the city was to pay a sum of 150,000 gold florins, receive a Spanish garrison, and banish its brave commandant Schertlin. The latter employed every effort to prevail upon them to defend the place, but all his eloquence was in vain: he could not infuse courage into them; finally, he reminded them of their contract with himself, according to which they had engaged to retain him in their service, and could not banish or discharge him. They, however, only replied by begging him with tears in their eyes to leave the city; accordingly the brave old warrior quitted the place in disgust and indignation, and retired to Switzerland—the Spanish troops taking immediate possession. The cities, indeed, had reason to congratulate themselves upon having the permission granted them to retain the same privileges in respect to religion as were enjoyed by Duke Maurice and the house of Brandenburg; although this arrangement certainly did not accord with the promise made to the pope.

Besides the cities, two princes in Upper Germany had taken an active part in the war: Ulrich, duke of Würtemberg, and Frederick, elector of the Palatinate. The latter was not a member of the Smalkaldic League, and had only, in accordance with an hereditary treaty between himself and Duke Ulrich, furnished the latter with a subsidiary force of three hundred cavalry and six hundred foot soldiers; added to this, he had been a juvenile companion and playmate of the emperor when both were together in Brussels as boys; hence he easily obtained a pardon. The duke of Würtemberg, however, was obliged, together with his council, to beg for pardon on his knees, and likewise to give up his strongest castles with all the cannon, and to pay a fine of 300,000 gold florins, after having sworn to obey the emperor in all things.

Thus the Smalkaldic League in upper Germany was speedily destroyed, and the emperor resolved at once not to allow his army any repose, but to bring matters in the north of Germany to an equally prompt and decisive termination. He himself stood, indeed, much in need of rest; his hair during this war had become quite gray, his limbs were completely lamed from gout, whilst his countenance was so deathly pale, and his voice so weak and tremulous, that he could hardly be recognised or understood. His spirit, however, still reigned with all its original power within that infirm body; and he was now urged on by necessity to obtain his object, inasmuch as he was anxiously expected at Eger by King Ferdinand and Duke Maurice, who there tarried like two fugitives driven from their possessions until he came. He joined them at length, on the 15th of April, and they celebrated together the Easter festival; they then forthwith proceeded on their march, and on the 22nd of April Charles found himself already encamped within a short distance of the walls of Meissen on the Elbe.

The elector could not, for a long time, believe it possible that Charles was marching against him; but now, when to his no small surprise he found he was actually within sight and close upon him, he gave hasty orders to destroy the bridge near Meissen, and marched with his army along the right bank of the Elbe, in order to reach Wittenberg, his capital, where he would have at command all the means necessary to maintain a long and vigorous resistance. The emperor, on the other hand, held it to be most important that an imme-

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diate attack should take place, to bring the war to a speedy end; especially as his army was four times as strong as that of the elector. Accordingly, he lost not a moment, but pursued his march along the opposite shore, almost in a line with the elector's troops, and searched along the river for a spot to ford it and get his army safely and expeditiously across. The elector halted near the small town of Mühlberg, whilst the emperor, very late at night, once more rode with his brother and Duke Maurice along the shore, seeking in vain for a favourable spot by which to cross over; for the Elbe here was at least three hundred feet wide, and the opposite shore was considerably higher than on his side. At length his general, the duke of Alva, brought from a neighbouring village a young miller (his name — preserved by history — was Strauch), who promised to lead them to a fording-place. He was induced to commit this act of treachery by a feeling of revenge towards his fellow countrymen, who, as they marched in the course of the day through his village, had taken with them two of his horses; this circumstance, and the tempting offer of a hundred crowns, made him by Duke Maurice, with the promise of two other horses to replace those taken from him, determined him to serve the enemies of his country.

At the dawn of morning, and under favour of a very thick fog, several thousands of Spanish arquebusiers now commenced crossing the river, and a select troop among them, having cast aside their guns and thrown off their armour, placing their swords in their mouths, holding them tight between their teeth, plunged into the stream, and swimming to the other side, seized the remains of the bridge which had been destroyed by the Saxons. This they succeeded in repairing whilst the cavalry forded the river, each horseman taking with him on his saddle a foot soldier. Lastly followed the emperor, his horse guided by the said miller, King Ferdinand, Duke Maurice, and the duke of Alva, with the rest of the imperial suite.

THE BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG (1547 A.D.)

On the morning of this eventful day — the sabbath — the elector attended divine service in Mühlberg, and when in the midst of his devotions a messenger arrived in breathless haste and announced to him that the enemy had crossed the river and was in full march in pursuit of him he would not believe it, but desired the service of God not to be interrupted. When it was over he found the news was too true, and he had scarcely time to retire with his army. He ordered his infantry to march in all haste for Wittenberg; but he directed the cavalry to keep the enemy at bay by skirmishing, the artillery having already been sent in advance to Wittenberg. The imperials, however, pursued the Saxons with such speed that they overtook them on the plain of Lochau; and although his artillery and the greater portion of the infantry still remained behind, the emperor, nevertheless, by the advice of the duke of Alva, gave orders for an immediate attack. The Spanish and Neapolitan troopers dashed with impetuous force against the Saxons, Maurice himself leading the attack.

The elector's cavalry was soon thrown into confusion, and fell back upon the ranks of their own infantry, which was hastily drawn up in battle array on the borders of a deep forest. The elector gave his orders from a carriage, his weight of body not permitting him to mount on horseback; the emperor, on the other hand, in whom the signs of illness were less than ever perceptible on this day, rode an Andalusian charger, holding in his right hand a lance, and wearing a helmet and a cuirass gorgeously decorated with gold, his eye

beaming with warlike ardour. The imperial cavalry, with their terrific shout of "*Hispania! Hispania!*" broke now through the ranks of the Saxon infantry, which were completely put to rout. All now took to flight; everywhere was confusion and terror. As they fled across the plain, the fugitives were overtaken and struck down by their pursuers, covering with their bodies the whole line of road from Kossdorf to Falkenburg and Beiersdorf. One of the elector's sons was overtaken by some troopers of the enemy; he defended himself with great courage, and shot one of them dead at the moment when, having received two sword-cuts, he was sinking from his horse; some of his own men coming up just in time rescued and bore him away in safety. But his father was not so successful; he could not escape. He had been urgently entreated by his faithful adherents to seek safety in flight, and gain a secure asylum in Wittenberg; but his only observation was, "What will become of my faithful infantry?" and he remained on the field of battle. In the heat of action he had quitted his carriage and mounted a powerful Frisian charger; he was, however, very soon surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and as he valiantly defended himself, he received a cut on his left cheek from the sabre of a Hungarian trooper. The blood streamed all over his face, but even in this sad condition the undaunted warrior would not yield, until a Saxon knight in the suite of Duke Maurice, Thilo of Trodt, penetrated through the Hungarians that surrounded him, and called out to him in German to save his life. To him, as he was a German, the elector gave himself up a prisoner, and in token thereof he drew from his finger two rings which he presented to him; whilst to the Hungarian he gave his sword and dagger.

The knight conducted his royal prisoner to the duke of Alva, and the latter, at the earnest and repeated persuasion of the elector, led him before the emperor, who still continued mounted on his horse in the centre of the plain. The elector, as he approached, sighed deeply, and raising his eyes up to heaven, said, mournfully, "Heavenly Father, have pity on me, for behold I am a prisoner!" His sad condition and appearance excited the compassion and sympathy of all around—his wounded face still streaming with blood, and his cuirass likewise being covered with spots of gore. He was assisted to dismount by the duke of Alva, and was about to drop on his knee before the emperor, taking off the gauntlet from his right hand, in order, according to German custom, to present it to his majesty; but the latter refused to take it, and with a stern and haughty look turned from him. The mortified prince now addressed him with the words, "Mighty, gracious emperor!" "Ay, now I am your gracious emperor, am I?" returned Charles, haughtily. "It is long since you styled me thus!" The elector continued: "I am your imperial majesty's prisoner, and beg to receive the treatment due to me as a prince." "You shall receive the respect you merit," concluded the emperor. The elector was now conducted to the camp by the duke of Alva, together with Ernest, duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who had also been taken prisoner. Thus was that important day brought to a successful close for the emperor. In the style of Cæsar, he writes: "I appeared, I fought, and God vanquished."

THE FATE OF THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY

After a repose of two days, Charles marched on to Torgau, which surrendered forthwith, and thence he proceeded to Wittenberg, the capital of the country. The place was defended by a strong fort and a good garrison,

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whilst the citizens themselves assisted with determined courage and loyalty; had they continued to make resistance for any length of time, the emperor would have been forced to withdraw from Saxony without having completed his work, as he was not at all prepared for a long campaign. Thence, in his impatience, and by the urgent persuasion of his confessor and others around him, he had recourse to an expedient which completely transgressed the limits of his prerogative, and was contrary to the constitutional rights of the empire. He summoned a council of war, and pronounced sentence of death upon the unfortunate prince—an act which, however just the sentence, could not legitimately take place, except in a diet held by the German princes of the empire. Probably he may not seriously have contemplated the execution of the sentence, but only sought to use it as a means to terrify the friends and faithful adherents of the elector within the walls of the city, and thus induce them to surrender the place; but the violation of the law was based in the form of the judgment, and in case it did not operate in the way, perhaps, originally intended by Charles, there was too much reason to fear from his stern nature, which never allowed him to waver or recede, that execution would follow.

The elector, who, when in prosperity, was too often wanting in resolution and fixity of purpose, evinced at this moment all the heroic courage of a firm and energetic soul founded upon unchanging and indomitable faith. The sentence of death pronounced upon him was announced to him at the moment he was engaged in a game of chess with his fellow prisoner, Duke Ernest of Brunswick-Lüneburg. His appearance and manner betrayed neither alarm nor despondency, but as he resumed his game he calmly replied: "I can never believe that the emperor will proceed to such extremes in his treatment of me; if, however, his majesty has truly and definitively thus resolved, then I demand to be informed thereof in such positive and legitimate form as will allow me to proceed to fix and arrange my affairs in regard to my wife and children."

It is not known whether Duke Maurice did at all interest himself on this occasion with the emperor in favour of the elector; but, on the other hand, it is known for certain that the elector Joachim of Brandenburg hastened immediately to the imperial camp, where he strenuously exerted all his powers of eloquence with the emperor to prevent, by some mediatory accommodation, the fulfilment of the sentence. He succeeded at length in his object, but under conditions most severe and painfully humiliating to the elector of Saxony. He was obliged to renounce for himself and descendants all claim to the electoral dignity, as well as the possession of the territory, which were transferred to Duke Maurice. His castles of Wittenberg and Gotha were surrendered to the emperor, whilst he himself remained his prisoner during imperial pleasure; so that, if deemed proper and necessary by Charles, he might even have been sent to Spain itself, and there placed under the immediate charge of the infante Don Philip. The necessary provision for him and his family was to be furnished by Maurice, produced by the revenues derived from the towns of Eisenach, Gotha, Weimar, and Jena. In one article of the conditions it was proposed that the elector should even promise in advance to accept everything that might be decreed by the council of Trent and the imperial power in religious matters; but to that the resolute prince would by no means be brought to agree, and on this point he remained so firm and immovable that the emperor was obliged to yield: he struck out the passage with his own hand, and even the Spaniards themselves acknowledged the firmness of the elector to be both honourable and praiseworthy.

When it became known in Wittenberg that the city was to be delivered up to the emperor, although in religious worship it was guaranteed the free exercise of the Augsburg confession, considerable indignation and consequent opposition and confusion arose. At first the citizens resolved to defend themselves to the last man, because they found it impossible to place any confidence in the promise made that they should have their religious liberty: particularly after the cruel manner in which the Spaniards had acted towards their land. The elector, however, commanded them not to make any further resistance, as the emperor would, he assured them, faithfully keep the promise he had given; especially as the latter granted them permission to receive only German troops as a garrison. Accordingly on the 23rd of May, 1547, the Saxon soldiers marched out and the imperials took possession of the town. In the course of a very short period an interchange of a more peaceful and friendly feeling arose between the camp and the city, and mutual distrust disappeared more and more. The Saxons, to their great wonderment and admiration, beheld their deposed lord and prince comfortably lodged and entertained in the tent of the duke of Alva, where he was waited upon and treated with the greatest distinction and reverence by the Spaniards. The electress herself and her children, dressed in complete mourning, were led before the emperor by the sons of the Roman king and paid him their homage; Charles assisted the princess to rise, and consoled her in her sorrow and affliction with words of sympathy and encouragement, granting permission to the elector to pass an entire week with his family in his castle of Wittenberg, and there celebrate with them the festival of Whitsuntide. In addition to this, he himself repaired to the castle and returned the visit of the princess. The impression produced by his noble and exalted spirit, now so much softened, diminished and almost extinguished that feeling of antipathy hitherto existing against him throughout the country; whilst, on his part, he formed a much more favourable opinion of the people of the north of Germany than the enemies of the new doctrine had led him to conceive: "Things and people appear far different in this evangelical country to what I fancied and believed them to be before I came among them," was his expression now. And when he learned that on his arrival the Lutheran form of divine service had been prohibited and had ceased, he exclaimed: "Whence has that proceeded? By whose authority? If it be in our name that the service of God has been interdicted here, then does it incur our high displeasure! We have not altered aught touching religious matters in High Germany, why should we do so here?" He then visited the royal chapel of the castle and examined the tomb of Luther. One or two of his suite advised him "to have the remains of the heretic disinterred and publicly burned"; but Charles replied: "Let him repose in peace, he has already found his judge; I war only with the living, not with the dead."

Maurice, the new elector, showed himself equally friendly and indulgent towards the people of Wittenberg: "You have been so faithful to my cousin that I shall always remember and think well of you," were his words to the corporation as he left them. On the 6th of June the imperials withdrew from Wittenberg, and immediately afterwards the soldiers of the new elector marched in and took up their quarters in the city.

On the same day that the emperor Charles entered Wittenberg, his former rival, Francis I of France, was borne to the tomb, as if fortune had resolved to remove at once from before his path every obstacle to the plans he had formed. From Wittenberg he marched on to Halle, in order to attack the second leader of the Smalkaldic League, the landgraf of Hesse; and the latter, having now no longer any hope of deliverance but through the grace

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and pardon of the now all-powerful emperor, employed every effort by means of his son-in-law, Duke Maurice, and the markgraf of Brandenburg, to obtain both.

Both these princes exerted themselves most actively and zealously for him, and at length they succeeded; the emperor declaring, through his chancellor, Granvella, that if the landgraf came to him in person, surrendered himself at discretion, and signed the conditions which would be submitted to him, he promised not to seize his lands, neither would he take his life nor punish him with lasting imprisonment. Thus it is expressed in a copy of the transactions of that period. The mediators, however, did not well weigh the last sentence of the declaration, and imagined it was meant to convey that the prince should suffer no imprisonment; and they pledged their word of honour with the landgraf to give themselves up prisoners to his sons in case the emperor did not give him full liberty to return. Accordingly, on the 18th of June, Philip, in full reliance on their word, came to Halle, and on the following day he was led before the emperor.

Charles was seated on his throne, surrounded by a crowd of Spanish grandees and Italian and German nobles, and amongst them stood conspicuous Henry, duke of Brunswick, lately the landgraf's prisoner, but whom he had been forced to release and who now triumphed in his late conqueror's humiliation. With dejected and mortified mien the landgraf humbly knelt at the foot of the throne, whilst his chancellor Güntherode, kneeling behind him, read aloud to the emperor the petition for pardon. It was expressed in the most humble terms, and an eye-witness relates that, in the excess of shame and confusion with which the prince was overwhelmed at this moment, in the presence of such a large and august assembly, a slight smile played about his mouth, as if produced by an unconscious effort of nature to repress the feeling of shame by which he was so painfully tried. But this expression did not escape the lynx-eyed monarch; he held up his finger menacingly, and said in his Netherland dialect — for he spoke the German very badly — "*Wöl, ick soll di lachen lehren!*" (Ay, ay, I will teach you to laugh!) The imperial chancellor, Doctor Seld, then read the emperor's reply — that, although the landgraf, as he himself acknowledged, deserved the heaviest punishment, the emperor, nevertheless, in his innate goodness, and in consideration of the intercession made in his favour, would allow mercy to take the precedence of justice; he therefore removed the ban of excommunication pronounced against him, and granted him the life he had by his acts forfeited. After this document had been read, the landgraf was about to rise as a free prince from his humble posture, but waited in vain for the signal from the emperor; finding, therefore, that this was withheld, and that the clear and solemn promise of pardon was likewise refused to him, he rose of his own accord and withdrew from the assembly.

In the evening he supped with the elector Maurice and the markgraf of Brandenburg, in the quarters of the duke of Alva; after the meal, he was about to retire, when the duke informed him he must consider himself his prisoner. He was seized at once with astonishment and indignation, as were also the two princes who had guaranteed his liberty. They immediately appealed to the emperor and represented to him that they had pledged their princely word for the landgraf's liberty; but Charles denied having promised him remission from all imprisonment — as the mediators had falsely understood — although he declared at the same time that he would not punish him with perpetual captivity. And indeed it is very possible that his councillors promised more than he himself intended to grant; or that in the ignorance

of the chancellor Granvella and his son of the German, and of the two electors of the Spanish and French languages, an error may have arisen in the correspondence.

The deposed elector and the landgraf were therefore obliged to follow as prisoners the court and camp of the emperor wherever he proceeded. Besides this, all the Hessian castles and strongholds, from Cassel to Ziegenhain, were rased, all the cannon and ammunition seized and taken away, and the states of that country were forced to pay a fine of 150,000 florins. In his

treaties with the cities of upper Germany, the duke of Würtemberg, the elector of Saxony, and the landgraf of Hesse, he gained more than five hundred pieces of cannon, which he caused to be conveyed to Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands. The Spanish garrisons which he quartered wherever he found it possible, and especially in the cities of upper Germany, excited everywhere the greatest discontent. The overbearing pride and shameful treatment displayed and exercised by these haughty foreigners, animated as they were by their religious hatred, were insupportable, whilst it was not forgotten that the emperor, in the stipulations of his election, had promised not to bring or introduce any foreign troops into the empire.

THE COUNCIL REMOVES FROM TRENT

It now became more and more evident that peace in matters of religion would not emanate from the council of Trent, for as its members consisted altogether of Italians and Spaniards, they could not possibly be regarded as the representatives of the Christian world in the sense of the former convocations of the church. The Protestants now, as well as previously, refused not only to acknowledge their authority, but, on the contrary, insisted upon a council "in which the pope should not have the presidency, and where the Protestant theologians should enjoy the privilege of voting with and on the side of the

bishops, and where the decrees recently made should undergo fresh examination and revision."

The papal party, on the other hand, would not consent to these demands, although the princes of Germany, including even the Catholics, urgently demanded that the states which had assisted at the confession of Augsburg should be admitted to join the council. Nay, the cardinals themselves viewed the circumstance of its being held at Trent with a very unfavourable eye, and they strenuously endeavoured to have it transferred to the interior of Italy; for they were afraid that, if the aged pope, Paul III, died during the period of its assembly, the council, supported by Charles, would take upon itself the office of electing a new pope in opposition to the rights enjoyed by the college of cardinals, and by which the interests of that institution must be materially affected. At length a case of fever came fortunately to their aid and seconded their wishes; and although it was feared that the disease



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would prove more generally fatal, still one only of the bishops became its victim. This, however, was sufficient to produce the accomplishment of their object, and on the 9th of March, 1547, the council was removed from Trent to Bologna.

The emperor, on hearing of it, was highly indignant, and flew into a most violent passion, whilst the pope approved of the step taken by his legate; hence the division already existing between him and the emperor, owing on the one part to the pope's having withdrawn his troops from Germany immediately after the expiration of the agreed term of six months' service, and on the other to the emperor's not having availed himself of the triumph he had obtained in his empire by forthwith extirpating the Protestant party, became more confirmed. The emperor told the pope's nuncio in plain language that it could not be expected that the Protestants, who were willing to submit to the council, would themselves repair to Bologna, or even pay attention to what might be concluded there; whilst the rest did not require this motive for refusing to attend. If, therefore, Rome did not furnish him with a council, he himself would speedily have one assembled which should be so formed as to satisfy everyone, and produce all the reforms required; adding that the pope was an obstinate old man, whose only desire was to ruin and demolish the church to its foundation. Such were the angry terms in which Charles, contrary to his usual manner, addressed the prelate, and by that we have another proof of his anxiety and zeal to promote the peace of the church. The German bishops, on their part, now likewise most urgently besought the pope to remove the seat of council to Trent, but their efforts remained for a length of time without producing any effect.

THE "INTERIM"

In consequence, Charles now proceeded to re-establish of his own accord, at a diet held in Augsburg, in 1548, order and peace in religious matters in Germany, and with this view he opened a new conference, to which, on the side of the Catholics, two moderate men were appointed: the bishop of Naumburg, Julius Pflug, and the grand vicar of Mainz, Michael Helding; whilst the court chaplain of the elector of Brandenburg, Johann Agricola of Berlin, was selected on the part of the Protestants. They applied themselves to the subject with great industry and zeal, and marked out a plan of reunion which they laid before the emperor. Agricola, however, from his too great anxiety to establish the desired peace, had deviated in several essential points from the original principles of his faith. He had succeeded, it is true, in gaining for his own party, the admission of the two articles, *viz.*, of the marriage of clergymen, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both forms, but to continue valid only until the council should have given its decision upon the subject. As to the rest, he recognised the authority of the pope, the celebration of mass, and the Catholic church and its signs of faith generally; whence it was easy to foresee that great discontent and opposition must arise.

As, however, the elector of Brandenburg, and likewise the elector palatine, engaged both to sanction and adopt it, Charles considered he should now be able to compile therefrom his code of doctrines, called the *Interim*. He convoked his states on the 15th of May, and then caused to be read to them the work in question which was entitled "Declaration of his imperial and royal majesty, which determines how religion shall be exercised and maintained within the holy empire until the decision of the general council shall be pronounced." After the reading, and a short discussion had taken place among

a few individual members, but which led to no result, the elector of Mainz arose, and in the name of the states returned thanks to the emperor for the trouble, labour, industry, and love he had taken and shown for the sake of the country; and as none ventured to make any objection, the emperor concluded that the sanction of the entire body of the states was given to the measure, and regarded it now as the law of the empire.

Whilst the emperor Charles thus sought on the one hand to make himself independent of the proceedings of the pope, and on the other to maintain the unity of the German church — by which that of the Germanic Empire

itself must be rendered still more firm — he was guided by the one grand and fundamental principle observed throughout his entire reign — the restoration of the importance and dignity of the ancient empire, as had formerly been projected and in part effected by the great Charlemagne, the Ottos, and other high-minded emperors. His aim was to render the empire replete with spiritual and temporal power. The emperor, according to Charles' plan, was to be made in reality the chief authority of entire Christendom; with his temporal power he was to unite a material and effective influence over the church, and not only protect, as a machine of the spiritual power, the order of the church, and assist in enforcing duty to its commands, but he was to have an important share and interest in its councils and resolutions. Like Charles the Great, who presided at the synods of his bishops, and whose decrees were sanctioned by his signature, so, likewise, it was the desire of Charles V to partake in the direction of the general council, or at least to maintain next to the pope, and as the central point of the ecclesiastical order of the Germanic Empire, the dignity with which he was invested.



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The emperor was well aware that a grand and important step would be gained towards the establishment of his Interim, if the imprisoned

elector of Saxony, whose spiritual influence in the Saxon territories had recently very much increased — he being now regarded as a martyr to his faith — could be persuaded to give it his approval. Accordingly, he sent his chancellor, Granvella, and his son, the bishop of Arras, together with the vice-chancellor Seld, to submit to him the proposals to accept that code of doctrines, and likewise to recommend its adoption to his sons. The elector, however, in reply to their request, handed over to them a declaration which, in anticipation of such a visit, he had already prepared and written with his own hand, stating that the education he had received from his youth upwards at the hands of the servants of the divine word, together with the profound researches he had himself since made in the writings of the prophets and apostles, had united to convince him that the true Christian doctrine was to be recognised in the Augsburg confession, and his conscientious belief therein remained unshaken. If he accepted the Interim as a Christian and divine doctrine, he should be forced, against his conscience, to deny and condemn the Augsburg confession

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in many articles upon which his immortal happiness depended, and sanction with his lips what in his heart he held to be completely contrary to the doctrines of the holy scripture; in doing this he should consider he was shamelessly abusing and blaspheming the holy name of God, for which sin he must severely and bitterly suffer in his soul. His imperial majesty, therefore, would not, he hoped, feel ungracious towards him, if he refused to accede to the Interim, and persisted in adhering strictly to the Augsburg confession.

The ministers refused to accept this declaration, and reminded the elector that the emperor was empowered to make laws and decrees even in religious matters, and that several Roman emperors, ancestors of his present majesty, had created such, which even to that day were obeyed by all the subjects of the Roman Empire. The elector, however, remained immovable; and as during the discussion they were interrupted by a loud peal of thunder, the elector felt rejoiced and strengthened by the conviction that this was sent as an indication from heaven that his conduct met with divine approbation, and that he should be guided by the judgment of God alone, and not by that of mortals.

The act committed against the elector, immediately after this interview — although it is believed to have been done without the sanction of the emperor himself — was both petty and unjustifiable. He was deprived at once of the society of his chaplain, Christopher Hoffmann, and a seizure was made of all his books, amongst the rest of his own especially treasured copy of the Bible, beautifully illuminated; but amidst the painful mortification he endured, whilst forced to submit to this trial, his firmness did not forsake him, for as the minions quitted the place with these to him invaluable treasures, he said, resignedly: "You may take the books; but that which I have learned from them you can never take or even tear from my heart."

The sons, following the example of their father, refused to introduce the Interim into their territory, and in fact the emperor soon found himself deceived in his hopes of bringing his code into general use. The Protestant theologians rose in one body against the measure, and many were forced to vacate and abandon their offices, and take up the pilgrim's staff as wanderers, as in Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Ulm, Frankfort, and other cities: the number of banished ecclesiastics in the upper countries alone amounted to four hundred. What, however, is still more astonishing is that the Catholics themselves disapproved of this Interim, although it was by no means pretended that it should be put into practice amongst them. The Catholic church would have reaped the greatest advantage therefrom; for if the emperor had succeeded in his plan, the reunion of both would have been a necessary consequence. Thence their opposition can only be interpreted into a declaration that they would not regard as valid any regulation in matters of religion coming from him as a layman.

Thus, during his sojourn of two years in the Netherlands, whither he had repaired after the diet of Augsburg, the emperor was forced to receive continual complaints from Germany; his Interim was only acknowledged outwardly in a few places, whilst generally, in all parts of the empire, much bitter feeling was expressed against it, and even the elector Maurice himself gave it but a very limited reception in his land. He had commissioned several theologians, including Melancthon, to prepare a church formulary for his own subjects, and with great trouble, and not without incurring severe censure from the more rigid of the Lutheran clergymen, they completed what was called "the Leipsic Interim," and which, certainly, deviated in many points from but as a whole adhered to the Protestant faith. It was introduced in

several parts of the north of Germany, although here and there with considerable alterations; but, on the other hand, in many other parts of the country the greatest stand was made against any change whatever. The cities of Constance, Bremen, and Magdeburg, especially, declared themselves most firmly opposed to it, and refused to submit to the imperial order; whereupon the emperor pronounced the ban of the empire against them, and the two former places returned to their obedience. But Magdeburg continued obstinate, being influenced in a great measure by several theologians who had taken refuge there after their banishment from Wittenberg on account of the Interim; amongst whom a certain Flacius, with the by-name of Illyricus, was the most violent and zealous. The elector Maurice received at the new diet of Augsburg, in 1550, orders to execute forthwith the sentence of the ban pronounced against that city. He accordingly marched with his army at the commencement of the autumn in the same year, and laid siege to the place.

At this diet Charles sought to gain for his son Philip, whom he had sent for from Spain, the title of king of the Romans. However, neither his brother Ferdinand, nor the latter's son, Maximilian, nor, in fact, any of the electors or princes, would give their consent; for, besides other causes, the haughty, gloomy, repulsive appearance and manner of the prince could not possibly operate in his favour among the Germans. His father, therefore, saw himself obliged to send him back to Spain, whither Philip, indeed, was too glad to return, for he was more attached to that country than to any other. The emperor, at the conclusion of the diet, left Augsburg for Innsbruck, as the new pope, Julius III, having now removed the seat of the council from Bologna to Trent, Charles was anxious to be in its vicinity.

THE ELECTOR MAURICE DESERTS THE EMPEROR

Meantime the new elector of Saxony nourished in his heart a most bold and determined design against the emperor, the immediate motives for which, however, we are not able to define, inasmuch as the whole of this man's thoughts and actions have remained an enigma in all historical research. Still there is no doubt he was influenced in his conduct by at least two grand causes: (1) the severe and unjust confinement of his father-in-law, the landgraf of Hesse, towards whom he considered he was still bound to redeem the word and guarantee he had given for his liberty, whilst neither the arguments nor prayers resorted to by him had the least effect upon the emperor; and (2) the sad condition of the Protestants in Germany. These latter felt more and more convinced that the emperor only waited now for the resolutions of the council of Trent, in order to establish them as the laws of religion throughout the empire, and as he had already commenced hostilities against Magdeburg, on account of the Interim, so likewise, as soon as he had collected fresh troops, it might be expected that he would force all the states of the land to submit to all those decrees of the church. Indeed, at this moment, the whole body of the Protestants was in a state of anxious expectation and suspense. Those who dreaded the worst results condemned the elector Maurice as the most culpable party: inasmuch as he had betrayed the league of Smalkald, and it was through him that John Frederick of Saxony and the landgraf of Hesse were now suffering imprisonment. Those, on the other hand, who still cherished some hope of relief, turned their eyes towards him, for to them he appeared the only one now left, capable of protecting the new faith.

[1550-1552 A.D.]

The moment had indeed arrived when with one grand and mighty stroke he might expunge all recollection of the past and regain the public confidence. Maurice was not long in deciding the course he should take, and he determined to put his plan into execution at once. He availed himself of the opportunity presented in the expedition against Magdeburg, to collect, without exciting suspicion, a numerous body of troops; whilst at the same time, in accordance with the object in view, the siege of the city itself was conducted as tardily as possible. At length, in September of the following year, 1551, he, of his own authority, agreed to a suspension of arms, and in the succeeding November he concluded a treaty with the city — the terms of which were extremely mild and favourable for the latter — whilst, however, he took care not to discharge his troops on this account. He secretly despatched his early friend and companion, Albert, markgraf of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, to the court of Henry II, king of France, the son of Francis I, in order to conclude an alliance with him, and he immediately engaged in his service the leader of the Würtemberg troops, John of Heydeck, who, together with Schertlin, had been previously placed under the imperial ban.

These proceedings, however, had not escaped observation, and were communicated to the emperor; but Charles remained deaf to all the warnings given to him. He placed the greatest confidence in the man whom he thought he had thoroughly tested, and when thus cautioned against him, he replied that as he had never, to his knowledge, given cause, either to Maurice or the markgraf Albert, to act inimically towards him, but, on the contrary, had shown to both great proofs of his favour and consideration, he could not believe it possible that they would be guilty of such ingratitude; and he was convinced that with them their acts would go hand in hand with their words, and that they would not swerve from that honourable line of conduct for which the German nation had ever distinguished itself. And thus, whilst on the one hand the emperor placed his firm reliance upon German fidelity, his minister, Granvella the younger, calculated upon the simplicity of the Germans; for the observation he made in reply was that it was wholly impossible for a phlegmatic German to conceive a plan and endeavour secretly to bring it to bear, without its being immediately discovered and known in all its details.

Both the emperor and his minister, however, were struck as it were with a clap of thunder, when Maurice, in the month of March, 1552, suddenly appeared with his whole army, and invaded Franconia, augmenting his forces with those of the landgrafschaft of Hesse and the troops of the markgraf Albert. At the same time both these princes drew up a declaration against the emperor, which they made public, wherein they sought to justify the war they commenced. They complained of the prolonged imprisonment of the landgraf, as likewise of the attacks made by the emperor upon the liberty of Germany. They reproached him with having confided the seals of the empire to foreigners, who were totally unacquainted both with the language and the laws of Germany, so that the Germans themselves were actually forced to learn a foreign tongue before they were allowed to make known their demands to the imperial government. Contrary to the oath he took, he had, they said, introduced into the country foreign troops, who pillaged and ruined the unfortunate inhabitants, whom they likewise abused and ill-treated in every possible way; nay, he had gone to such extremes that he had clearly shown he was swayed by no other thought or feeling than that of subjecting all and each to the most shameful servitude, whence his conduct had been such that if the sweeping torrent of destruction were not speedily

and effectually checked, posterity itself would have too great reason to abominate the negligence and cowardice of the present generation, during which the liberty of their fatherland — its greatest and most precious treasure — had been allowed to fall a sacrifice.

The emperor again, whose actions were better than in these declarations they were represented to be, in his dignity made no other reply than: "The accusations of the two princes being so childish, unconnected, and absurd, they only contain in themselves their own falsehood and want of foundation, whilst they lay bare in ample evidence the mischievous character of those who have invented them."

The enterprise of the two princes, however, very soon lost character in public opinion through the conduct of the markgraf himself, who, with his people, committed throughout the flat portions of the country violence and devastation equalled only by the most lawless band of freebooters and incendiaries. Thence Maurice and the young landgraf William of Hesse, both of whom had nobler objects in view, were forced to separate from him and leave him to act for himself.

The emperor was now in a state of great embarrassment; he was in want both of troops and money, which latter, to his mortification, the money-lenders of Augsburg refused to advance him, and he was reduced to the extremity of deputing his brother Ferdinand to open negotiations with Maurice. As, however, they led to no result, and Maurice easily perceived that the design of Charles was to gain time, he broke up at once from Swabia and marched his troops into the Tyrol, in order, if possible, to fall upon him unprepared. His progress was so rapid that he actually preceded in person the announcement of his advance; he marched on to Ehrenberg, which fell into his hands, and had he not been detained an entire day by a mutiny which broke out in one of his regiments, he would have succeeded in gaining Innsbruck in time to surprise the emperor there and take him prisoner. Charles, however, was thus enabled to escape on the previous night (May 19th), during a dreadful thunderstorm, and arrived in safety at Trent; he himself was conveyed there upon a litter, being at the time extremely ill, and his brother Ferdinand, with the captive elector of Saxony, and the rest of the suite followed, some on horseback, others even on foot, whilst servants with torches lighted them on their road through the narrow passes of the Tyrolese mountains — such had been their haste. But even Trent itself was no longer secure, and after a few hours of repose Charles was again forced to resume his flight across the most difficult and dangerous roads as far as the village of Villach, in Carinthia — the assembled council at Trent having also in their alarm broken up and taken flight on every side. Maurice, however, on finding that Innsbruck was evacuated, turned back again, after he had distributed amongst his troops the imperial booty collected, and marched on to Passau, whither an assembly of the princes had been convoked.

Charles now gave the imprisoned elector of Saxony his liberty once more; stipulating only that he should remain with the court a short time longer. And truly the sight alone of this suffering prince must have produced within him bitter and painful feelings; for it was only five years previously that, on the plain of Lochau, the elector, with bleeding form, appealed to him on his knees for grace; whilst now the same prince beheld him, the former conqueror, sick and helpless, traversing almost impassable mountains as a fugitive, and pursued, too, by another elector of Saxony, whom he in his days of pride and glory had himself promoted and rendered powerful. What, however, afflicted the emperor more than anything else was to find himself deserted by all his

[1552 A.D.]

states — not even being aided by the Catholics; whilst they all preferred submitting patiently to be plundered by the markgraf Albert rather than uniting for the succour and protection of their emperor. Then it was that he but too truly felt the conviction at heart — that only in the love of his people can a sovereign hope to find a sure protection in the hour of danger. In Augsburg, the elector John Frederick took leave of the emperor, who, in this parting scene, testified much respect and even emotion towards the prince. The latter left Augsburg immediately, and hastened to return to his own lands.

THE TREATY OF PASSAU (1552 A.D.)

The emperor meantime left it to his brother Ferdinand to negotiate with Maurice at Passau. He himself had a great objection to the whole transaction, but he was nevertheless very desirous to make peace with Maurice, in order to be enabled to turn all the power of his arms against the enemy he most hated — the French — who, during this interval, had invaded Lorraine and taken one city after another. Under such circumstances the Treaty of Passau was concluded, on the 31st of July, 1552. Therein it was stipulated: that the landgraf Philip of Hesse should at once be set at liberty, and that the ban of the empire pronounced against all who had joined in the war of Smalkald should be withdrawn; that with respect to the other religious grievances, a new diet should be convoked, and that until then the imperial chamber of justice should exercise its judgment with equal impartiality for both parties, but that the imperial council should be composed of Germans only.

After the conclusion of this peace, Maurice, in order to prove the justice of his intentions, disbanded all the foreign troops of his army, and marched with his own soldiers to Hungary in aid of King Ferdinand. Philip of Hesse was liberated, and returned to his family and country. The long and severe imprisonment he had endured had humbled and depressed his independent spirit, and destroyed all further inclination for great undertakings; he employed the remaining years of his life in the praiseworthy task of healing, as far as possible, the wounds inflicted during the previous unhappy period of anarchy throughout his dominions.

The emperor having, in the meantime, collected an army from Italy and Hungary, marched against Henry II, king of France, and, sick and enfeebled as he was, he followed it in a litter and commanded it at the siege of Metz. But it appeared now as if fortune had abandoned him entirely; the city defended itself with great obstinacy, and however determined the emperor and his army might have been to carry on the siege, they were nevertheless compelled to yield to the severe effects of the winter, and to withdraw from its walls. Much discontented, Charles returned to the Netherlands, and commenced making preparations for the next campaign (1553). This, however, as well as the two following expeditions of 1554 and 1555, produced nothing decisive for the two nations: the French, when Charles sought to bring them to an open engagement in the field, fortified themselves in their strongholds, and the entire war limited its operations to merely devastating the provinces of the frontiers. Charles was accordingly forced to transfer its achievement to his son Philip II.

The Treaty of Passau had produced in Germany a happy state of repose; one man alone appeared determined not to allow its uninterrupted enjoyment — the turbulent markgraf Albert of Brandenburg. He pursued his war of pillage and incendiarism against the bishops and several cities in Franconia, Swabia, on the Rhine and Moselle, with unheard of impudence and

daring, and as at length all the warnings given to him were of no avail, Duke Maurice, to whom the peace of Germany had now become more and more dear, united with Henry duke of Brunswick, and both made a combined attack upon the markgraf, in 1553, on the plain of Lüneburg, near Sievershausen; he having by this time extended his depredations even to lower Saxony. The battle was severe and bloody; the markgraf, however, was completely beaten; but two sons of the duke of Brunswick, a prince of Lüneburg, fourteen counts, and nearly three hundred of the nobility besides were left dead on the field, whilst Maurice of Saxony himself was mortally wounded. He was conveyed to a tent erected close to a hedge, and there he received the captured banners and papers of the markgraf; which latter he examined with all the eager curiosity his sinking state would permit. Two days afterwards he expired, exclaiming with his dying breath: "God will come —"; the rest of the sentence was unintelligible.

Although only thirty-two years of age, he had already acquired greater authority and commanded more influence in Germany than any one of his contemporaries. Hence any further testimony is unnecessary in order to prove the preponderating power of his genius. The final efforts he so patriotically made for the promotion and establishment of general tranquillity and his love for peace and order, which he sealed with his own blood, have in a great degree served to throw the mantle of oblivion over his earlier proceedings, and conciliated the critical voice of public opinion. He was succeeded in the electorate by his brother Augustus.

Albert, the restless markgraf, in whom the turbulent spirit of the times of the Faustrecht was revived in all its destructive form, still continued, in spite of the severe defeat he had suffered, to harass the country. Completely reduced after this last battle, he, in his extremity, sought the aid of the king of France, and supported by the money he received from that monarch he immediately began, in 1556, to collect fresh troops and make arrangements for another campaign — or rather series of depredations. Happily, however, his death, which occurred suddenly amidst his warlike preparations, prevented him from committing further devastation. He was likewise a prince of extraordinary powers, and resembled very much his ancestor Albert, the Achilles of Germany; but the innate wildness of his disposition and character generally, combined with the disordered state of those times, which destroyed all principle, however firmly based, had operated to give to his energies a direction fatally destructive.

In the Treaty of Passau it had been fixed that a diet should be held in order to regulate the affairs of religion, and to investigate the accusations of the elector Maurice against the emperor. Charles himself urged with great zeal its assembling, in order that it might not appear as if he stood in any fear of the inquiry; but the affairs of Germany having now become altogether equally indifferent to him, nay even odious, he confided their direction to his brother Ferdinand, who devoted all his energies with noble and praiseworthy zeal to the undertaking. In spite of the lethargy and indolence of the German princes, and not discouraged by several vain attempts to effect his object, he at length succeeded, in 1554, in forming a diet at Augsburg. A committee was immediately named to examine and settle the various matters of religious contention, composed of the ambassadors of Austria, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Würtemberg, Eichstädt, Strasburg, Jülich, Augsburg, and Weingarten, and they all worked with sincere and laudable industry in the great cause. The Roman king aided them therein most strenuously; he removed every external difficulty presenting itself in the progress of their task, and when he

[1555 A.D.]

learned, amongst other things, as is related by his chancellor, Zasius, "that several of the spiritual princes were engaged in fruitless disputes, that they were occupied in strewing the path with every sort of disquisition and difficulty, adapted more to destroy altogether, even to the foundation, the building they were engaged to reconstruct, whilst such proceedings must produce on the other side bitter and inimical feelings," he despatched Zasius and his vice-chancellor Jonas to them, and warned them in most grave and solemn terms to desist from such a line of conduct; and in thus acting he effected his object.

And by proceeding in another circumstance to act with equal firmness towards the Protestants, he caused them likewise to yield to his wishes. The point was one of great importance, inasmuch as they demanded that the ecclesiastical body of Germany should be at liberty to adopt the Augsburg confession, and retain at the same time their offices and lands; but the Catholic party rose in strong opposition against it: If this demand, they declared, were conceded, the whole of the ecclesiastical possessions in Germany would very soon be transferred into the hands of the Protestants. Much rather, on the contrary, ought the law to be that as soon as a spiritual prince, in his own person, passed over to the new doctrine, he should be forthwith succeeded by a Catholic. Eventually the Protestants were obliged to cede the point for the moment, but they held it in reserve, meantime, to be discussed on a future occasion: a subject of dispute which became important under the title of the "Ecclesiastical Reservation."

Thus was concluded at length, on the 26th of September, 1555, at Augsburg, the religious peace which for a time put an end to the long contest. Free exercise of religion was granted legally to the Protestants throughout the whole of Germany, and they retained possession of all the revenues hitherto received from the ecclesiastical institutions. Neither Protestants nor Catholics were allowed to seek proselytes at the expense of either party, but every person was permitted to follow freely his own faith. And whilst every reigning prince was privileged to fix and establish the religion of his dominions, he was not at liberty to force any of his subjects to adhere to any one church beyond another; on the contrary, it was left open to anyone, who might desire to do so from religious motives, to remove from one territory into another. Hence, in this respect, the progress of reform had not as yet attained that degree of intolerance which allowed the subject professing a faith different to the established creed of the country equal rights with those enjoyed by all the rest of his fellow subjects. Another law, however, by which the interests of the Protestants were beneficially promoted was that their co-religionists became now likewise members of the imperial chamber of justice.

After the conclusion of this religious peace, the subject-matter of the accusations brought by Prince Maurice against the emperor came on for discussion in the college of the electoral princes; but, to the satisfaction of Charles, none of the other states of the empire would join in the investigation, and consequently the whole question was abandoned.^b

PAUL IV

Meanwhile circumstances had arisen which seemed to more than compromise the English combination. Cardinal Caraffa had become pope under the name of Paul IV, and seldom did Habsburg have a more violent opponent, or the church a more blindly zealous and perverse leader. He hastened to form an alliance with France, being determined to free Italy from Spanish

[1555-1562 A.D.]

rule and to restore it to the state of independence it had enjoyed in his early youth. He thwarted an agreement between the emperor and Henry II. Droysen relates: "Foreign and Neapolitan emigrants filled the curia; the papal exchequer made against Charles V and King Philip a formal appeal in which it was proposed to excommunicate these princes and to release their subjects from the oath of allegiance."



GERMAN LORD OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

He implored Suleiman to spare Hungary and seize Naples and Sicily instead. Charles had to be careful that the Catholic fanaticism of his Spaniards played him no pranks. In spite of this the combined papal and French troops were defeated, and Paul had to submit to terms of peace which only consolidated the Spanish dominion in Italy. The duke of Tuscany by the annexation of Siena, the French by that of Piacenza, which had been won from the Spaniards, were the obedient friends of the Spaniards. Although the pope had been unfortunate on this occasion, he far surpassed himself elsewhere. Immediately after entering on the pontificate he sent a violent bull to England in which he demanded the surrender of all the estates of the convents. Parliament decided to comply only in the case of those possessions which had been handed over to the crown. His demands became ever more violent, the persecutions ever more ruthless, and the results were ever more bloody, one rebellion following another, extortions succeeding extortions. There was satisfaction in England over the fact that Mary had no heirs; the princess Elizabeth obstinately adhered to Protestantism. It was hoped that soon an end would come to the whole troubled condition.

And an end did come. Mary died without heirs (1558); Elizabeth succeeded; the Spanish alliance was repudiated after the loss of Calais. The bloody Catholic episode was over. Thus Charles saw his plans frustrated even here; Italy alone remained assured to his house in Spain. The reckoning of his life work, which during his retirement at San Yuste he had leisure to draw up, showed that he had barely escaped bankruptcy, full as were his columns of brilliant though bloody numbers. A cold calculator, at all times and in all ways, he had no claim to compassion.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSIONS

Whilst negotiations were pending with the Ottomans, terminating with the peace of 1562, and when Ferdinand was chosen emperor, in the East the czar had already obtained successes which increased his empire, and upon

[1555-1558 A.D.]

which the future undertakings and the whole power of Russia depended. Kazan and Astrakhan were subjected, the frontiers extended to the Don and Caucasus; the international market at Astrakhan was Russian, but it was empty. The differences with Poland and Sweden, the plundering of Lithuania and Finland, were temporary manifestations, but in Moscow earnest looks were being turned towards the possessions of the German knights of the sword: the question of the Baltic was raised, and Russia armed herself to decide its fate. It was only by these coast possessions that the European position of the great eastern empire was to be created and upheld. The attention of Europe, during the whole of the sixteenth century, was occupied by the Baltic question in the East and the Spanish question in the West.^c

THE ABDICATION AND DEATH OF CHARLES V

Charles had beheld all the grand plans created within his comprehensive mind either incompletely executed or altogether destroyed; and accordingly the greater his desire to bring them to bear, the greater was the mortification he was forced to experience in the contemplation of their failure, and more especially did he feel this in his present afflicted state of body. On the other hand, the country towards which he had ever turned his eye with pleasurable, genial feelings — Spain — had now found in his son, Philip, a protector who possessed the general confidence of the nation. Accordingly everything now combined to strengthen the motives for the plan determined upon by Charles, which, in imitation of Diocletian, he had some time had in contemplation — to abdicate his throne, and end his days in the retirement of a monastic life.

In the autumn of 1555 he summoned his son Philip to Brussels, and on the 25th of October of the same year he solemnly transferred into his hands the dominion of the Netherlands.

On the 15th of January, in the ensuing year, 1556, his abdication of the crowns of Spain and Italy in favour of his son Philip, took place in Brussels with equal solemnity; and in the following August, that of the Germanic Empire, in favour of his brother Ferdinand, was effected by an embassy, at the head of which was Prince William of Orange. Ferdinand assumed the government from that moment on his own authority, but was only formally acknowledged by the body of electoral princes in the beginning of the year 1558, at Frankfort, where he swore to the stipulated terms of his election, and the imperial crown was solemnly placed on his head by the arch-chancellor of the empire, the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, which crown, together with the sceptre, had been brought from Brussels, at Charles' desire, by the imperial deputation.

Charles embarked on the 17th of September, 1556, for Spain, where he proceeded to a small building which he had caused to be built expressly for himself, near the convent of San Yeste. There he died on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.^b Details of his abdication-ceremonies and of his life during the years of retirement have been



BUFFOON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

given in our histories of Spain and the Netherlands, and need not be repeated here. Our present concern is with the affairs of the empire whose control Charles had voluntarily relinquished.^a

FERDINAND I (1556-1564 A.D.)

The reign of Ferdinand I offers few political events of a striking character. In Bohemia there was tranquillity, since he had made himself the absolute

master of the kingdom. In Hungary the war still lingered, with little advantage either to him or his rival, John Sigismund. In Austria, his hereditary possession, he found the number of dissidents so much increased that, though a zealous Catholic, policy induced him to apply to the Roman court for two great concessions, the marriage of the clergy and the use of the cup: the latter he obtained; the former, the pope had no power — as he had, doubtless, no inclination — to grant. And in another respect the emperor showed that, if he was a true Catholic, he was no slave to the papacy. At the commencement of his reign, having signed the usual convention with the electors — a convention which differed from that of his brother and predecessor only in so far as it afforded security to the Protestant religion — he notified his accession to Paul IV, and at the same time expressed his desire to receive the imperial crown from the hands of that pontiff.

Never was conduct more impolitic than that of Paul on this occasion. Protesting that Ferdinand had never been the lawful king of the Romans, since he had been elected to that dignity without the concurrence of the head of the church, he refused to receive the ambassador; reproached the new



NOBLEMAN CARRYING BANNER

sovereign for daring to assume the imperial title without his sanction; declared that the abdication of Charles was null, since it had been effected without the consent of the papal see — the acknowledged superior of the empire; and ordered a new election to be made, before Ferdinand should be recognised as the temporal head of Christendom. Were not this monstrous instance of arrogance too well attested to be doubted, mankind would have some difficulty in believing that, at a time when half of Germany, almost the whole of Scandinavia, England, the Netherlands, half of Scotland, and part of France had thrown off all obedience to him, the pope could use language which would scarcely have been tolerated in the darkest ages.

In this unexpected crisis, the emperor acted with the spirit becoming his

[1559-1561 A.D.]

station. He ordered his ambassador to quit Rome, unless an audience were immediately granted him. In alarm, Paul temporised; but, though he was anxious to mollify the monarch, death surprised him in the midst of his negotiations. Pius IV, who succeeded, was more tractable; and though Ferdinand, in the instrument of notification, omitted the word *obedientiam*, which had hitherto been inserted in it by all his predecessors, his title was acknowledged. Catholics, no less than Protestants, were irritated at the pretensions of the pope: both declared that it was high time to dis sever the last ties which connected his secular authority with the empire; and that, while the Catholic princes and states yielded him in spirituals a ready obedience, he must be openly taught that his temporal claims were no longer admissible. It was resolved that henceforth no emperor should receive the crown from the hands of the pope. That resolution has been wisely observed; and from this period not a vestige of dependence is to be discovered in the intercourse of the emperors with the popes. Soon afterwards, though Pius interposed many obstacles, Maximilian, the son of Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans, with the unanimous consent of the electors; and instead of an instrument containing the obedience of the empire towards the head of the church, a mere complimentary epistle was substituted. "Thus terminated the long dependence of the emperors on the see of Rome, which had been established in ages of darkness and ignorance; had been continued from respect and habit; and which, in all periods, had involved the empire in innumerable embarrassments and calamities, without producing a single real advantage."

In many other respects the duties of Ferdinand were sufficiently delicate. His great object was to preserve internal tranquillity, by continuing the good understanding between the rival parties in religion. He held the scales of justice so evenly balanced between them that no one could accuse him of partiality. He would not allow the Catholics to suppress, in their own states, the exercise of the reformed religion; nor, to gratify the Protestants, would he abolish the Ecclesiastical Reservation. Nor was outward harmony between them his only aim. With the same zeal, and, unfortunately, with as little success as his predecessor, he laboured to effect a union between them. While, on the one side, he endeavoured to make the Protestants acknowledge the council of Trent, on the other he attempted to wring from the pope, among other concessions, that of the two points we have mentioned — the clerical marriages, and the use of the cup. But, moderate as was Pius IV, his prejudices could not be made to bend; he evaded every request, however demanded by policy.

With equal pertinacity, the Protestants refused to recognise the council, unless the pope attended like any other bishop, without the power of presiding, or swaying, or in the slightest degree directing the proceedings; unless the reformed theologians should be declared equal in character and dignity to the Roman Catholic bishops; unless the council were transferred from Trent to some city of the empire. In a subsequent assembly at Naumberg, they went further. They would not receive the papal ambassador, the cardinal Commendon; nor the papal letters, addressing them in the usual style of "*Filii*," since, as they did not acknowledge the bishop of Rome as their father, they would not accept the title which he had given them. At length they condescended to write, but in a tone of the bitterest invective: they heaped every abusive epithet on the Romish hierarchy, especially on its head, and declared that they would never attend any council convoked by him, simply because he had not the power of convocation — that being the undoubted prerogative of the emperor.

If Ferdinand were disgusted with the savage opposition of these fanatics who, without sacrificing one rational point of their creed, might surely have used courtesy towards the oldest bishop in the universe, and have shown a disposition to be tolerant where forms only were concerned, where the essential articles of belief were tacitly laid aside for a season, he had soon the gratification to perceive that they were more fierce in their hatred to each other than to the common enemy. Three great points, in particular — the nature of the Eucharistic sacrament, that of justification, and the extent of the divine decrees — continued, and with greater virulence than ever, to divide the reformed doctors. In this very assembly of Naumburg on the suggestion that the confession of Augsburg should be received as the general exposition of the reformed faith, scenes of violence occurred, which had been hitherto unparalleled.

For the preservation of internal peace, Ferdinand substituted diets of deputation for the general diets. They consisted of deputies returned from the several electorals and imperial cities, with the elector at their head. As, whenever the public peace was menaced, or new regulations were required for securing it, they were easily convoked, the innovation was certainly an improvement. With the same view, the powers of the military chief or colonel in each circle were enlarged; he was enabled to call out a greater levy of troops, in a less time. The aulic council was purged of its foreign advocates, and remodelled, so as better to suit the wants and wishes of the Germans.

On the whole, Ferdinand may be regarded as one of the best sovereigns of the country. Though attached to his own religion, he tolerated the reformed even in his own hereditary dominions of Austria; and, in his efforts alike for the reformation of his own church and for the union of all religious parties, he showed an enlightened zeal for the best interests of society. That such a man should be beloved need not surprise us. Hence he had little difficulty in procuring the election of his son Maximilian as king of the Romans. But the readiness with which the states entered in this respect into his wishes must, doubtless, be assigned to his dividing the hereditary domains of his house among his children and their posterity, and, consequently, to his disarming the jealousy of the empire. That the king of Bohemia, the king of Hungary, the archduke of Austria, the duke of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Tyrol, and other places, should, when elevated to the imperial throne, appear formidable to the patriotic Germans, was natural. In his eldest son, indeed, he secured the succession alike to the two kingdoms and the archduchy: but then Hungary was half in possession of a rival, and neither it nor Bohemia was well affected to the house of Austria. To his second son, and the posterity of that son, he bequeathed the Tyrol, with the exterior provinces. The third had Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola.

MAXIMILIAN II (1564-1576 A.D.)

Maximilian II was worthy to succeed his able and patriotic father. In his policy as regarded the empire, it was his constant aim to preserve the religious peace, which was never more threatened than during his reign. Because he had so much attachment to the Lutheran doctrines as to receive the communion under both kinds, and detested persecution, though he remained in the bosom of the Catholic church, he had great personal influence with both parties. Listening with patience to the complaints of both, he was able to show both that they were wrong — the Roman Catholics in seeking to

[1564-1576 A.D.]

persecute the Lutherans of their states, the Lutherans in clamouring for the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Reservation.^e

It was the fate of Protestantism not to have many suggestions carried out, on account of increasing disputes amongst its supporters. In the first place Calvinism forced its way into the country from France and Switzerland. This severe and logical form of dogma and constitution, based on the fearful doctrine of predestination, was eminently calculated to train men in strength of will and resolution; but it was un-German — an entirely Roman-French representation of Protestantism which never became indigenous in Germany, and which was looked upon by strict Lutherans as in no sort a co-religion, but as a violation of the sacraments, and not deserving the protection of the religious peace. The conversion to Calvinism of the Palatinate, therefore, under Frederick III, caused a great rupture between that province and Saxony and Brandenburg.

On the other hand, in Lutheranism itself there were struggles and disputes between the strict Lutherans and a section of moderates, who in their teaching about the Eucharist and justification had adopted slightly Calvinistic views and who took their name from the gentle Philip Melanchthon (1560), but were dubbed heretic crypto-Calvinists by their opponents. They were the dominating sect round Wittenberg and the electorate of Saxony; the views of their opponents radiated from the newly founded University of Jena, 1558, into the Ernestine Thuringia and the towns of lower Saxony. So the new opposition in the church was closely bound up with the old dynastic opposition and both together caused great convulsions in central Germany.

John Frederick's eldest son of the same name in Gotha, whose feeling of deep indignation at the treatment of his family left him no peace and robbed him of all clear-headed reflection, made an alliance with the Franconian knight of the empire, William von Grumbach, an old companion-at-arms of the markgraf Albert; because William, who was engaged in a long and unfortunate lawsuit with the bishopric of Würzburg, held out to John the inducement of being able to restore the lost glories of his house by a general uprising of the nobility, or at least of the knights of the empire, against the princes. Harboured in Gotha by John Frederick, Grumbach obtained possession of Würzburg by an unexpected attack in October, 1563, but fell under the ban of the empire on account of his breach of the peace; and the same fate befell the duke, because he would not give up his alliance with Grumbach.

This affair, so small in itself, had much to do with matters of great and world-wide importance. In the east loomed threateningly a fresh and frightful war with the Turks; in the north Eric XIV of Sweden, supported by Russia, had just begun the struggle for the control of the Baltic against Denmark, the Hanse towns, and Poland, and had come to an understanding with the Ernestines in order to prevent the interference of the empire in favour of the Danes and the Hanseatic League, whilst the elector Augustus of Saxony, the husband of a Danish princess, made an alliance with Denmark. Great



WARRIOR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

interests demanded, therefore, the speedy overthrow of the Ernestines. The invasion of Habsburg-Hungary by the Turks came to a standstill through the brave defence of the little fortress of Sziget by Niklas Zrinyi in September, 1566, and was completely repulsed after the death of Sultan Suleiman (September 4th) by the powerful army of Maximilian II; though the latter certainly did not manage to effect more than an inglorious peace of eight years (February, 1568). Meantime the elector Augustus, as the head of the circle of upper Saxony, commissioned to execute the ban of the empire, forced the fortified town of Gotha into unconditional surrender, after a brave resistance of many months, in April, 1567. Grumbach was executed, the duke kept a prisoner till his death in Vienna-Neustadt, and his sons were compelled to mortgage the Neustadt circle to the electorate of Saxony as reparation for the expenses of the war. But the victory of the Albertines was by no means followed by a victory for the followers of Philip Melancthon's teaching, which Augustus had only tolerated in his country hitherto because he thought that the teaching was purely Lutheran. Puzzled and nervous, and believing himself purposely deceived by those around him, he put down with an iron hand crypto-Calvinism in Saxony, which then became the central fortress of Lutheran orthodoxy; and so there could be no further question of a common understanding with the Palatinate. In consequence, the proposal of the Palatinate in the diet in 1576 to make a confession of faith optional in the cathedral chapters was frustrated, and so the suspension of clerical restrictions and the condition of the evangelicals remained as insecure as before.

Whilst these fruitless disputes distracted the empire, the nation in its inactivity was losing one possession after another. Since the old colony of Livonia, a combination of lands belonging to some German orders and bishops, had gone over to Lutheranism, that league of ecclesiastical states had lost all internal authority and stability. Placed between the great Slav powers and the ambitious northern kingdoms, and left in the lurch by the empire, Livonia fell under foreign rule. As the Russians even since 1558 were spreading over the country, Revel and Esthonia in 1561 placed themselves under the protection of Sweden; Gotthard Kettler, the last grand master of Livonia, took Courland in 1561 as a secular duchy holding of Poland; Livonia proper became for centuries an apple of discord between Danes and Swedes, Poles and Russians. The last attempt of the Hanse towns in alliance with Denmark to secure at least the former trade with Russia met with a certain amount of success, after the fall of Eric XIV, in the Peace of Stralsund, 1568, but the fate of Livonia was not influenced thereby. The outlook for the future, therefore, was very gloomy when Maximilian II died at Ratisbon, on the 12th of October, 1576.

RUDOLF II

Under the rule of his son and successor, Rudolf II (1576-1612), things grew worse. Not that he had ever been a church fanatic, though brought up in Spain and originally intended to succeed to the throne there; he was, on the contrary, inclined like his predecessor to occupy the position of a mediator in the empire and to maintain peace; but undecided, shy, and more devoted than is becoming in a ruler to scientific and artistic hobbies, he was by no means fit to govern, and he fell gradually into a mania for persecution. Almost of themselves things went from bad to worse in the empire. As the Roman church everywhere in France, England, Poland, and Sweden was beginning its work of restoration, so was this the case in Germany, first of all in the conception by the ecclesiastical princedoms of the religious peace, according

[1576-1598 A.D.]

to which the Lutheran states were to be content with what they had already won, particularly with the ecclesiastical property, which had become theirs since 1552. The prince-abbot of Fulda began first and was followed by the bishops of Treves, Mainz, Hildesheim, Bamberg, Würzburg, Paderborn, and Münster. Everywhere in these dioceses the Protestant clergy and teachers were exiled, orthodox Catholic priests were appointed, Jesuitical schools were founded; congregations which had thus lost their pastors were compelled to go over to the Catholics or leave the district: all this was done through the sovereign power in the church of the governors of the country.

On the other hand, however, the split between the parties grew wider. In vain did John Kasimir of the Palatinate, in 1577, try to unite for common defence the Protestants of all countries; he found little response. Elector Augustus collected eighty-six Lutheran imperial estates in 1580 round his "formula of concord," in order to establish some common basis of agreement; but it only succeeded in widening the rift with the Calvinists. Quite transitory was the connection of the electorate of Saxony with the Palatinate; after the death of Augustus in 1586, and under his successor Christian I, the chancellor Nicholas Crell abolished the obligations of the "formula of concord" and made an alliance with the Palatinate for the support of Henry IV of France. The early death of the elector brought about the fall of the chancellor, and again delivered over electoral Saxony to the unconditional dominion of Lutheran orthodoxy.

Thus the Roman party trenched on the department of politics in the systematic restoration of its possessions and in the endeavour first of all to get the entire imperial power into its hands. In the college of electors in the diet the Protestants were already in a minority, for electoral Saxony scarcely ever went with the Palatinate, but with the ecclesiastical electors; the idea of gaining a majority (1583) by the conversion of the elector archbishop of Cologne, Gebhard of Waldburg, was rendered abortive by the instability of the Lutheran estates as well as by the decided interference of the pope, Gregory XIII, who deposed the archbishop and appointed Ernest of Bavaria in his place. After the loss of his capital, Bonn, in the March of 1584, Gebhard fled to the Netherlands.

In the college of princes the Protestants had a decided majority so long as the Lutheran "administrators" kept their seats and votes. Consequently the Roman party disputed their right; and as the Lutherans gave way, for the sake of peace, they were driven out of the imperial diet after 1598, and the majority in the diet of princes also became Catholic. The imperial diet, now again entirely dominated by Catholics, inflicted in 1598 the sentence of outlawry on the imperial town of Aachen, because, contrary to the Peace of



SOLDIER OF THE TIME OF EMPEROR RUDOLF

Augsburg, it had admitted Protestants to the diet; and the sentence was carried out in the same year by the neighbouring princes. The imperial courts of justice, too, rejected more often than not the claims of the evangelicals, notably the aulic council, the old king's court, which Ferdinand I in 1559 had organised as a permanent authority, and the members of which were nominated by the emperor alone.

Having succeeded in getting the control of the empire into their hands, the Roman party found in the young duke of Bavaria, Maximilian I, their most determined champion, and a firm support in the Bavarian state, which the young duke had remodelled through a strictly organised and reliable administration, a well-regulated system of finance, and the transformation of a small standing army into a power quite prepared for war and capable of giving assistance. Maximilian did not desire the annihilation of Protestantism in the empire and was most decidedly not in favour of the Habsburg Catholic rulers, whom he as a prince of the empire distrusted; but he was determined to oppose firmly everything which seemed to him an encroachment on the rights of the Protestants, and for this purpose he professed to agree with the interpretations laid down in the Peace of Augsburg. At the same time he wished to secure for Bavaria a leading position in the empire.

In face of these increasing dangers, the Palatinate statesmen under Frederick IV (1583-1610) — especially the Calvinist, Prince Christian von Anhalt-Bernburg, who was their head at that time — formed views and plans which plunged the empire into great confusion, but which, considered from the strictly Protestant point of view of protection against the existing condition of things, were almost necessary.



ARMOUR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE PROTESTANT LEAGUE

In opposition to imperial power exercised entirely by Roman Catholics, it seemed an absolute necessity to curtail as far as possible the exercise of this power in ecclesiastical questions, to unite the Protestant states into a separate league, and, under certain circumstances, to call in the assistance of foreign powers, after the old fashion of opposition amongst the princes of the empire. The Lutheran states, particularly the two north German electorates, would have nothing to do with this; they wanted to maintain peace in the empire, and also their alliance with the emperor, in order that they might assist the latter in the war with the Turks which had again broken out in 1593. The policy of the Palatinate was bound in the end to destroy the constitution of the empire and to invoke the interference of foreign powers, but the prospect of the latter in this time of conflicting forms of confession and creeds did not seem so very terrible, and it certainly set a limit to the progress of reaction in church matters. The conservative policy of electoral Saxony avoided both

[1600-1605 A.D.]

these dangers, but did not hinder the forward pressure of Protestantism, which it was willing to protect. It was impossible for anyone to say from the point of view of the imperial government of the time how the destruction of the constitution could be avoided, while continual efforts were made to weaken Protestantism. The Palatinate policy, however, was superior, in that it knew what it wanted, whilst the conservatives knew only what they did not want. Some tangible result, therefore, sprang from it. It suspended the powers of the imperial chamber to decide questions about church property, by contesting in 1603 the neglected revision of its sentences, a revision which had been proposed by the imperial diet and which naturally rested on the supposition that they were legal. For the law had condemned several south German states to deliver up four monasteries of which they had held possession since 1552; and so a dangerous beginning had been made towards bringing the whole Catholic question again under consideration.¹

In the year 1604-1606 the policy of the Palatinate, directed by Christian of Anhalt, had succeeded in coming to a more definite understanding with Ansbach, Kulmbach, Anhalt-Dessau, and the landgraf Maurice; and also in bringing Würtemberg, which had hitherto held aloof on religious grounds (even in the diet of 1603) from the Calvinists of the Palatinate, over to the side of the *Correspondirende* (corresponding parties), and in paving the way for a separate treaty with that state. This understanding had been started as long before as the year 1600, at an interview between the elector palatine and the duke at Pfullingen. Würtemberg's principal motive for the present *rapprochement* lay in the fact that in the meantime the aulic council of the empire had interfered in the ecclesiastical affairs of the country.

But before matters had gone as far as the conclusion of a separate treaty between the Palatinate and Würtemberg, the latter had been drawn into negotiations with a view to union with the Neuburg palatinate and Baden-Hochberg, which likewise realised the necessity of a coalition, but desired to see it confined to Lutheran princes. Thus there was imminent danger that matters might end in the formation of separate Calvinistic and Lutheran unions, especially as Neuburg and Baden were trying to gain over the elector of Saxony, who, however, returned an evasive answer. At a meeting held at Stuttgart in May, 1605, a separate alliance was actually concluded between Würtemberg, Neuburg, and Baden, with a proviso for the admission of other sincere adherents of the Augsburg confession. It was to hold good for twelve years, during the first four of which the very considerable sum of fifty *Römermonate* (the contribution of the German states to a common war) was to be paid down, while in the succeeding period an annual contribution of six *Römermonate* was to be made. The confederates were not only to render assistance when a member of the union was unlawfully injured in respect of the territory he already possessed, but also if territory or rights which he had justly acquired by inheritance or purchase within the limits of the empire should be forcibly withheld from him. This clause bore special reference to the pretensions of the Neuburg palatinate to the Jülich inheritance. A deed giving effect to this covenant was signed by the three princes on the 9th of May. Thus a foundation was laid, upon which a Protestant league might hereafter arise, though it was in the first instance confined to Lutherans. Little progress was made, however, towards the settlement of further details, on account of various petty territorial quarrels between Würtemberg and Baden; and all the less because since the resumption of his connection with the elector palatine the duke of Würtemberg was no longer whole-hearted in the matter of this separate Lutheran alliance. Duke Frederick of Würtem-

berg was thus the natural intermediary between the two confederacies in embryo, the combination of which into a common union was the object Prince Christian of Anhalt had most at heart. In August, 1606, the duke of Würtemberg was at one and the same time treating with Neuburg and Baden at Geislingen and with the Palatinate at Bretten. In 1607 a separate alliance was concluded between the count palatine and the duke of Würtemberg, who was thenceforth practically a member of both confederacies.

The progress of events in the empire, and the obvious danger with which the open discord in the imperial house and the serious conflicts in the diet of Ratisbon were fraught for all Protestants, naturally brought about a further *rapprochement* of the two separate confederacies, for whose cause, as we have seen, Christian of Anhalt had meanwhile secured the active assistance of Henry IV of France. At the diet of Ratisbon itself he prosecuted his negotiations energetically, and there succeeded in winning over the markgraf of Ansbach to the idea of a union. During the session of the diet Duke Frederick of Würtemberg died (February 8th, 1608). A considerable number of Protestant princes gathered at his solemn obsequies in Stuttgart, and Christian of Anhalt was promptly busy negotiating with them.

Thus was the final conclusion of the long-planned alliance at length arrived at. On the 12th of May, 1608, the duke of Würtemberg, the markgrafs of Ansbach, Kulmbach, and Baden, Wolfgang William, son of the duke of Neuburg, and Christian of Anhalt (as the representative of the elector palatine and the soul of the whole union movement) met for this purpose at the village of Ahausen in Ansbach. And now that the union was fairly resolved upon, the Neuburg palatinate went even beyond the Palatinate project. In the latter, mention was made of small contingents of troops to be furnished by the members of the union, but the Neuburg proposal provided for the levy of contributions to the confederacy and for a common confederate army, the strength of which should amount to twenty thousand men. For this purpose a military organisation was required; and this also was actually agreed upon. The elector palatine took his place at the head of the union as its director, and a number of military advisers were appointed by the united powers to assist him. A compact organisation with far-reaching aims had thus been created, as we may see, and took its place beside the mouldering institutions of the empire; and there can be no question that, from the outset, it was animated by a tendency directly opposed to the central government. The union was founded for the express purpose of resisting the coercion which the Protestants had reason to apprehend from the government, on the ground of a forced interpretation of the religious peace.⁹ Although this league was soon extended by the accession of Hesse-Cassel, under the excellent landgraf Maurice, of Zweibrücken, Anhalt, and sixteen south German states, yet it was essentially confined to the southwest of Germany and consisted of a number of small states, which could do nothing without the most desperate efforts.

THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE

Much stronger was the counter-alliance of the "Catholic League" which Maximilian of Bavaria formed with six petty ecclesiastical princes in June, 1609, at Munich. This was to endure for nine years and was further strengthened by the addition of the three ecclesiastical electors; it was open, furthermore, to the accession of all the imperial states outside of Austria, for Maximilian maintained the supreme and unconditional control of it, as being, by far, the most important confederate of the league.

[1609-1613 A.D.]

The two leagues came into contact with each other for the first time in the dispute about the accession to Jülich and Cleves, after the death of the imbecile duke, John William — a very debatable question, which made unavoidable the interference of the foreign powers, France, Holland, and Spain. In this very much involved question the only important point was that John Sigismund of Brandenburg and Philip Ludwig of the Neuburg palatinate founded their claims of inheritance on descent from the female line, while the elector of Saxony based his on the agency of the emperor. The imperial Habsburg policy stepped in between these two heirs-apparent, in order to push to one side every claim of succession, and to confiscate as a vacant imperial fief the country, which from its position was of the greatest importance, and to give at least a portion of it to Spain. Spain, even in 1609, had been obliged to acknowledge the actual independence of the northern Netherlands, but she yet held fast to the determination of subjugating them. Austria favoured the claims of Saxony only in order to cause disagreement between the two north German electors. But Brandenburg and the Palatinate at once came to an understanding with each other, and, supported by the union, the Netherlands, and France, took joint possession of the country and drove out the archduke Leopold, bishop of Strasburg and Passau, who, commissioned by the emperor, had taken possession of Jülich in 1610. But as the strength of the two parties was soon exhausted and the assassination of Henry IV of France (May 14th, 1610) put an end to the hope of succour from the French, the two claimants, after a long contention, agreed to a settlement by which Wolfgang William of the Neuburg palatinate should take provisionally under his government Jülich and Berg, whilst Brandenburg should have Cleves, the Mark, and Ravensberg, without prejudice to a later and final settlement.

In order to keep the assistance of the league and of Spain, Wolfgang William had become a Roman Catholic in November, 1613, and with the zeal of a renegade he at once began romanising his acquisitions on the lower Rhine. John Sigismund declared himself a Calvinist at Christmas, 1613. But, more broad-minded than Wolfgang, he renounced from principle the idea of making use, against the strict Lutherans in his province of Brandenburg, of the position in the church conferred upon him by law. While thus showing the first example of ecclesiastical tolerance and gaining a firm footing on German soil in the extreme east by the inheritance of the duchy of Prussia after the



A BAVARIAN PRINCESS

death of Albert Frederick in 1618, and in the west by the acquisition of the Cleves provinces on the lower Rhine, he prepared in this severe crisis quite unconsciously the part his country was to perform in the future.

THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

In all this confusion the Habsburgs had played no important part; indeed they had left the leadership of the Catholic states to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, for internal disorders crippled the power of their large possessions. Since the death of Ferdinand I these had been divided. The Bohemian possessions and Austria, with the Habsburg part of Hungary, were ruled by the elder branch — first Maximilian II, then Rudolf II; Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were under the dominion of the younger line, represented immediately by the archduke Charles; the Tyrol and the provinces of further Austria were the common possession of the whole family and were ruled by a younger archduke as governor. Therefore, as the natural effort of the ruling house was to strengthen the power of the princes of the land, it was obliged to break up this liberty and Protestantism. Religious reaction set in first and most energetically in Carniola. Still the archduke Charles did not succeed in founding a Jesuit university in Gratz; his son Ferdinand II (1590-1637), who had been brought up with his cousin Maximilian of Bavaria by the Jesuits and was later entirely in the hands of his father confessor, suppressed with unmerciful rigour the evangelical services and the Lutheran schools in all the places belonging to the princely power; only the nobility were allowed a certain measure of religious freedom.

Austria, where at first Archduke Ernest, and after 1595 Archduke Matthias, reigned in the name of Rudolf II, Melchior Klesel, the vicar-general of the bishop of Passau, confined Protestantism to the estates of the nobles, by doing away with the evangelical form of worship and using his rights of patronage as a prince and bishop to appoint Roman Catholic clergy and abbots. Still, in 1603, the states under the leadership of Erasmus of Tschernenibound themselves to a defence of their rights. In Bohemia and Moravia utraquism enjoyed a lawful and unassailable position, which however did not benefit the Lutherans. The zealous bishop of Olmütz, Francis of Dietrichstein, was able in 1603 to exclude the Lutherans from the diets of a few towns belonging to the reigning princes and from the Moravian courts of law; but by these means he irritated the nobility, whose leader was the accomplished Charles of Zjerotin.

What only half succeeded in these German Slav provinces failed entirely in Hungary and led to a reaction in the states of the latter in favour of Protestantism, a reaction which afterwards spread to the former. The Turkish war, with the assistance of the empire or rather of the circles of the empire, had been, on the whole, successfully carried on by the imperial troops, and had even in 1602 brought under the direct rule of the Habsburgs the much-quarrelled-over Transylvania. Uplifted by this success, the imperial court conceived the fatal idea of using the strong army of mercenaries which was mostly under the command of Italian officers, not only to suppress the liberties of the Magyar Calvinistic nobles, which were incompatible with any monarchical government, but also to put down Protestantism. The powerful noble, Stephen Bocskay, rose in resistance at the head of the nobility of eastern Hungary in the autumn of 1604, attracted the flourishing towns of northern Hungary to his side, drove the imperial troops out of the country, and in the Peace of Vienna on the 29th of June, 1606, extorted his recognition

[1606-1618 A.D.]

as prince of East Hungary and Transylvania, and also exacted toleration for all Christian creeds in the whole of Austrian Hungary. Shortly afterwards, on the 11th of November, 1606, Turkey concluded the twenty years' Peace of Zsitvatorok in Komárom, on the basis of the existing territorial possessions of the contracting parties. This victory of Protestant interests had an irresistible influence on Austrian Bohemia. This was furthered by the dissensions in the house of Habsburg, whose archdukes, on account of the increasing imbecility of Rudolf II, recognised his younger brother Matthias as their head.

CONFLICT BETWEEN RUDOLF AND MATTHIAS

An alliance was formed in June, 1608, between Hungary, Upper and Lower Austria, and Moravia, for the preservation of their national and ecclesiastical rights, and they supported the archduke Matthias so emphatically that Rudolf II was obliged to give up these four countries to his rule. Matthias, of course, bought this help by the renewal of all the grants of Maximilian II. The emperor saw himself forced in the Royal Charter of the 9th of July, 1609, to grant full liberty of conscience to the utraquists and the Lutherans and to the three upper estates, lords, knights, and imperial towns, the right to erect evangelical schools on their possessions and to appoint consistories and four-and-twenty "protectors" to guard their interests. A special agreement between the Catholic and evangelical estates extended the right of church-building to the crown lands, among which, according to old Bohemian law, the church lands were also reckoned. On the 20th of August of the same year Silesia also received its charter; negotiations about a charter were carried on with the state of Lusatia, which was almost entirely Protestant.

Deeply embittered at the turn of affairs, Rudolf II attempted an armed reaction. Under his authority, his cousin Leopold, bishop of Passau, appeared in Prague with the mercenary troops which had been engaged in the Cleves campaigns, the famous *Passauers*; and, after a bloody fight, garrisoned the Kleinseite and the Hradschin. But the Bohemian estates called Matthias to their assistance and with his help forced Rudolf II to renounce the Bohemian crown, and on the 23rd of May offered it to Matthias. On the 20th of January, 1612, in the midst of hazy and revengeful plans, Rudolf died. The man who had dethroned him, King Matthias, after the victory for Protestant interests which had raised him to power, became little more than the chief of a confederacy of aristocrats.

MATTHIAS EMPEROR (1612-1619 A.D.)

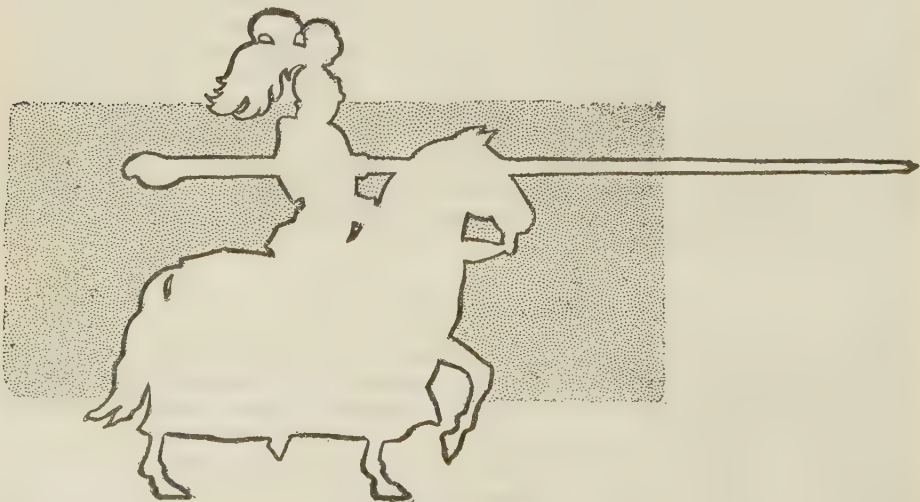
But in the empire conflict was approaching a most disastrous crisis. On the 13th of June, 1612, Matthias was chosen emperor; Protestant grievances, as demanded by Brandenburg and the Palatinate, had not been previously removed. The emperor opened his first and last diet in Ratisbon (August 13th, 1613), under the most unfavourable auspices. For already in March the league had resolved to seek the assistance of Lorraine, Savoy, Spain, and the pope in order to maintain their standpoint in ecclesiastical matters, even at the risk of a war, and the union, supported by treaties with England and the Netherlands, was determined to enter into no negotiations before the ecclesiastical grievances were redressed.

The mediatory proposals, therefore, of Klesel, who was now the president of the emperor's privy council, which were to allow the Protestant administrators the possession of their institutions, fell to the ground; the allied

[1613-1617 A.D.]

states refused every deliberation about the Turkish war tax, and, for the second time, the diet separated without being dismissed. And, to make reconciliation still more impossible, the emperor chose that very moment to relinquish his position between the parties, which had been formal, though neutral, and to go over to the side of the league.

While Matthias was thus doing his best to make the hostilities in the empire still more irreconcilable, he excited the greatest indignation in Bohemia because, being childless, he proclaimed as his successor in Hungary and Bohemia his cousin Ferdinand of Styria, the merciless exterminator of Protestantism in the eastern Alps. This, however, could not take place without the consent of Spain, for Philip III of Spain, as the grandson of Maximilian II (through his daughter Anna), was a nearer heir to the Bohemian lands than Ferdinand. Ferdinand therefore bribed Philip into a renunciation by ceding to him (in the Treaty of Gratz, June 21st, 1617) upper Alsace, and holding out to him the prospect of a cession of all the imperial fiefs in Italy. So, for the second time, was an alliance concluded between Spain and Austria and again to the detriment of Germany.^f In this posture of affairs Matthias died, an event not likely to restore tranquillity, as the king of the Romans was perfectly detested by the Protestant party. The causes of the Thirty Years' War, one of the most disastrous that ever afflicted a country, were in full operation. A contest of principles no less than of personal ambition was about to commence — one which shook Europe to its extremities, and must be remembered so long as books remain to record it.^g





CHAPTER IX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

[1618-1648 A.D.]

It is, strictly speaking, not accurate, in an examination of the Thirty Years' War, to talk of a Catholic and a Protestant point of view; for these terms suggest that the war was a religious one—a conflict between the old faith and the new teaching. One of our chief aims must be to efface this notion and to secure for the Thirty Years' War its due measure of purely political significance. Attitudes of mind there may be in this stupendous struggle, but they are not Protestant and not Catholic; they are rather national and anti-national. The simple question is whether one party or the other wished to preserve or to shatter the venerable German Empire; and it is only because the destroyers were chiefly recruited from the Protestant ranks that we have any right to talk of a Protestant aspect. So too, because they were mostly Catholic princes whose mission it was to uphold the ancient Roman empire of national Germany in this war, we may justify the use of the expression “a Catholic aspect.” We shall find Protestant princes standing on the side of empire and Catholic princes bearing arms against it. Not from religion did this thirty-three years' contention spring; it is on the whole a contrivance of politics. — FRANZ KEYM.⁶

FERDINAND II attained the throne under circumstances the most perplexing: Bohemia in arms, and threatening Vienna itself with invasion; Silesia and Moravia in alliance with them; Austria much disposed to unite with them; Hungary by no means firmly attached, and externally menaced by the Turks; encountering besides, in every direction, the hatred of the Protestants, against whom his zeal was undisguised. But in these circumstances Ferdinand manifested his undaunted firmness and courage: “Notwithstanding these imminent perils,” says Khevenhiller,⁶ “this illustrious prince never desponded; he still retained his religion and confidence in God, who took him under his

protection and, contrary to all human expectation, brought him in safety through this Red Sea."^d

Before we take up the details of this tempestuous reign it may be well to say a word of qualification regarding the estimate of the causes of the Thirty Years' War which we have just quoted at the head of this chapter. As exhibiting a somewhat different point of view from that of Keym,^b we may quote Gindely,^g who says: "The cause of the murderous war which, for thirty years of the seventeenth century, lacerated Central Europe is to be sought chiefly in the incompatibility of the religious views which prevailed among the peoples of the time. It would be unreasonable to ascribe to one of the religious parties alone the guilt of this fierce struggle; they were equally guilty. We should judge them by the ability with which they filled their places and carried out their plans; by the self sacrificing spirit which actuated them in relation to their associates, and should inquire also whether they observed, and in what manner they observed, those eternal, moral laws which are respected alike by all Christian nations. Led by these principles, we can rightly judge such men as Ferdinand II, Maximilian of Bavaria, and Gustavus Adolphus, and do them justice, although their action was so opposite that the approval of the one seems to involve the condemnation of the other."

This seems wide enough from Keym's view, but Gindely immediately qualifies his estimate as follows: "But disagreement in religious convictions was not the sole cause of the war. The insubordination of the estates in Austria, the avidity of the princes to enrich themselves at the cost of the church property, the ambition of individual party leaders, who could be satisfied only in a general disorder, contributed so largely to the kindling of the conflagration as to make it doubtful to what particular the greater guilt should be ascribed. But whatever may have kindled the strife, it is certain that its long duration was caused only by material interests. Though ideal views may give rise to a war, this once begun, the material questions of possession and power advance to the front and become, in contests which the party at first defeated would have been glad to end by yielding somewhat, the sole causes of continuance. All the princes and statesmen who came successively to participate in the Thirty Years' War wished to augment their power by triumph. This is true of Ferdinand II and Maximilian of Bavaria; of Louis XIII and his minister Cardinal Richelieu; of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna. Having once drawn the sword, the question was the same with all — increase of territory and people. All the words with which they tried to conceal this purpose were empty phrases which never deceived those who employed them. We would not, however, deny that Ferdinand II and Gustavus Adolphus, each in his way, regarded themselves as chosen instruments of God, and that their efforts were not, like those of Louis XIII, governed by mere desire of conquest."

Be the exact balance of causes what it may, the war whose history forms the chief theme of the period upon which we are entering is a momentous one. It will be well to recall, however, that, in the midst of all this tumult, German culture did not altogether decline. Almost two centuries had now elapsed since Gutenberg and Fust had begun printing books with movable type; in the mean time a flood of publications had come from the German presses. German culture was also stimulated by the rivalry existing between the various rulers. "Every little prince," says Gindely,^g "was ambitious to have his educational system culminating in a university. Thus has Germany, since the great struggle in the opening of the seventeenth century, become

[1619 A.D.]

the world's school and its library, though this state of things seemed to work against the cause of freedom in that contest."

Among the princes who accomplished most in this direction were those whose history has furnished the theme of our recent pages. In particular, Rudolf II, by bringing Tycho Brahe to Prague, and subsequently by his patronage of Johannes Kepler, was instrumental in making Germany the centre of scientific progress. It was while working at Prague that Kepler discovered and promulgated his famous laws of planetary motion. Ferdinand II continued for a time to patronise Kepler, and the great general Wallenstein was peculiarly interested in the astrological studies of the astronomer. We shall do well as we follow out the military and political history of this epoch to recall that this is the age of Kepler, no less than of Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus. With this corrective reflection in mind, we take up the detailed history of the Thirty Years' War. In so doing we shall first have occasion to turn back to certain events that have been referred to in the preceding chapter, for the struggle began while Matthias still occupied the imperial throne.^a

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR IN BOHEMIA AND THE PALATINATE

In Bohemia the exasperation of the Protestants at the consistent repression of religious and civil freedom broke out in 1618, the immediate cause of the outbreak being the erection by the Protestants of churches for their use in the cities of Kloster-Grab and Braunau, which were under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Catholics would not suffer this, because they asserted that in Bohemia only the nobility and gentry and the royal cities enjoyed religious freedom, but not the subjects of ecclesiastical territories; and, in fact, nothing definite on this subject was decreed in the royal charter of Rudolf II. On the other hand the Protestants urged that the ecclesiastical estate is not recognised in Bohemia as an independent one, and, therefore, ecclesiastical territories are really crown possessions. When this dispute came before the emperor Matthias, he decided in favour of the Catholics, and the two Protestant churches were closed by the Catholic clergy, that of Kloster-Grab even being demolished, while several of the burghers were punished with imprisonment.

Thereupon the Protestants met in a convention, according to a right conceded to them by Rudolf II, to elect "defenders" (*defensores*) for the protection of their common interests. They therefore summoned six men of their party from each district in Bohemia to come to Prague, and these defenders sent a petition to the emperor against the violent procedure which they considered an infringement of the royal charter. Matthias, however, returned them a very harsh reply, prohibited for the future all meetings, and instructed his chief magistrate in Prague to dissolve the assembly of defenders.

This filled the people with great bitterness, and Count Henry Matthias of Thurn, a brave and universally beloved nobleman, who was one of the defenders, placed himself at the head of the oppressed and led the Protestant delegates, all fully armed, to the castle of Prague, where the imperial magistrates were to be found, of whom two, William of Slavata and Jaroslav of Martinice, had long been hated. After a heated discussion these two men and their secretary Fabricius were seized and pitched out of the window, which stood fully sixty feet from the ground. However, the fall did not kill them; Martinice and the secretary had a narrow escape; Slavata, who was wounded in

the head, had to leave Bohemia on his recovery. The Protestants continued resolutely to act as defenders of their country's liberty. They seized the imperial estates and revenues and drove out the Jesuits as the instigators of all oppression and discord. Later on the same fate overtook the members of this order in Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary. A commission of thirty directors was appointed in Bohemia to manage the affairs of the country, and Count Thurn was appointed commander-in-chief and chief burggraf, or magistrate; the latter position he had previously held, but lost it through the influence of the Catholics.

When these proceedings reached the ears of the emperor, he was at first seized with such fear that he did not know which way to turn, and was willing to make concessions. But the Jesuits and their pupil and tool, King Ferdinand, would not hear of this; they perceived that the rising of the Bohemians was directed against them and their statecraft, and they were consequently bent upon carrying out their designs by force. They urged the emperor to try the fortunes of war. The call to arms soon began to sound all over Germany, here for the Catholics, there for the Protestants; it was not long before the clank of weapons was also heard, and the two parties stood face to face impatient to cool in the blood of their antagonists the long-repressed fury unremittingly fostered by the clergy on each side. The evangelical states in Austria roused themselves after their long period of oppression and refused to give the emperor any assistance; the Silesians, Moravians, and Lusatians made common cause with the Bohemians, to whose national assembly they sent delegates. The leader of the rebellion, Count Thurn, defeated the imperial army. Count Ernst von Mansfeld, skilled in all the arts of war as was no one else in his day, was deputed by the elector palatine to bring the Bohemians a reinforcement of four thousand men. Success apparently favoured the cause of the Protestants and of liberty.

Shortly thereafter the emperor Matthias died suddenly (May 20th, 1619) and King Ferdinand ascended the throne under most unfavourable circumstances. The Austrian states refused to do homage to him until he had redressed religious grievances, and Count Thurn advanced with his army into Austria to their support. On June 5th he was already before Vienna, which he besieged. The Protestants in the city rebelled. Ferdinand was in sore straits, flight or captivity being apparently his only alternative.

But presently Count Thurn received news that Boucquoi had beaten Mansfeld and was rushing upon Prague. He then raised the siege of Vienna and marched back to Bohemia. In spite of this, Ferdinand's position was desperate. All the hereditary states of the house of Habsburg had forsaken him. Prince Bethlen Gábor of Transylvania rose in revolt and conquered Hungary with the greatest ease, for these countries, too, were greatly embittered by the religious tyranny of the Habsburgs. The delegates from the rest of the hereditary states, the Bohemians, Silesians, Moravians, Lusatians, Austrians, convened at a great assembly in Prague (July 8th, 1619), in which they once again asserted their rights and liberties as against the king, and more especially their right of electing the sovereign, universal religious freedom, and the privilege of the states to resort to force in defence of the constitution.

THE POWER OF THE HABSBURGS THREATENED

Simultaneously with these events the empire seemed doomed to slip from the grasp of the house of Habsburg. The most energetic party among the Protestants, instigated, pre-eminently by the clever and daring Prince Chris-

[1619-1620 A.D.]

tian of Anhalt, bestirred itself eagerly to form a great league of all the adversaries of the house of Habsburg, with a view to its complete downfall. Protestantism and popular freedom were to be established in Germany, the ecclesiastical principalities were to be abolished, and at the head of the reformed empire a Protestant was to be installed as emperor, in the person of Frederick V of the Palatinate.

But these magnificent projects were doomed to be shattered, mainly through unfortunate discords in the Protestant party — more especially through the faithlessness of the elector John George of Saxony, who once again at the imperial election deserted his co-religionists and went over to the side of the Habsburgs and Catholics. The latter thereby gained the majority among the electoral princes: Ferdinand II was elected emperor of Germany (Frankfort-on-Main, August 28th, 1619) and crowned twelve days later.

This was the first great success won by the cause of the Jesuits. Ferdinand II immediately set about reconquering his hereditary domains. In order to effect his purpose, he purchased at a high price the support of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, who amongst other advantages also stipulated that the electorate of the Palatinate should be transferred to him. On August 19th, before the imperial election, the diets of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia had declared that Ferdinand had forfeited the sovereignty of their lands; and, in accordance with ancient Bohemian rights, they elected a new king, the young elector Frederick V of the Palatinate. The latter, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, imagined that in his powerful father-in-law he would have a strong supporter. Therefore, after slight hesitation, he accepted the proffered dignity which was so flattering to his ambitions, and set off for Bohemia. On November 29th he was crowned in Prague amidst the great rejoicings of his new subjects. The question now was whether he would be able to defend the land against the emperor, for it soon became apparent that he had exaggerated his power. He had fondly believed that all would immediately fly to his assistance, whereas neither the Netherlands nor the king of England afforded him any appreciable help.

Bohemia was thrown upon its own resources, and matters were very badly managed. The nobles would make no sacrifices, but wanted the expenses of the war to be borne by king and people, although they had been the instigators of the rebellion. The king himself was undecided, reckless, and ill-advised; his court offended popular feeling by exhibiting its Reformed leanings, whereas the Bohemians were, for the most part, Lutherans or utraquists. In addition to all this, the military preparations, which had been mapped out very well by the prince of Anhalt, were but badly and partially executed. All the more energetically did the enemy act. Duke Maximilian proceeded with the greatest zeal and vigour to equip one of the armies of the league, and to march with it into Upper Austria. He had himself acknowledged as representative of the emperor, and after joining forces with Boucquoi advanced on Bohemia. Two Spanish generals, the marquis of Spinola and the marquis of Cordova, advanced with thirty thousand men upon the king of Bohemia's hereditary dominion, the Palatinate; and the elector of Saxony seized Lusatia, which had promised to assist Bohemia but which had been ceded to him by the emperor Ferdinand in recognition of the assistance he had given.

Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, with the armies of the league, now rapidly advanced into Bohemia, drove back Frederick's troops, and marched on Prague. Frederick's forces, twenty thousand strong, and led by Prince Christian of Anhalt, were disposed in battle array in a semicircle on the so-called White Mountain. Opposed to them was the army of the league, in

number almost twice as strong, and commanded by Duke Maximilian, Count Boucquoi, and General Tserclaes von Tilly. Tilly was by birth a Dutchman, an experienced old warrior, of stern morality. His appearance was sinister, his body powerful but lean, the wide brow full of wrinkles, the eyes large and gloomy, the cheeks sunken, the nose and chin long, the moustaches pointed and upturned, the grey hair disordered and bristling. He usually wore a green satin doublet and a little hat with a tall red feather.

In the council of war, held by the generals of the league in their camp before Prague, Tilly and the duke of Bavaria were in favour of immediate attack, but Boucquoi suggested rather the surrounding of the enemy. While the generals were thus disputing among themselves, a Spanish Carmelite [Father Dominicus] kindled their religious ardour by bringing before them an image of the Virgin with eyes put out, and calling upon them to go forth to battle against those who had profaned the holiest. The command to attack was given on the spot; and the army of the league advanced to the war-cry of "Holy Mary!" The battle began; it was November 8th, 1620. At first the battle was undecided. The Bohemians bravely bore the attack of the superior force for fully half an hour. But then the Hungarian cavalry took to flight and bore the Bohemian infantry along with it. Complete panic and disorganisation ensued. Counts Thurn and Schlick were the last to maintain the field with their Moravians; at last Schlick was made prisoner and Thurn had to take to flight. Four thousand Bohemian soldiers were left dead on the field; ten guns and one hundred colours were taken by the enemy. When King Frederick heard of the disaster, he lost all courage and confidence. He fled with his wife, with Thurn, and Christian of Anhalt to Breslau, thence to Berlin, and finally to Holland. Maximilian of Bavaria proudly entered the capital, and the fate of Prague decided that of Bohemia. Moravia and Silesia also made submission to the emperor now that their faint-hearted king had forsaken them. In derision the latter was henceforth dubbed the "winter king."

RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION

The emperor Ferdinand II then restored the Catholic religion in Moravia. With regard to Bohemia he behaved at first as if he meant to forget the past, and he kept up the deception until he had reassured the Bohemians. Then he suddenly began to wreak his vengeance with a cruelty which only the violence of his religious fanaticism can explain and which has branded for all time his memory and that of his spiritual advisers. On February 10th, 1621, he had all the unsuspecting leaders of the popular movement arrested, and on June 21st twenty-seven of the highest nobility were executed. They died cheerfully for their faith: the rector of the university had his tongue torn out, a celebrated scholar was beaten to death, 728 noblemen had their estates confiscated, and many were imprisoned for life. This abominable tribunal is called the "bloody diet of Prague."

The papal legate had absolved the emperor from the oath he had sworn to the Bohemian nation, and now he also abolished all their religious liberties. He brought back in triumph the expelled Jesuits and bestowed upon them the confiscated estates and the University of Prague. Then the golden age of the monks dawned in the once free Bohemia. First the Reformed party and then the Lutheran clergy were expelled. With the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion a reign of terror began for Bohemia, Ferdinand II believing that thus only could Roman Catholicism be firmly established. These horrors were perpetrated through the terrible delusion that they were done

[1620-1627 A.D.]

"for the glory of God." No less than thirty thousand families forsook their unfortunate fatherland rather than become Roman Catholics, and henceforth the country declined both in wealth and culture.^e It was said that Ferdinand tore up with his own hand the royal charter of Rudolf II as a sign that Bohemia's freedom was forever at an end. According to another report, the emperor tore the seal from the royal charter, and then cut it through the middle. "We are unable to state," says Gindely,^g "whether this is so or not; but as a matter of fact the original of the royal charter has been preserved to the present day only in this damaged condition."^a

The emperor had pledged Upper Austria, a part of his hereditary dominions, to Maximilian of Bavaria for his war expenditures, and Maximilian had already received a forced homage in 1620, when he installed Count Herbersdorf as magistrate in Linz on the Danube. Count Herbersdorf was to destroy the Reformation in Upper Austria, root and branch, and he governed with as much cruelty as the duke of Alva in the Netherlands. Thus he drove to desperation the people, as well as the privileged classes, whose charters he treated with scorn. In the year 1626 the peasants, eighty thousand strong, rebelled, and on their banners was inscribed "God grant us heroic courage, for our souls and lives are at stake." A clever and bold man, Stephan Fadinger, by trade a hatter, was chosen leader of the peasants. They defeated Count Herbersdorf near Waitzenkirchen and Peuerbach, seized several towns, and besieged Linz. Fadinger was shot while laying siege to this city. Achaz Wiellinger, a nobleman, took his place. Then the peasants suffered several defeats, but were again victorious over two new armies which Maximilian had sent out against them. The duke then placed the command of the war against the peasants in the hands of Count Gottfried Heinrich von Pappenheim, the stepson of Herbersdorf. Pappenheim (born in 1594 of a noble and ancient family) was a wild warrior who had from his youth loved war beyond everything; his body was so covered with scars that his soldiers called him "Jack o' Scars." Pappenheim brought the peasant war in Upper Austria to a rapid close. He defeated the peasants at Eferding, Gmunden, Voeklbruck, then at the castle of Wolfseck, and finally at Peuerbach. They submitted, and in 1627 their leaders were executed.

Thus had the emperor, with the help of the league, entirely subjugated all his hereditary dominions (except Hungary and Transylvania) and ruled over them more despotically than ever. The duke of Bavaria, however, had not won all these successes for the emperor out of mere religious zeal: he meant also to derive profit from them for himself. The war was therefore carried into Germany proper, first of all against the Palatinate, which was to fall to Duke Maximilian as his share of the spoils.

THE OUTLAWED ELECTOR PALATINE AND HIS CHAMPIONS

Soon after the battle on the "white mountain" the emperor outlawed the elector palatine, Frederick V, and all his followers. This decree was illegal, for he pronounced it arbitrarily, without summoning a council of princes. Maximilian, who was entrusted with carrying out the ban, at once invaded the upper Palatinate, while the Spaniards, under Spinola, marched from the Walloon Netherlands (Belgium), overran the whole of the lower Palatinate, and captured all important places, with the exception of the cities of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal. None of the powers moved a finger to help the unfortunate exile, Frederick V. The union, which had watched his downfall without attempting anything for his relief, was now dissolved

(1621); it had, indeed, no skilful leader like the Catholic league, which Duke Max bore along with him to great deeds and conquests; only a few dashing partisans took up the cause of the Palatinate and bravely continued the war.

One of these was Count Ernst von Mansfeld, also an outlawed, landless nobleman but inexhaustible in bold schemes, dreaded for his methods of warfare wherever he appeared with his troops; for, as he could give his soldiers no pay, he always supported them at the expense of the country in which he happened to be, and when there was nothing more to plunder he moved on. This brave partisan fighter had turned from Bohemia to the upper Palatinate; driven thence by Tilly, he passed first into the Rhenish Palatinate, and, when he could no longer hold out there, into Alsace, returning again to the Rhenish Palatinate.

The second champion of Frederick V's cause was Duke Christian of Brunswick, a brother of the reigning duke Ulrich, and Protestant administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt. Christian was of the same stamp as Mansfeld, but his warlike spirit was fantastically chivalric. Inspired by the beauty and the misfortunes of the electress Elizabeth, when he met her at the Hague with her husband, he fastened her glove to his hat and swore that he would win back her throne for her. He lacked Mansfeld's ability as a general; he was only a bold fighter. His wild troops, nineteen thousand in number, most of whom were paid with Dutch money, were soon feared both far and near, even more than he himself. Wherever he went he was the scourge of the Catholics. At Paderborn he carried off the golden image of St. Liborius; at Münster he had the silver statues of the Apostles melted down, saying: "Go ye forth into all the world!" He then had them coined into thalers with the inscription, "God's friend, the priests' foe."

The third champion of Frederick V was the markgraf George Frederick of Baden-Durlach, also a brave and resolute warrior. He put the reins of government into the hands of his son and joined Count Mansfeld with an army of fifteen thousand men.

SUCCESSSES OF TILLY

While some of the smaller princes thus rallied boldly on the field of battle, the more powerful Protestant princes still remained discouraged and inactive. And yet the Bohemian conflict had now become a general German question, and the ascendancy which the Catholic party had won threatened all Protestants; besides this, the constitution of the empire and the freedom of the estates of the realm had become greatly endangered by the despotism of the emperor, which grew rapidly with his good fortune. But most of the Protestants allowed themselves to be persuaded that the matter concerned only the elector; many were pacified by intimidation, others by allurements and bribes. The three commanders, however, took the field in the spring of 1622 with great confidence; they had collected large armies, collectively superior in number to the army of the league. But Tilly, its commander-in-chief, made up by his skill for his lack of means. He succeeded in separating his adversaries and then defeated each individually. First he fell upon the markgraf of Durlach, who had thought to conquer without Mansfeld. The battle was fought at Wimpfen on the Neckar on May 6th, 1622. Tilly won the victory owing to an accident after a bloody battle. Some powder wagons had caught fire among the Protestant ranks and exploded, thus throwing the army of the markgraf into disorder; taking advantage of this, a Neapolitan

[1622-1623 A.D.]

cavalry regiment of Tilly's broke through into the midst of the markgraf's troops, and decided the issue of the battle. The young duke Magnus of Würtemberg fell on the battle-field after receiving twelve wounds, and Duke William of Weimar and the count palatine, Christian von Birkenfeld, were also killed. The markgraf himself was in great danger; and it was entirely owing to the bravery and self-sacrificing devotion of one of his regiments (which tradition later translated into four hundred burghers of Pforzheim) that he escaped with his life and liberty.

Tilly then directed his forces against Christian of Brunswick, who, on his way to effect a junction with Mansfeld, was pillaging and ravaging the abbey lands of Fulda and the cathedral lands of Würzburg. But when Duke Christian reached the Main, conquered the city of Höchst, and constructed a bridge, he was attacked by Tilly (June 20th, 1622), and his whole infantry annihilated. Christian himself escaped with the cavalry and cut his way through to the Palatinate and to Mansfeld, with whom was the elector Frederick V.

England, Denmark, and Saxony were then negotiating with the emperor for the restoration of Frederick's hereditary dominion. Ferdinand II dictated as a primary condition that the elector should dismiss his two allies, Christian of Brunswick and Mansfeld. The weak, shortsighted elector actually did this, although their forces were still sufficiently strong to protect him, and he returned to Holland. For some time the two partisan leaders carried on the war on their own account — first along the Rhine, then in Lorraine; finally they advanced to reinforce the Dutch against the Spaniards, and cut their way through the army of the latter.

At last Tilly had free play in the Palatinate, which was entirely at his mercy. He successfully stormed the last three fortified cities of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal, and acted with all the arbitrariness of a conqueror. Heidelberg lost its celebrated and precious library, where the rare old manuscripts alone were valued at 80,000 crowns. Maximilian of Bavaria presented this library to the pope, and it was removed to Rome, where the greater part of it remains to this day. Under the protection of the victorious Tilly, the Jesuits, at Maximilian's instigation, returned to the Rhenish Palatinate over heaps of ruins and dead bodies; the Protestants lost their churches; the work of conversion began. A similar course was followed in the upper Palatinate.

MAXIMILIAN'S RECORD

The emperor was now victorious in upper Germany; every enemy had been crushed and he made use of this smile of fortune to reorganise the affairs of the empire according to his mind. First he fulfilled his obligations to the duke of Bavaria. The predominant position of this prince, at the head of the league, made him anxious, it is true, and there had always existed, openly or secretly, a certain jealousy between the houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach; but Ferdinand had been saved by Maximilian, who, moreover, could not safely be slighted or offended. Therefore the emperor fulfilled his original promise and made over the electoral dignity of the Palatinate to him, with the office of lord high steward for life. This was decided at an assembly of imperially disposed princes at Ratisbon, 1623. This act, too, was illegal, for not all the estates of the realm were represented.

The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg vainly opposed this proceeding; finally even they recognised the electoral dignity of Bavaria. The emperor showed his despotism in many other ways, and more especially in matters

of religion, in which the Protestants suffered greatly. The imperial papist party then attacked lower Germany. At the beginning of 1623 Mansfeld and Duke Christian had made their appearance there again with an army levied in the Netherlands, the former making his incursion into East Friesland, and the latter into Lower Saxony. The provincial diet of Lower Saxony had nominated Duke Christian to the command of their forces, for they were desirous to protect their faith against the despotic domination of the emperor and the Catholics. But after four weeks Christian resigned this position, on account of the sorry discords among the districts.

IMPERIAL VICTORIES AND FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

He had the intention of forcing his way into Bohemia and of joining hands there with Bethlen Gábor, the prince of Transylvania, in order to win back the Bohemian crown for the elector. But Tilly advanced to the Weser against him with superior forces. The elector of Saxony would not allow the Protestant army to cross his dominions. It therefore turned back towards Westphalia to effect a junction with Mansfeld, whose troops at that time were not numerous enough to enable him to carry out any great plans by himself. Near Stadthohn in Münster, Tilly met and defeated Duke Christian, annihilating his army (August 6th, 1623). This blow put an end for the time being to Mansfeld's hopes. As he perceived that he could do nothing with his weak forces against Tilly, he disbanded them temporarily and hastened with uncurbed spirit to London; there he never ceased his efforts to move King James I to lend assistance to the cause of his son-in-law. He succeeded at last, collected a new army, and led it to Holland. Yet even that did not satisfy him, and he tried to unite France, England, Venice, Savoy, Holland, and part of Switzerland in alliance against Austria. The interests of all these countries were prejudiced by the emperor's great and unexpected success. The ascendancy of the house of Habsburg in Europe seemed to have taken a new lease of life.^e

Peace was still out of the question. All the bulwarks of the Reformation in the south had been destroyed. The north, that fondly deemed herself secure, was next to be attacked. The dread of the general and forcible suppression of Protestantism throughout Germany, and shame for their inaction, induced the circle of Lower Saxony to take up arms and to seek aid from their Protestant brethren in England, Denmark, and Sweden. Richelieu was at this time at the head of affairs in France, and, although as a cardinal a zealous upholder of Catholicism, he was not blind to the opportunity offered, by supporting the German Protestants against the emperor, for weakening the power of that potentate, partitioning Germany, and extending the French territory towards the Rhine.

The German Lutherans, ensnared by his intrigues, blinded by fear, and driven to this false step by the despotism and perfidy of the emperor, little foresaw the immeasurable misfortune foreign interference was to bring upon their country. Bellin, the French plenipotentiary, at first wishing to place the warlike Swedish monarch, Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of the German Protestants, entered into alliance with England, and gained over the elector of Brandenburg, who promised his sister, Catherine, to the Russian czar, in order to keep a check upon Poland, at that period at war with Sweden; but these intrigues were frustrated by Christian IV, king of Denmark, who anticipated the Swedes by taking up arms and placing himself at the head of the movement. Gustavus, at that time engaged with Poland, was unable to

[1625 A.D.]

interfere. The Russian match was broken off (1625), and the luckless bride was given in marriage to Bethlen Gábor.

THE RISE OF WALLENSTEIN

War with Denmark no sooner threatened than Ferdinand, to the great discontent of Bavaria, raised an army, independent of the league, by the assistance of a Bohemian nobleman, Albert von Wallenstein (properly, Waldstein.) This nobleman belonged to a Protestant family, and had been bred in that faith. He had acquired but a scanty supply of learning at the University of Goldberg in Silesia, which he quitted to enter as a page the Catholic court of Burgau. Whilst here he fell, when asleep, out of one of the high castle windows without receiving any injury. He afterwards studied the dark sciences, more especially astrology, in Italy, and read his future destiny, of which he had had a secret presentiment from his early childhood, in the stars. He commenced his career in the emperor's service, by opposing the Turks in Hungary, where he narrowly escaped death from swallowing a love-potion administered to him by Wiczkowa, an aged but extremely wealthy widow, whom he had married, and with whose money he raised a regiment of cuirassiers for the emperor. His popularity was so great in Bohemia that the Bohemians, on the breaking out of the disturbances in Prague, appointed him their general.

He, nevertheless, remained attached to the imperial service and greatly distinguished himself in the field against Mansfeld and Bethlen Gábor. By a second and equally rich marriage with the countess Harrach and by the favour of the emperor, who bestowed upon him Friedland and the dignity of count of the empire, but chiefly by the purchase of numberless estates, which, on account of the numerous confiscations and emigrations, were sold in Bohemia at merely a nominal price, and by the adulteration of coin,¹ Wallenstein became possessed of such enormous wealth as to be, next to the emperor, the richest proprietor in the empire. The emperor requesting him to raise a body of ten thousand men, he levied forty thousand, an army of that magnitude being solely able to provide itself in every quarter with subsistence, and was, in return, created duke of Friedland and generalissimo of the imperial forces. A few months sufficed for the levy of the troops, his fame and the principles on which he acted attracting crowds beneath his standard. Every religion, but no priest, was tolerated within his camp; the strictest discipline was enforced and the greatest license permitted; merit met with a princely reward; the commonest soldier, who distinguished himself, was promoted to the highest posts; and around the person of the commander was spread the charm of mystery; he was reported to be in league with the powers of darkness, to be invulnerable, and to have enchained victory to his banner. Fortune was his deity and the motto of his troops. In his person he was tall and thin; his countenance was sallow and lowering; his eyes were small and piercing, his forehead was high and commanding, his hair short and bristling. He was surrounded with mystery and silence.

Tilly, jealous of Wallenstein's fame, hastened to anticipate that leader in the reduction of the circle of Lower Saxony. The Danish monarch, who held Schleswig and Holstein by right of inheritance, and Dithmarschen by that of conquest, whilst his son Frederick governed the bishoprics of Bremen and

¹ He purchased property to the amount of 7,290,000 florins, a fifth of its real value, and the coin with which he paid for it was, moreover, so bad that the emperor was compelled by an express privilege to secure him against enforced restitution.

[1619-1627 A.D.]

Verden, attempted to encroach still further on the German Empire and long carried on a contest with Lübeck and Hamburg. During peace time, in 1619, he seized the free town of Stade, under the pretext, customary in those times, of protecting the aristocratic council against the rebellious citizens. He also built Glückstadt, and levied high customs on the citizens of Hamburg. The avarice and servility of the princes of Wolfenbüttel and Lüneburg-Celle had also at that period rendered them contemptible and deprived them of much of their former power and influence. After the defeat of Christian of Brunswick at Stadtlohn, the noble Danish bodyguard, that had been sent to Wolfenbüttel, was attacked and driven across the frontier by the enraged German peasantry; and the Hanse towns, flattered by the emperor and embittered against Denmark by the erection of Stade and Glückstadt, were almost the first to recall their troops and to desist from opposition, whilst George of Lüneburg, attracted by the report of the great arrondissements projected by the emperor, preferred gain to loss and formally seceded.

The Danish monarch now found himself totally unprotected, and, in order to guard his German acquisitions in case Brunswick followed the example of the Hansa and embraced the imperial party, set himself up as a liberator of Germany, in which he was countenanced and upheld by England, Holland, and Richelieu, the omnipotent minister of France. He nevertheless greatly undervalued the simultaneous revolt of the Upper Austrians, to whom he impolitically offered no assistance. The German princes remained tranquil and left the Dane unaided. The Hessian peasantry rose in Tilly's rear, and those of Brunswick, enraged at the desertion of the cause of religion by the princes and the nobility, killed numbers of his soldiery in the Sollinger forest, captured the garrisons of Dassel and Bodenwerder, seized a large convoy near Einbeck, destroyed the castles of all the fugitive nobility, and hunted George's consort, the daughter of Ludwig of Darmstadt, from one place of refuge to another. The citizens of Hanover, where the magistrate was about to capitulate to Tilly, also flew to arms and appointed John Ernest of Weimar commandant of their city (1625).

Tilly, at first worsted at Nienburg by the Danish general Obentraut, who fell shortly afterwards at Seelze, spread the terror of his name throughout Hesse, Brunswick, and the rest of the Lutheran provinces. In the ensuing year, the approach of Wallenstein caused Tilly to bring the Danish campaign to a hasty close, and taking advantage of the state of inactivity to which the Danish monarch was reduced by a fall from horseback, he seized Hameln and Minden, where the powder magazine blew up during the attack and destroyed the whole garrison, consisting of twenty-five hundred men (1627). Havelberg, Göttingen, and Hanover next fell into his hands, and a pitched battle was fought near Lutter am Barenberge, which terminated in the rout of the whole of the Danish forces and the surrender of Holstein.



ALBERT VON WALLENSTEIN
(1583-1634)

[1625-1629 A.D.]

THE DEATH OF MANSFELD

Mansfeld and John Ernest of Weimar, too weak, notwithstanding the reinforcements sent to their aid by England and Holland, to take the field against Wallenstein, who, at the head of a wild and undisciplined army of sixty thousand men, was advancing upon lower Germany, attempted to draw him through Silesia into Hungary and to carry the war into the hereditary provinces of the emperor, but were overtaken and defeated on the bridge of Dessau. Mansfeld, nevertheless, escaped into Silesia, where his popularity was so great that in the course of a few weeks he found himself once more at the head of an army consisting of twenty thousand evangelical volunteers, four thousand Mecklenburgers, and three thousand Scots and Danes. Wallenstein pursued him, and the contending armies lay for some time in sight of each other on the Waag, without venturing an engagement. Wallenstein, meanwhile, gained over the Hungarian king, and Mansfeld, once more abandoned, attempted to escape to Venice, but, worn out by chagrin and fatigue, expired in Uracowicz, in Bosnia, 1626.^f

A popular tradition relates that Mansfeld died standing upright in his armour. A more credible account of his death is given by Scharffenberg as follows:^a As the night (of November 9th, 1626) wore away, the condition of Mansfeld became worse; his agony was intense. His loyal followers stood speechless round his couch powerless to afford him relief or consolation. The day began to dawn. Then, imbued with supernatural strength, the dying man raised himself on his sick-bed, called for his clothes, his armour, and his trusty sword. Amazed, his followers humored him: "Up, up!" cried Mansfeld, "the parting is at hand; bear me to the open window, my faithful friends, that the morning air may refresh me once more: death shall not overtake me on a soft couch — it has always spared me on the battle-field. Standing, I will give back my soul to the Lord of hosts. Over the rocky heights the rosy dawn approaches, heralding the coming day — yours, but mine no longer. Yea, the coming day on which you are called upon to take up the struggle once more, while I must ignominiously succumb!" Supported in the arms of two officers, or rather two friends, the dying man was brought to the open window; his transfigured gaze, oblivious of all earthly objects, was fixed on the first rays of the sun, which had dispelled the last grey mists of dawn. "Keep together, make a brave stand!" were Mansfeld's last words.^g The fallen hero was buried at Spalatro. His ally, John Ernest of Weimar, died in Hungary. A body of his troops under Colonel Baudis fought their way, although opposed even by Brandenburg, to Denmark. Bethlen Gábor died in 1629, leaving no issue.

WALLENSTEIN'S POWER

The triumph of the Catholics seemed complete. Wallenstein became the soul of the intrigues carried on in the camps and in the little courts of northern Germany; and had not the Catholics, like the Protestants at an earlier period, been blinded by petty jealousies, Europe would have been moulded by his quick and comprehensive genius into another form. He demanded a thorough reaction, an unconditional restoration of the ancient imperial power, a monarchy absolute as that of France and Spain. In order to carry out his project for securing the submission of the southern provinces of Germany to the imperial rule by the firm and peaceable possession of those in the north, the seat of opposition, he invaded Holstein, defeated the markgraf of Baden

near Aalborg, and made Christian IV tremble in Copenhagen. Tilly, meanwhile, garrisoned the coasts of the Baltic and seized Stade, whilst Arnheim, with the Saxon troops sent by the elector to Wallenstein's aid, held the island of Rügen. Rostock fell into the hands of Wallenstein, John Albert and Adolphus Frederick of Mecklenburg were driven out of the country, and the people were laid under heavy contributions. Wallenstein had already come to an understanding with Poland, and the Hanse towns were drawn into his interests by a promise of the annihilation of the Dutch, of the traffic of the whole world being diverted from Amsterdam to Hamburg, and of the monopoly of the whole of the commerce of Spain. The emperor, in order to counterpoise the power of the ancient princely families which threatened to contravene the schemes laid for his aggrandisement by his favourite, bestowed upon him the principality of Sagan, in Silesia, and the whole of Mecklenburg, whilst he in his turn proposed to gain the crown of Denmark for his master, to create Tilly duke of Brunswick-Calenberg and Pappenheim duke of Wolfenbüttel; and, in order to evade George's pretensions, that prince was sent to Italy under pretence of securing the succession of the petty duchy of Mantua for the emperor. *f*

In vain did the inhabitants of Mecklenburg supplicate to have their rightful dukes, whose family had reigned in their dominions for nearly a thousand years, restored to them. Ferdinand forgot again, this time, the laws of moderation in victory, and shamefully violated the constitution of the empire in thus banishing these princes from their territories without legally impeaching them before the electoral princes, and without giving them a hearing or pronouncing judgment against them. On the contrary, it was to him an object of great importance to secure for himself the presence of a Catholic prince of the empire on the coast of the Baltic Sea, who would thus be enabled to keep in check the north of Germany, and form a protective power to watch the proceedings of the Protestant kings of Denmark and Sweden; whilst from this point he confidently hoped to be enabled to re-establish the Catholic faith throughout the north. He also appears to have contemplated holding complete dominion over the maritime commerce of the Baltic from this quarter, for Wallenstein even assumed the title of admiral of the north and eastern seas, and it is seen by his letters addressed to Arnim, general-in-chief of the army in the north of Germany, during his absence, that the desire he had most at heart was to burn all the Swedish and Danish vessels that sailed within the range of his dominion, and to collect and establish a fleet of his own.

From Mecklenburg Wallenstein turned his looks towards its neighbouring territory, Pomerania. The old duke, Bogislaw, was without any family, and after his death his duchy might be very conveniently united with that of Mecklenburg. What, however, was to this ambitious man of the utmost importance, was the possession of Stralsund, which, it is true, was in the dominion of the duke of Pomerania, but which, at the same time, as forming part of the Hanseatic League, enjoyed many privileges, and an independent administration in all its internal affairs. This city, as well as the whole country, had contributed very large sums towards the maintenance of the imperial troops; and now it was intended to furnish it with a garrison. This the citizens refused to receive; and in the spring of the year 1628 Wallenstein gave orders to General Arnim to march against and lay siege to the place. The citizens, however, defended their walls with determined courage and perseverance, whilst the kings Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Christian of Denmark furnished them with liberal supplies of troops, together with ammunition and provisions from the sea-side. Their obstinate resistance

[1629 A.D.]

excited the furious wrath and indignation of the imperious general, and he exclaimed: "Even if this Stralsund be linked by chains to the very heavens above, still I swear it shall fall!" He then advanced in person against the city, and repeatedly assaulted it; but he now learned to know what the heroic courage of citizens can effect under prudent guidance; for after having remained before the walls for several weeks, and suffered a loss of at least twelve thousand men in the various desperate assaults made, he was forced, to his no little mortification, to withdraw without accomplishing his object.

Meantime, the king of Denmark had demanded peace, which, contrary to all expectation, the emperor was advised by Wallenstein to conclude; from which it may be presumed that, as he was now himself a prince of the empire, he no longer considered it desirable to destroy further the power of the German princes. The king, through the mediation of the general, made on the 12th of May, 1629, in Lübeck, a very advantageous peace, and he received back all his lands, without paying the expenses of the war. But this peace did not add much to the glory of the king, inasmuch as for his own preservation he sacrificed in the dukes of Mecklenburg two faithful allies. He promised not to take any share in the affairs of Germany, otherwise than as a member of the imperial states, and thus resigned the right he possessed to protect the two dukes. Wallenstein now received from the emperor the investiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg, and was thus confirmed in his rank among the princes of the empire.

THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION

How rejoiced must the peacefully disposed inhabitants of Germany have been, after their long persecution, when they received the happy tidings of peace! The contest, indeed, could not now be continued any longer, for no enemy was left to oppose the emperor; whilst the duke of Bavaria had obtained quiet possession of the electoral dignity, and that portion of the Palatinate which had been promised to him as an indemnification for his expenses in the war. The Protestants were now so completely reduced and subdued that there was no longer cause to dread fresh hostilities on their part. The war had now reached its twelfth year, and every year had left behind it fresh traces of the ravages produced throughout the whole empire, turning flourishing provinces into deserts, and rendering once opulent citizens beggars and fugitives. The war, indeed, might now have easily been brought to a termination, had the victorious party only known when to fix the just limits of their course, and if the emperor, after having thus completely purified his states of the new doctrines and re-established his authority therein with all its original power, had secured religious peace in all its plenitude to all the other independent states of the empire, disbanded his army, and thus have delivered the reduced and miserable country from that especially heavy burden.

But nothing is more difficult to the human mind than to restrain itself in its course amidst prosperity. The Catholic party imagined this was a moment too favourable for them to neglect, and they determined, accordingly, to draw all the advantages they could from the fortunate state of circumstances in which they were placed. They demanded of the Protestants the restitution of all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had taken possession since the Treaty of Passau, in 1552; being no less than two archbishoprics, Bremen and Magdeburg, twelve bishoprics, and a multitude of inferior benefices and convents. Until this moment, the restitution of what it had been so long the acknowledged right of the Protestants to hold possession had never been for an instant contemplated; but now, however, urged on by the Catholics, the

emperor published a solemn edict, known under the title of the Edict of Restitution, dated the 6th of March, 1629. "The Protestants," says a distinguished historian, "were completely paralysed, whilst the more short-sighted portion of their adversaries hailed it with exultation." The cause, however, for such exultation produced eventually unutterable calamity all over Germany.

Under these circumstances, therefore, it was determined not to disband either of the two grand armies at this moment engaged in their devastations throughout the empire; their services were retained in order to bring into effect the execution of the Edict of Restitution, and orders were accordingly issued that they should assist, if necessary, with the force of their arms, the various imperial deputies authorised by the government to witness the due accomplishment of its decrees. Operations were immediately commenced, and the south of Germany was selected as the spot to receive the first visitation. The city of Augsburg was forced, amongst the rest, to acknowledge the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop and renounce the Protestant form of worship, whilst the duke of Würtemberg was obliged to restore all his monasteries. In addition to all this, the Catholic league, in a meeting which took place in Heidelberg, made a resolution "not to restore any of the possessions conquered by their arms, whether spiritual or temporal, unless they were indemnified beforehand for all their war expenses." Thence the Protestants were threatened with still greater danger from the league party than even from the emperor himself.

But the intolerable tyranny exercised by Wallenstein's army produced increasing indignation, and excited still more loudly the complaints and murmurs of both parties, which attained at length such a degree of irresistible power that the emperor could no longer shut his eyes against the universal ruin — no respect being shown for either party, friends or foes, Catholics or Protestants — caused by those overbearing, ruthless violators of right and justice. The emperor's own brother, Leopold, himself wrote him a long letter in which he gave a dreadful and harrowing description of the pillage, incendiarisms, murderous outrages, and other shameful oppressions inflicted by the imperial troops upon the peaceful inhabitants.^d

THE DISMISSAL OF WALLENSTEIN

While Gustavus Adolphus was embarking for the purpose of brandishing the war torch, which was scarcely extinguished in Germany, the emperor Ferdinand II left his royal residence in Vienna to open his first diet at Ratisbon. The opening took place on the 3rd of July, 1630. The elector of Bavaria and the three ecclesiastical princes were present; Saxony and Brandenburg excused themselves. The emperor first dealt with the cause of the count palatine, Frederick V, and foreign politics; before all things, the electors demanded redress against the Friedland soldiery by the dismissal of the general. All present contended against the unlimited power of Wallenstein, "who forced everyone to do his will without right, even without just pretexts," and against the unbearable pressure of his warriors. The electors did not rest at the dismissal of the over-powerful general. At the time that the duchy of Mecklenburg had been given over to him they had protested against the act. This matter, which had not troubled the emperor, they now brought up for discussion. They demanded that the empire should become constitutional. This would require that justice should be open to the dukes of Mecklenburg, and that defence should be granted them.

[1630 A.D.]

After long opposition Ferdinand II finally declared on August 13th that he wished to alter the command of his army. Nevertheless a new difficulty arose. The landing of the Swedish king made the appointment of a new commander-in-chief an immediate necessity, and for a long time the emperor and the elector could not agree. The emperor's attention was next drawn to Tilly. The ancient hero at first refused the acceptance of the imperial command; then, hesitatingly, he took up with the imperial offer. The confederate princes urged the emperor to accelerate the dismissal of Wallenstein. The emperor entrusted the serious task of informing the mighty man of his dismissal to two of the latter's old friends, the chancellor Von Werdenberg and the war councillor Von Quesenberg. It was not without fear that they approached him. Wallenstein received them with great politeness and entertained them with great splendour. After the conversation had for long run on ordinary matters, they took heart and began to execute their mission. The duke, who for a long time had already been informed through his adherents and paid friends of everything that had taken place at Ratisbon, immediately interrupted them. "These papers," said he, taking a Latin manuscript off the table, "contain the horoscope of the emperor and the elector of Bavaria. From them you can for yourselves see that I know your mission. The stars show that the spirit of the elector dominates the spirit of the emperor. I do not blame the emperor for this. I am truly sorry that the emperor espouses my cause so little; but I will obey."

He dismissed the deputies with rich presents. He thanked the emperor by letter for all the trust he had conferred on him up till now, and begged him to protect him in his possessions. The emperor, yielding to the requests of the electors, had decided to institute an investigation of the affairs of the duke of Mecklenburg, and ordered Wallenstein to betake himself to his possessions in Bohemia until it was over. Wallenstein willingly acceded to this: in his banishment he nevertheless thought to carry away the sure hope that the course of events was preparing a complete triumph for him over his enemies, and that the emperor would be obliged to recall him.⁶



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

(1594-1632)

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

The power of the Protestant princes had now become much weakened, and the Edict of Restitution was carried into effect generally. Those who knew the character of Ferdinand might easily foresee what were his designs against the new church, and it was scarcely necessary to question whether or not his grand object was to annihilate its entire existence, for the proceedings adopted throughout the empire clearly showed what its party had to expect. But amidst this growing danger, and indeed almost in the very moment itself when the minds of the Protestants, as they beheld the crisis gradually approaching, had sunk into that state of despondency and settled gloom which the sad succession of events must naturally produce, they received, most unexpectedly, assistance from a nation hitherto but little known and living in uninterrupted seclusion within the frontiers of their northern territory. This people, the Swedes, were nevertheless distinguished for their bravery, whilst they were steadfast and faithful in their religious principles, being the descendants of the Goths, the noblest of all those nations most justly entitled to boast of their German origin. In the year 1611 Gustavus Adolphus succeeded to the Swedish throne, and he it was who was destined to lead his people upon the grand scene of this eventful period. It was this firm conviction, so deeply implanted in his mind, by which Gustavus felt inspired to undertake the mighty contest against the powerful house of Austria.

His great plan was immediately demonstrated in the first moment of his appearance upon the scene. Previous to the war in Germany he had already conquered from the Russians and Poles the provinces along the coast, Ingermanland, Karelia, and Livonia, together with a portion of Prussia. Various important motives compelled him now to take a share in the affairs of Germany. He had been very seriously provoked and mortified by the emperor Ferdinand; his intercession in favour of the Protestants and his cousins the dukes of Mecklenburg, as well as his mediation for peace with Denmark, had been treated with great contempt, and disdainfully rejected; whilst, in addition to this, Wallenstein had even sent ten thousand imperial troops to the aid of the Poles against him. Beyond all these causes of complaint, however, which might perhaps still have been peacefully adjusted by negotiation, his presence was summoned by the danger which now hovered over the Protestant church, and the fear he entertained lest, in the person of Wallenstein, a fresh power might usurp the coast of the Baltic Sea, and thus strengthen and extend the cause of Austria and Catholicism.

The danger to which the city of Stralsund was exposed had already produced his co-operation in favour of that place. He not only yielded to its wishes in this respect, but formed an alliance with it, by which it placed itself under his protection, and it was indebted to the succour he afforded especially for its preservation when besieged by Wallenstein. Now, however, when he beheld that the cause of Protestantism was menaced more seriously than ever throughout the whole of Germany, he took the decisive step, and formally declaring war against the emperor, he on the 24th of June, 1630, landed on the coast of Pomerania with fifteen thousand Swedes. As soon as he stepped upon shore, he dropped on his knees in prayer, whilst his example was immediately followed by his whole army. Truly he had undertaken, with but small and limited means, a great and mighty enterprise!

When the emperor was informed of his landing, he, in his feeling of confidence, inspired by his continual success, appeared to treat the affair with much indifference. All the Catholic party throughout the empire turned the

[1630 A.D.]

fact of the arrival of the petty king of the north, as they termed him, into ridicule, and styled him, in contempt, the snow king, who would speedily melt beneath the rays of the imperial sun. But these fifteen thousand men constituted an army of heroes, a phalanx of hardy warriors, belonging as it were to another world; their ranks were regulated by strict discipline and religious principles, whilst those opposed to them knew nothing of war but barbarism, and that licentious exercise of its worst passions which under no circumstances would be curbed or submit to reason. The imperials were a mixture of all nations and creeds, and bound together by no other ties but those of common warfare and pillage; the Swedes, on the other hand, were strengthened in the confidence they felt that God fought on their side, and to him they offered up their prayers regularly twice a day, each regiment possessing its own chaplain. Besides this, the inventive genius of Gustavus had introduced the exercise of some new military tactics into his army. He surprised his enemies by the novelty and boldness of his positions and order of battle-attacks. Hitherto it had been their practice to form the line of battle ten rows deep, but Gustavus reduced it to six in the infantry and four in the cavalry; whence his little army gained considerably in extension, and was more easy and rapid in its movements when in battle, whilst the balls from the enemy's artillery committed less damage among their ranks, thus less densely crowded. The Swedish troops, especially the foot soldiers, were likewise less heavily supplied with armour and other accoutrements, by which they were enabled to fire off their muskets with much more ease and despatch, they being also constructed of far lighter materials than those of the imperials.

The imperials, whose forces were by no means strong in the vicinity of the coast, were soon driven out of Rügen and the smaller islands at the mouth of the Oder, and Gustavus now marched against Stettin, the capital of the duchy of Pomerania. The duke, who was both old and timid, would not venture to decide upon joining the king of Sweden, and yet he could not resolve to oppose him. After long hesitation, during which Gustavus used every means of persuasion in firm but mild and consoling language, he at length surrendered to him the city, which the king intended at once to convert into a principal military dépôt during the war.

The Protestant princes of the empire, like the duke of Pomerania, appeared quite undetermined how to receive their new ally. The king had invited them all to unite and form one grand alliance; but many felt too much afraid, and dreaded the vengeance of the emperor, others were jealous of all foreign dominion in case of success, whilst the rest felt disposed rather to remain faithful in their allegiance to the empire and government than to risk any change whatever. Gustavus was by no means pleased with the disposition thus shown: "We evangelicals," he said, in his address to the inhabitants of Erfurt, "are placed in a position similar to a vessel when in a storm. In such a moment it does not suffice for a few only to labour with zeal for the general safety whilst the rest of the crew look quietly on with their arms folded; all ought to work together, and each ought to assist with all his might in the particular part assigned to him." The Protestants, however, possessed no such spirit of union, neither did they cherish that conscientiousness of purpose so necessary. As usual they were divided among themselves by jealousy and prejudice. The Palatinate was entirely subjected; and Saxony, which for a length of time had kept aloof from the evangelicals, and at times, during the period of the palatine's influence, had even adhered to Austria, was now vacillating between its dread of Austria and a foreign prince.

The king of Sweden, now reinforced by a large number of enlisted troops, advanced with rapid marches direct through Pomerania, and completely beat and put to flight the whole of the imperials before him. The latter in their retreat devastated the country, pillaged all the towns, many of which they burned, and ill-treated and murdered the inhabitants. This dreadful war now resumed all its horrors. The Swedes, so steady and strict in their discipline, appeared as protecting angels, and as the king advanced the belief spread far and near throughout the land that he was sent from heaven as its preserver.

Gustavus desired to march in security step by step, and not to leave any fortified place in his rear; after he had carried by assault Frankfort-on-the-Oder, which contained a garrison of eight thousand imperials, he desired the elector of Brandenburg to surrender into his hands the fortified towns of Küstrin and Spandau. The elector, although related by marriage to Gustavus, who had married his sister, hesitated; but the king marched on towards Berlin, and invited him to a conference on the plain between Berlin and Cospenik. Here, however, the prince still continued to hold out, when, at length, the king exclaimed with warmth: "My roads leads to Magdeburg — at this moment closely besieged by Tilly — whither I must hasten, although not for my own advantage but solely for that of the evangelicals. If none, however, will lend me their aid, I will free myself from all reproach and return to Stockholm; but bear in mind, prince, that on the last day of judgment you yourself will be condemned for refusing to do aught in the cause of the Gospel, and perhaps even in this world you may receive the punishment due from God. For if Magdeburg be taken, and I withdraw, imagine what must happen to you!" This appeal produced its effects; the elector surrendered Spandau into his hands at once. The distance thence to Magdeburg was but short, and the inhabitants of that hard-pressed city were most urgent in their prayers for assistance; unhappily, however, Gustavus found it quite impossible to cross the Elbe in face of the enemy so as to proceed by the direct road. Accordingly he requested permission from the elector of Saxony to pass through his territory, his object being to proceed to Wittenberg; but the prince refused to grant the accommodation desired. Whilst, however, the king was engaged in endeavouring to prevail upon the elector to accede to his request, the dreadful, fatal day of conquest arrived, and the devoted city was lost.

The city of Magdeburg, which from the commencement had continued to distinguish itself for its zeal in the cause of the Protestant faith, was likewise the first in the list to throw itself into the arms of the preserver of religious liberty. The people urgently invited him to direct his march towards the Elbe, and promised not only to throw open their gates to him, but enlisted at once a number of soldiers for his service; whilst Gustavus, who perceived the great importance of such a grand dépôt, accepted their offers with eagerness, and lost no time in endeavouring to meet their wishes. Tilly, however, who was equally aware of the advantage to be derived by his adversary from the occupation of such an important place, used all diligence to make himself master of it before the king's arrival. He commenced the siege in the month of March, 1631, seconded by General Pappenheim, a brave and determined officer. In the city itself there were only two hundred Swedes, under the command of Melcher of Falkenberg, whom Gustavus had shortly before despatched as commandant of the city; but the inhabitants, full of courage and religious zeal, united in defending the place with determined perseverance. They had even erected two strong entrenchments in front of the city walls,

[1631 A.D.]

which, in testimony of their undaunted resolution, they styled Trutz-Tilly (defiance to Tilly), and Trutz-Pappenheim (defiance to Pappenheim).^d

THE CAPTURE OF MAGDEBURG DESCRIBED BY SCHILLER

The outworks were soon carried, and Falkenberg, after withdrawing the garrisons from the points which he could no longer hold, destroyed the bridge over the Elbe. As his troops were barely sufficient to defend the extensive fortifications, the suburbs of Sudenburg and Neustadt were abandoned to the enemy, who immediately laid them in ashes. Pappenheim, now separated from Tilly, crossed the Elbe at Schönebeck, and attacked the town from the opposite side.

The garrison, reduced by the defence of the outworks, scarcely exceeded two thousand infantry and a few hundred horse — a small number for so extensive and irregular a fortress. To supply this deficiency, the citizens were armed — a desperate expedient, which produced more evils than those it prevented. The citizens, at best but indifferent soldiers, by their disunion threw the town into confusion. The poor complained that they were exposed to every hardship and danger, while the rich, by hiring substitutes, remained at home in safety. These rumours broke out at last in an open mutiny; indifference succeeded to zeal; weariness and negligence took the place of vigilance and foresight. Dissension, combined with growing scarcity, gradually produced a feeling of despondency; many began to tremble at the desperate nature of their undertaking, and the magnitude of the power to which they were opposed. But religious zeal, an ardent love of liberty, an invincible hatred to the Austrian yoke, and the expectation of speedy relief, banished as yet the idea of a surrender; and divided as they were in everything else, they were united in the resolve to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Their hopes of succour were apparently well founded. They knew that the confederacy of Leipsic was arming; they were aware of the near approach of Gustavus Adolphus. Both were alike interested in the preservation of Magdeburg, and a few days might bring the king of Sweden before its walls. All this was also known to Tilly, who, therefore, was anxious to make himself speedily master of the place. With this view, he had despatched a trumpeter with letters to the administrator, the commandant, and the magistrates, offering terms of capitulation; but he received for answer that they would rather die than surrender. A spirited sally of the citizens also convinced him that their courage was as earnest as their words, while the king's arrival at Potsdam, with the incursions of the Swedes as far as Zerbst, filled him with uneasiness, but raised the hopes of the garrison. A second trumpeter was now despatched; but the more moderate tone of his demands increased the confidence of the besieged, and unfortunately their negligence also.

The besiegers had now pushed their approaches as far as the ditch, and vigorously cannonaded the fortifications from the abandoned batteries. One tower was entirely overthrown, but this did not facilitate an assault, as it fell sidewise upon the wall, and not into the ditch. Notwithstanding the continual bombardment, the walls had not suffered much; and the fire-balls which were intended to set the town in flames were robbed of their effect by the excellent precautions adopted against them. But the ammunition of the besieged was nearly expended, and the cannon of the town gradually ceased to answer the fire of the imperials. Before a new supply could be obtained, Magdeburg would be either relieved or taken. The hopes of the besieged were on the stretch, and all eyes anxiously directed towards the quarter in which

the Swedish banners were expected to appear. Gustavus Adolphus was near enough to reach Magdeburg within three days; security grew with hope, which all things contributed to augment. On the 9th of May, the fire of the imperials was suddenly stopped, and the cannon withdrawn from several of the batteries. A deathlike stillness reigned in the imperial camp. The besieged were convinced that deliverance was at hand. Both citizens and soldiers left their posts upon the ramparts early in the morning, to indulge themselves, after their long toils, with the refreshment of sleep; but it was indeed a costly sleep and a frightful awakening.

Tilly had abandoned the hope of taking the town, before the arrival of the Swedes, by the means which he had hitherto adopted; he therefore determined to raise the siege, but first to hazard a general assault. This plan, however, was attended with great difficulties, as no breach had been effected, and the works were scarcely injured. But the council of war assembled on this occasion declared for an assault, citing the example of Maestricht, which had been taken early in the morning, while the citizens and soldiers were reposing. The attack was to be made simultaneously on four points; the night betwixt the 9th and 10th of May was employed in the necessary preparations. Everything was ready and awaiting the signal, which was to be given by cannon at five o'clock in the morning. The signal, however, was not given until two hours later; during the interval Tilly, who was still doubtful of success, again consulted the council of war. Pappenheim was ordered to attack the works of the new town, where the attempt was favoured by a sloping rampart and a dry ditch of moderate depth. The citizens and soldiers had mostly left the walls, and the few who remained were overcome with sleep. This general, therefore, found little difficulty in mounting the wall at the head of his troops.

Falkenberg, roused by the report of musketry, hastened from the town-house, where he was employed in despatching Tilly's second trumpeter, and hurried with all the force he could hastily assemble towards the gate of the new town, which was already in the possession of the enemy. Beaten back, this intrepid general flew to another quarter, where a second party of the enemy were preparing to scale the walls. After an ineffectual resistance he fell in the commencement of the action. The roar of musketry, the pealing of the alarm-bells, and the growing tumult apprised the awakening citizens of their danger. Hastily arming themselves, they rushed in blind confusion against the enemy. Still some hope of repulsing the besiegers remained; but the governor being killed, their efforts were without plan and co-operation, and at last their ammunition began to fail them. In the meanwhile, two other gates, hitherto unattacked, were stripped of their defenders, to meet the urgent danger within the town. The enemy quickly availed themselves of this confusion to attack these posts. The resistance was nevertheless spirited and obstinate, until four imperial regiments at length, masters of the ramparts, fell upon the garrison in the rear, and completed their rout. Amidst the general tumult, a brave captain, named Schmidt, who still headed a few of the more resolute against the enemy, succeeded in driving them to the gates; here he fell mortally wounded, and with him expired the hopes of Magdeburg. Before noon all the works were carried, and the town was in the enemy's hands.

Two gates were now opened by the storming party for the main body, and Tilly marched in with part of his infantry. Immediately occupying the principal streets, he drove the citizens with pointed cannon into their dwellings, there to await their destiny. They were not long held in suspense; Tilly's indifference decided the fate of Magdeburg. Even a more humane general

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would in vain have recommended mercy to such soldiers; but Tilly never made the attempt. Left by their general's silence masters of the lives of all the citizens, the soldiery broke into the houses to satiate their most brutal appetites. The prayers of innocence excited some compassion in the hearts of the Germans, but none in the rude breasts of Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarcely had the savage cruelty commenced, when the other gates were thrown open, and the cavalry, with the fearful hordes of Croats, poured in upon the devoted inhabitants.

Here unfolded a scene of horrors for which history has no language — poetry no pencil. Neither innocent childhood nor hapless old age, neither youth, sex, rank, nor beauty could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents; and the defenceless sex was exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life. No situation, however obscure or however sacred, escaped the rapacity of the enemy. In a single church fifty-three women were found beheaded. The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons, with stabbing infants at their mothers' breasts. Some officers of the league, horror-struck at this dreadful scene, ventured to remind Tilly that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. "Return in an hour," was his answer; "I will see what I can do: the soldier must have some reward for his danger and toils." These horrors lasted with unabated fury till at last the smoke and flames proved a check to the plunderers. To augment the confusion and to divert the resistance of the inhabitants, the imperials had, in the commencement of the assault, fired the town in several places. The wind rising rapidly spread the flames, till the blaze became universal.

Fearful indeed was the tumult, amid clouds of smoke, heaps of dead bodies, the clash of swords, the crash of falling ruins, and streams of blood. The atmosphere glowed; and the intolerable heat forced at last even the murderers to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours, this strong, populous, and flourishing city, one of the finest in Germany, was reduced to ashes, with the exception of two churches and a few houses. The administrator, Christian William, after receiving several wounds, was taken prisoner, with three of the burgomasters; most of the officers and magistrates had already met an enviable death. The avarice of the officers had saved four hundred of the richest citizens, in the hope of extorting from them an exorbitant ransom. But this humanity was confined to the officers of the league, whom the ruthless barbarity of the imperials caused to be regarded as guardian angels.

Scarcely had the fury of the flames abated, when the imperials returned to renew the pillage amid the ruins and ashes of the town. Many were suffocated by the smoke; many found rich booty in the cellars, where the citizens had concealed their more valuable effects. Horrible and revolting to humanity was the scene that presented itself: the living crawling from under the dead, children wandering about with heart-rending cries, calling for their parents; and infants still sucking the breasts of their lifeless mothers. More than six thousand bodies were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets; a much greater number had been consumed by the flames. The whole number of the slain was reckoned at not less than thirty thousand.

Tilly himself appeared in the town, after the streets had been cleared of ashes and dead bodies. The entrance of the general, which took place on the 14th, put a stop to the plunder, and saved a few who had hitherto contrived to escape. About a thousand people were taken out of the cathedral, where

they had remained three days and two nights, without food and in momentary fear of death. Tilly promised them quarter, and commanded bread to be distributed among them. The next day, a solemn mass was performed in the cathedral and *Te Deum* sung amidst the discharge of artillery. The imperial general rode through the streets, that he might be able, as an eye-witness, to inform his master that no such conquest had been made since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem. Nor was this an exaggeration, whether we consider the greatness, importance, and prosperity of the city rased, or the fury of its ravagers.^h

TILLY MEETS GUSTAVUS

After the conquest of Magdeburg, Tilly was very desirous of having a battle with the king of Sweden, for his troops suffered much in that ravaged district from want of supplies; Gustavus, however, considered he was not yet in sufficient force to risk a meeting, and he continued to keep himself entrenched in his camp of Werben, in Altmark. He was, likewise, extremely anxious to restore his cousins, the banished dukes of Mecklenburg, to their hereditary possessions. Accordingly, he furnished them with the necessary troops, with which they reconquered their dominions and made their solemn entry into their town of Güstrow, in which Wallenstein had previously established his court residence. The king heightened the interest of the grand festival given upon the occasion by attending it in person, and he ordered that every mother with a suckling child should attend in the open square, and that each infant should receive some of the wine there generally distributed, in order that the children of their children might forever remember the day of the return of their own legitimate princes.

Tilly, meantime, now turned his eyes towards the rich provinces of Saxony which had hitherto escaped the devastation of war, and in the vicinity of which he had now taken up his position. At the same time, however, it was certainly an act of injustice and ingratitude to inflict the burden of war upon the elector of Saxony, who had shown so much fidelity towards the house of Austria; but Tilly very soon found a pretext for the proceeding. He referred to the imperial decree which ordered that all the members of the Leipsic League should lay down their arms; and, as he found that the elector, in spite of this command, still continued on the defensive, he immediately marched into Saxony without even making any declaration of war; and taking possession of and pillaging the cities of Merseburg, Zeitz, Naumburg, and Weissenfels, he advanced to Leipsic itself. This unjust act of violence effected more than all the persuasive eloquence of the king might have produced, for the elector threw himself immediately and without any reserve into his arms, concluded with him a firm and definitive alliance, offensive and defensive, and joined him with his army at Düben on the 3rd of September, 1631.

On this same day the imperial general made his attack upon Leipsic, which had closed its gates against him, and he took possession of it the next day; but the king now advanced with his united forces to recover the city, and the day had at length arrived on which the decisive trial was to take place between the old and hitherto unconquered general of the emperor, and the royal and youthful hero of Sweden. Gustavus, who knew how necessary it was that he should succeed by a grand action to secure and command the confidence of Germany based upon his genius and good fortune, felt deeply the importance of this day, and wavered in his determination. He still

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doubted the prudence of staking the fate of the war upon a single battle; for there was too much reason to believe that the loss of this action must put an end to all his hopes on that side of the ocean, whilst it would produce the ruin of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, together with the complete and final destruction of the Protestant church throughout the whole empire.

The elector of Saxony, however, who could no longer endure to behold his country thus demolished by the hands of a pitiless and ruthless foe, urged the king in the most forcible language to give battle, and Gustavus accordingly yielded and marched on to Leipsic. The two armies met in the fields of the village of Breitenfeld, on the 7th of September, 1631, and there fought the decisive battle. Gustavus divided the Saxons from the rest of his troops, and posted them on his left wing, for as they were only recently enlisted he could not put entire trust in them.^d

BATTLE OF BREITENFELD, OR LEIPSIC (1631)

Until mid-day between one and two nothing decisive had taken place. Then the actual battle began, for the left wing of the enemy advanced against the right wing of the Swedes, endeavouring to penetrate its right flank and thus gain the wind. In consequence of the displacement of the Swedish front farther to the right, the Pappenheim cavalry, which had to left-wheel so as to attack the enemy's wing, lost connection with their centre. Instead of restoring this connection, they committed a new error, in drawing still further to the west (calculated from their standpoint) when engaged with the Swedish right wing. The king realising this movement strengthened his right wing by fresh troops, which were soon broken by the enemy and compelled to take to flight.

Now the centre of the enemy, the whole compact mass of its infantry, flanked on both sides by cavalry, began to descend the heights. It was Tilly's plan to throw himself with all his weight on to the newly recruited and inexperienced Saxons, and only after having overcome them to deal with the more terrible enemy. Tilly's battalions held the Saxons for a long time. The Saxon cavalry and artillery tried to defend themselves, but when their best constable [gunner] had fallen, they could no longer be controlled. The artillerymen deserted their guns, the infantry retreated in company form, and even the cavalry took to flight. The elector himself fled, surrounded by his bodyguard, and did not halt till he reached Eilenburg. As they fled, the Saxons spread the report that they were beaten and all was lost. The Swedish troops, who were behind the line of battle with the convoy and baggage, with terror heard the cry; they immediately turned and hastened in great disorder to Düben.

Having repulsed the Saxons, Tilly's infantry attacked the exposed left flank of the Swedes, and the regiment of Fürstenberg moved out to attack them in the rear. It is proof of the progress of the Swedish art of manœuvring that Horn was able at this threatening moment to wheel round the whole left wing, by which he fronted the enemy. Out of the second line of the centre, Gustavus Adolphus in person led the two brigades which stood next to Horn's left wing, and opposed them to the superior force of the enemy.

In this place the battle raged long and furiously; on the imperial side the Fürstenberg cavalry of the right wing especially distinguished themselves. The imperial infantry stood as a rock, and bravely repelled all attacks of the Swedish cavalry. Then, at the command of Gustavus Adolphus, the East Gothic cavalry came from the right wing. Field-Marshal Horn placed himself at their head, divisions of musketeers joined them, and thus they advanced

for the decisive attack. First of all occurred a couple of furious musketry salvos, then a terrible *mêlée* with the enemy. Horn's ranks were broken through, the Spanish battalions scattered. The Swedes afterwards retook the Saxon cannon, and conquered the enemy's own battery. When evening came, the Swedes were conquerors, the forces of the enemy were all destroyed except four regiments, which succeeded in escaping, veiled by the thick clouds of dust raised by the *mêlée*. The Swedish cavalry pursued the fugitives until dark.

The loss of men on both sides was considerable. The number of wounded and dead on the Swedish side was given at twenty-one hundred; that of the imperials, in battle and in the pursuit, at from ten to twelve thousand. So many prisoners were taken that not only could broken regiments be filled up with them, but new regiments were formed. A report mentions seven thousand prisoners. In any case, as Gustavus Adolphus wrote, the enemy's infantry was completely destroyed; entire regiments, as that of Holstein, had been cut to pieces. Both sides had heavy losses in superior officers.^p

After Breitenfeld the progress of the Protestant army was a triumphal march through south Germany. The castle of Würzburg was stormed, the Spanish garrison of Oppenheim put to the sword; Christmas of 1631 was spent at Mainz in feasting and drinking. Louis XIII began to be alarmed at the successes of Gustavus. "It is high time," he observed, "to set a limit to the progress of this Goth." But the "Goth" entered Nuremberg in March, 1632, and was idolised as the saviour of the Protestant cause and a descendant of the old hereditary burgraves of the town. The imperials were driven out of Donauwörth on the 5th of April. On the 14th the Swedes encountered Tilly, who was guarding the passage of the Lech. The river was crossed in the teeth of the enemy, and Tilly was mortally wounded. He was carried to Ingolstadt, only to die. At Augsburg Gustavus even demanded an oath of obedience, as from subject to sovereign.

Bavaria claimed attention next. With Frederick, the exiled elector palatine, at his side, Gustavus rode into Munich. It was not the fault of Gustavus if Frederick was not again ruling at Heidelberg. Gustavus had offered him his ancestral territories on the condition that he would allow Swedish garrisons to occupy his fortresses during the war, and that he would give equal liberty to the Lutheran and Calvinist forms of worship. Against this latter demand Frederick's narrow-hearted Calvinism steeled itself, and when, not many months later, he was carried off by a fever at Bacharach, he was still, through his own fault, a homeless wanderer on the face of the earth.

All Germany, except the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, was at the feet of Gustavus. The position of the emperor was growing desperate. It was at this critical stage that the Spaniards recommended the recall of Wallenstein. The secret hopes of Wallenstein had risen at the reluctance with which John George and the Saxons had forsaken the emperor. True, they had marched through Bohemia after their disorderly flight from Breitenfeld, and had entered Prague amid almost universal enthusiasm; but Wallenstein hoped they might be won from their new allies by sacrificing the Edict of Restitution. All Germany could then resist Swedes and Frenchmen, nominally under the sway of Ferdinand but practically under that of the general who had become indispensable.

The articles of Znaim, in which Wallenstein agreed to resume command, have been called an unparalleled document in history. They were finally agreed upon in April, 1632, and provided that no army could be introduced into the empire except under Wallenstein's command. He alone was to

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possess the right of confiscation and pardon. He could then create a new class of princes, who would owe their existence entirely to him. If Mecklenburg was not recovered he was to have a princely territory elsewhere. The power of Wallenstein, like that of Napoleon the Great, was largely due to his military supremacy. Like Napoleon, upon that military supremacy he attempted to found an indisputable sovereignty. His power for raising armies was truly prodigious. From Italy, from Scotland, from Poland, from every German land between the Baltic and the Alps, men flocked to his standard. With Wallenstein's acceptance of the permanent command in April, the emperor was practically retiring before the tyranny of a dictator.

Wallenstein began by attacking the Saxons in Bohemia, forcing the garrison in Prague to surrender on the 22nd of May, 1632. Soon not a Saxon remained in Bohemia. John George was now between two fires of negotiation — one from Gustavus, the other from Wallenstein. He knew not whether to favour the Swedish king's *Corpus Evangelicorum* or Wallenstein's plans for unity of empire. Before John George's hesitating answer could reach Gustavus, the war blazed out afresh; Wallenstein fell upon Nuremberg, into which Gustavus had thrown himself to defend the town. Along the Rhine from Alsace to Coblenz, Pappenheim and the Spaniards were carrying on the war.^a

THE SIEGE OF NUREMBERG

It soon became apparent in which direction the enemy would turn. Wallenstein and the allied forces followed him from Eger and reached Nuremberg a few days after Gustavus Adolphus. But he had no battle in view, although Maximilian of Bavaria urged one upon him. The imperial general declared, not without reason, that he could not put the force, of which he had only just assumed command and which was not yet sufficiently disciplined, to such a test. He preferred to set ten regiments and nine companies to work uninterruptedly at a strongly-fortified camp, which was ready in three days. It stretched on the left bank of the Rednitz for two and a half miles round, from Stein to Fürth. It was an entrenchment such as had never before been seen in Germany. His strongest point was the so-called old castle stable, or "the old fortress," near which was a forester's house. In this stronghold Wallenstein, with his force of from sixty to eighty thousand men, now waited grimly immovable with the intention, no doubt, of starving out the Swedes. He declared that he wished to teach the Swedish monarch, who until now had boldly and steadily advanced, another aspect of warfare; he was to break his head against these impregnable fortifications. Gustavus Adolphus tried once more, and again in vain, to entice his enemy from his stronghold, and win him to an open encounter in the field.

For months these two generals, the greatest of their time, faced each other before the walls of the old free city, without any serious encounter taking place. Only now and then there were skirmishes around newly arriving provision-convoys, in one of which the Swedes succeeded in taking prisoner Colonel Sparre, afterwards general and master of the ordnance, who was repeatedly employed by Wallenstein in his negotiations with Saxony. Considering the enormous number of troops assembled on a disproportionately small piece of ground, it was inevitable that after a time, first within the town itself, but afterwards in both encampments, there should be a very serious scarcity of foodstuffs. Soon the resources of the whole country for miles around were completely exhausted. The mortality, particularly in the town

itself, rapidly increased; numbers of horses succumbed, polluting the air of the camp with the odour of putrefaction.

The situation became all the more serious for Gustavus Adolphus, because whilst he was condemned to absolute inactivity his generals in Bavaria and along the Rhine were pressed harder and harder by the enemy. In order to put an end to this intolerable position, Gustavus Adolphus decided to attempt what most of those experienced in warfare considered an impossible enterprise, namely an attack upon the entrenchments of Wallenstein's camp. From all sides he drew his detached corps together into one central force without Wallenstein's doing anything to hinder him. Then, after making one more fruitless attempt to move the imperial forces to a battle, on September 3rd, he ordered the attack to be made. With indomitable courage he hurled his Swedish troops, hitherto unvanquished, upon those terrible fortifications. A most murderous battle raged round the "old fortress." Three times the valorous Swedes scaled the walls, to be repulsed each time by Colalto's men. Bernhard of Weimar succeeded, it is true, in storming a neighbouring hill, from which the main fortress might have been commanded by the guns; but as a steady rain set in, which thoroughly soaked the ground, it proved an impossibility to drag the cannon up into place. In spite of the most admirable bravery the effort was unsuccessful, and Gustavus Adolphus was compelled, towards evening, to withdraw his troops.

He had suffered no actual defeat. But for the first time he had failed to carry out a military enterprise which he had taken in hand. Wallenstein wrote a triumphant report of the successful repulse to Vienna. He had reason to feel proud, as it was the first occasion upon which the "Invincible" had been withstood with effect. Gustavus Adolphus determined to try to renew the negotiations with Wallenstein, which had formerly been broken off. For this purpose he employed the prisoner of war, Sparre, who was first to try and arrange a treaty for the exchange of prisoners, and then to propose new conditions of peace, over which delegates from both sides would meet to consult. If desired, the king also volunteered to meet Wallenstein in person — no doubt an attractive proposal. But Wallenstein now maintained a persistently firm and irreproachably correct attitude towards the emperor. He communicated the offer of Gustavus Adolphus to the elector Maximilian, and replied to the king that he could give no answer without instructions from Vienna. By this it is evident that the full powers to treat for peace, with which Wallenstein had been invested when resuming the generalship of the army, referred in the first place only to Saxony and could not be applied to Sweden without further endorsement. Wallenstein informed the emperor on September 10th of the offer Gustavus Adolphus had made. But, as the emperor temporised before replying, the negotiations were broken off at this point.

The Withdrawal of Gustavus Adolphus

A few days later, on the 18th of September, Gustavus Adolphus, having the day before once again failed to draw the adversary to open combat, at last determined to withdraw from Nuremberg, finding as he did that a longer stay in a neighbourhood so denuded of supplies was well-nigh impossible. The impatient temper of the king had spent itself for the first time in vain against the immovable calmness of an enemy very different from himself, but his equal in strength.ⁱ He marched away past Wallenstein's encampment; but Wallenstein let him go, broke up his camp, and went northwards, establishing himself firmly in Saxony, where he burned and plundered in the

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hope of at last detaching the elector of Saxony from his alliance with the Swedes when he should see how little protection they could give his country. Had the imperial commander been able to gain the positions of defence he needed, all might have gone well with him. Wallenstein always sought to take up an impregnable position of defence. At Nuremberg he had succeeded; in Saxony he was destined to fail. Gustavus was upon him before he could gain the necessary positions. Erfurt was saved from the imperials. At Naumburg Gustavus was welcomed as a saviour, after the cruelties of Wallenstein. The Saxon army was at Torgau and Wallenstein at Lützen. Pappenheim obtained permission to attempt a diversion upon the Rhenish bishoprics, and accordingly left the main army. The division of forces when Gustavus was close upon them was a ruinous policy. On the evening of the 15th of November Gustavus came in sight of Wallenstein's position at Lützen.^a

THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN (NOVEMBER 16TH, 1632)

The evening being far advanced, the Swedes, fatigued by a long march in miry ground and impeded by a morass which was only passable by a single bridge, the king deferred his attack, and permitted his troops to repose till the morning, although the night was spent in skirmishes between the irregulars of both armies.

Wallenstein, aware that a retreat in the night, before so skilful and vigilant an adversary, would be attended with the utmost danger, if not the ruin of his army, and that his name would be irretrievably disgraced by giving way before a far inferior force,¹ condescended to call a council of war and applied to his favourite astrologer, the confidant of all his secrets and the director of his plans. His officers unanimously advised him to accept the combat, should the Swedes venture to attack a force superior in strength and position; but his resolution was more decidedly fixed by the opinion of his astrologer, who declared that during the month of November the stars were unpropitious to Gustavus. In conformity with this advice, Wallenstein determined to maintain his position, made the concerted signals for the recall of Pappenheim, and employed the remainder of the night in widening the trenches² on both sides of the high-road in front of his army, throwing up redoubts, and taking measures to strengthen his position. On the ensuing dawn he drew up his army, and ordered mass to be celebrated throughout his whole camp; after encouraging his soldiers, by suggesting every motive of hope, honour, and greatness, he quitted his coach, mounted a bay jennet, and prepared to receive the attack, which was every moment expected to commence.

Fortunately for Wallenstein the morning of this important day, the 16th of November, was lowering and overcast, and an impenetrable fog suspended the movements of both parties till an hour before mid-day. When the gloom dispersed, the two armies were discovered in order of battle on each side of the high-road which skirts the extensive plain of Lützen. The king, adopting the same order as at the battle of Leipsic, drew up his troops in two lines, intermixing platoons of musketeers with his cavalry. On the other side, Wallenstein appears to have formed his in one line, according to the pre-

¹ Many authors have supposed, after the authority of Khevenhiller, that the forces of Wallenstein did not exceed twelve thousand men. Such a supposition is disproved by the accounts of other contemporary writers, and by the amount of his forces before his retreat from Weissenfels. From a comparison of various authorities, we may justly estimate his force at thirty thousand men, exclusive of the corps under Pappenheim.

² As the country was open, these trenches were dug as fences for the corn fields.

vailing tactics of the times, the cavalry on the wings, and four ponderous squares of infantry in the centre; the trenches in his front were lined with musketeers, and flanked with cannon, and the rest of his artillery was distributed principally along his centre and on his right flank, to bear obliquely on the centre and left of the enemy. The wings of both armies were supported on one side on the Flussgraben, and on the other stretched to Lützen, which was occupied by the imperials.

The cannonade and skirmishing commenced with the dawn, but from the darkness of the fog it was eleven before the king could put his army in motion. After a public prayer, he gave out the fortieth psalm, "God is our refuge and strength," which was sung by the whole army, accompanied by all the military music, and then led forward his troops. The Swedish infantry first advanced against the imperial musketeers posted along the trenches, but were received with such a galling fire that they gave way. In this extremity the king himself leaped from his horse, flew to their head, and seizing a pike encouraged them by his voice and gestures to renew the combat; at the same time Wallenstein advanced to animate his men, fresh reinforcements crowded to the point of attack, and the two parties, encouraged by their respective chiefs, fought with unparalleled desperation. The Swedes, though frequently repulsed, as frequently returned to the assault; and at length the imperial infantry were driven from the trench back on their own cavalry.^o

The Death of Gustavus Adolphus

Gustavus Adolphus was already confident that the day was won. But whilst he was trying to break and destroy the left wing of the imperial forces an unexpected message came — "The whole of the conquered ground is lost!" It was near mid-day. The fog floating overhead came down from time to time and settled in dense banks upon the plain. This was the king's undoing. He was at the head of the Småland cavalry, meaning to come to the help of his centre under Nils Brake by attacking the imperial centre on the left flank. His impatience carried him forward in advance of the regiment, a cloud of fog came down and covered him, he lost the direction, wandered a little to the right, and suddenly coming upon an imperial regiment of cuirassiers was met by a volley of pistol shots. One bullet hit his horse in the neck, a second shattered the king's left arm. Turning to the left to get out of the way — a very small following with him — he was overtaken and shot through the back, the shot being fired by Falkenberg of the Florentine regiment. The king reeled in the saddle, fell backwards from his horse, and still hanging in the stirrups was dragged along, falling at last in a dying state upon the ground; his horse galloped away towards the trenches and across the road. A cuirassier fired again at the king and shot him through the temples, and the page Leubelfing, who tried to conceal the king's identity, was stabbed. The rest of the king's attendants, including Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, made their escape under cover of the fog.

The duke of Friedland (Wallenstein) knew nothing of this occurrence. He had withdrawn from the front as soon as the enemy was driven over the trenches, and had retired near his litter. [Wallenstein in this battle had a kind of litter drawn by two mules, as his gout prevented his mounting a horse.] The physical pain he suffered became unbearable whenever the counterbalancing moral tension was relaxed. News was now brought from the right wing — and the news was favourable. The assaults on the windmill heights had been sternly repulsed by the Colloredos and the Piccolomini, and Hagen

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sent a request to the duke that he would allow an attack to be made by the right wing, as he believed such an attack would have a wonderful result.

Then an officer came galloping up from the left wing; his message was encouraging; the enemy was driven across the trenches, and had lost its leader. It was supposed their leader was the king himself. Wallenstein's eyes flashed like an eagle's. "What's going on there?" he called out to the front, where disturbance and shouting could be heard. The reply came: a pair of deserters from Nuremberg said they recognised the king's white horse galloping about riderless on the battle-field.

"Ride to Hagen," cried Wallenstein with visible excitement; "tell him to hold himself in readiness with the Benninghausen regiment. As soon as Papenheim's force is seen in the distance, and as soon as he hears us attacking here, he must wheel to the right with his own and Benninghausen's regiments, and fall on the enemy's flank from the other side of Lützen."

The messenger hastened away, not noticing that from the imperial front came sounds of great tumult and agitation, and officers rode hurriedly up to the duke's litter. They brought him information that the enemy's line was boisterously and clamourously re-forming for the attack. And this was actually the fact. A chamberlain, or truchsess, of the king's suite had brought the news of the king's fall to Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. After the first great shock of dismay, both officers and troops were seized with furious rage, and Duke Bernhard, who assumed the supreme command, took advantage of this temper and at once ordered a general attack.

The Renewed Attack

This new attack, threatening destruction to the whole line from the centre up to the windmill heights, opened the third bloody act of the battle of Lützen. Meanwhile the conditional orders of the duke of Friedland were communicated to Hagen. Hagen, a man of sanguine temperament, listened to the condition with only half an ear, but took in with both ears the permission to attack, and hearing the sound of renewed conflict thought that Wallenstein was attacking.

It was the attack of the Protestant army he heard. With wild cries of vengeance it closed in upon the imperial army, and fatally broke into Friedland's position. The battery in the centre, which Wallenstein had seized only half an hour earlier, was now taken at the first assault; and Wallenstein's whole centre, as well as the whole right wing, was driven inwards by the enraged Swedes. Duke Bernhard himself led the Swedish and German troops towards the windmill heights and took the guns by storm. He had anticipated Hagen's idea of a flank attack and opposed it with superior force. Protestant regiments, with sharpshooters interspersed in all gaps, were pressing forward with a rush under the windmills just where Hagen wanted to wheel about. Hagen lost his head, and retired in disorder. The enemy shot volley after volley into his midst, and turning to the right imperial flank broke into the Tertska, Piccolomini, and Defur regiments stationed there. At that moment a terrible explosion was heard. Several powder wagons behind them were shot up into the air, a panic of terror spread through Hagen's and Benninghausen's troops; neither of the two leaders could pull himself together in time to regain command.

The duke of Friedland himself and his staff were completely surprised by the impetuosity of the attack. As has been already said, the battery of the centre was taken in a moment, and the violence of the assault threw back the

centre in such a way that Wallenstein had neither time nor space to get himself put on to his horse. He was obliged to content himself with being drawn by his mules to a less dangerous spot. He would only allow them to take him a very little way back, however; he called on them to halt, crept out of the litter, and in spite of excruciating pain got upon his legs and drew his sword, stabbing without ado any of the fugitives who came within his reach as they fled past him. He even tried to mount his horse unaided, but the effort nearly threw him into a swoon. His servants caught hold of him and put him on to a small brown horse, spotted like a tiger, whose skin was afterwards stuffed, and is preserved to the present day at Prague.

He was scarcely in the saddle, when he was again engulfed by the seething turmoil which became ever more impetuous and close-compacted. From the right the new shock came, and with it a cry which rang out high above all the din and confusion: "The windmill heights are taken! The enemy breaks into our right flank!" There was no stopping them, and the commander-in-chief was borne powerless along with the fleeing troops. Niemann, at his side, managed to keep a clear space in front of the duke, by slashing about with his sword and by making his horse curvet and prance, until they came to Goltz's infantry, still untouched by the panic, still fronting towards the enemy's lines. He cried out to the officers, "Pikemen forward!" and they, seeing the commander's litter before them in the midst of all the confusion, took up the order and immediately executed it. The pikemen drew forward their pikes, and divided the stream of fugitives, driving them right and left.

The commander halted again before another regiment, which still kept its front to the foe, and he gave orders that the cavalry regiments of Lamboy, Lindels, and Drost should be fetched up from the left wing. Scarcely had his three officers disappeared through the crowd to execute this order, when Pappenheim arrived on the field of battle with seven thousand cuirassiers, dragoons, and Croats. The fourth act of the battle of Lützen opened.

The fog had cleared away and the sun shone out. Pappenheim came galloping up at the head of his cuirassiers, his thin sharp face with its piercing eyes looking as if it were springing upon the enemy from out of the black helmet; his own trumpeter, Ehinger, on a white horse close to the black-harnessed leader, sounded the fanfare on the gallop — which was repeated by the trumpets behind. Pappenheim drew his sword, turned to look at his cuirassiers, swung the sword over his head and shouted to Ehinger, the trumpeter, "To the charge!" Ehinger blew the short vigorous notes, the trumpeters behind repeated them, and like a thunderstorm the seven thousand horsemen burst upon the enemy, overthrowing all before them.

Wallenstein on his part made good use of this favourable turn of affairs. The panic was checked. He was riding everywhere, giving orders; troops had been brought up from the left wing, and under cover of Pappenheim's victorious advance he led his own troops forward at the double towards the entrenchments. Within a quarter of an hour all lost ground was won back, the artillery again in the hands of the imperial forces, and sixty standards and ensigns — among them the king's own standard — were taken from the enemy. The sun, hastening to the west, shed its faint, wintry rays upon the scene of Friedland's victory.

THE DEATH OF PAPPENHEIM; WALLENSTEIN RETREATS

But the last act was still to come; the battle was not over with the setting of the sun. Pappenheim's spirit was not content with the recapture of lost

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ground; he pursued the wavering enemy inexorably, heedless of a bullet in his hip. "Forward!" he cried to Ehinger. Ehinger again sounded the charge, the exhausted horses were again spurred on; then a falconet ball hit Pappenheim. Ehinger caught the horse by the bridle and Pappenheim slid to the ground, still shouting with dying voice, "Forward, forward!" But this fall at sunset was as momentous an event for the Catholic side as the death of Gustavus Adolphus in the morning for the Protestant side — only with a totally different result.

The death of the Swedish king had roused his army to a fury of revenge; the death of Pappenheim caused dismay and bewilderment. The wild cavalry charge had lost the presence and voice of its leader: it split up, faltered, lost sight of its common aim — and on the instant Duke Bernhard was aware of it. He collected his stricken troops and rallied the entire force of the Protestant army once more to the assault on the entrenchments. It crossed them, recaptured the guns, struggled and fought and massacred with superhuman energy.

Such were the last scenes, which exacted the largest sacrifices. The imperial army stood its ground with steady endurance, its leaders fighting in the midst of the turmoil side by side with the common soldiers and falling like heroes. Hieronymos Colloredo fell dead and Colonel Berthold von Wallenstein, a cousin of Friedland; General Breuner, of the ordnance, was thrown from his horse by a shot in the face, Count Harrach likewise; and Colonel Piccolomini, who had assumed command at the windmill heights, became a target for the enemy's fire. Ball after ball resounded from his cuirass; he was bleeding from four wounds, three horses had been shot under him, but again and again he appeared high on horseback, leading the broken regiments against the enemy over the bodies of the blue and yellow regiments of the Swedes which covered the ground like a blue and yellow cloth. Friedland himself rode up and down like a ghost amidst the carnage, with drawn sword, pointing, urging, commanding — to all appearance invulnerable. The bullets pierced through his cloak, but seemed to make no impression on him. Just as he disregarded the pain he suffered from gout, so he disregarded the pain of his wounds. He was hit in the left hip, and had to defend himself against a Swedish captain of horse, bent upon capturing or killing him, like a common trooper. Everything was at stake, and he was the man to hold on to the very last.

The sun had set, darkness fell over the plain; but he was resolved not to yield, not if high and low — not if he himself should go down in the slaughter. The troops could no longer see him, but they could hear him; they could hear his terrible voice, now here, now there: "Jesus Maria!"¹ Steady, steady, we are winning!" No one won. The darkness was now complete: the battle had to come to a standstill, for no one could tell whether he fought friend or foe. Deep silence followed the terrible uproar. Night now lay over the field of battle, which was as though sown with the bodies of the dead and wounded. Nine thousand men lay there, never to rise again.²

During the night Wallenstein retired, leaving the field to the enemy, with all his artillery. The Swedes were deliberating a retreat, when the ensuing morning saw them masters of the field. Their victory was dearly purchased by the loss of their beloved monarch. His body, which was discovered stripped, mangled, and covered with gore, under a heap of slain, was conveyed to Naumburg and afterwards to Wolgast, whence it was transported to Stockholm.³

¹ "Jesus Maria" was Wallenstein's battle cry.

THE WAR CONTINUES

It now became a question whether or not the Swedes, after the death of their king, would continue to carry on the war. If they did not, the Protestant allies had good reason to be apprehensive that Wallenstein would visit them with a heavy retribution. The Swedish council, however, to whom the guardianship of Christina, the daughter of Gustavus, was entrusted, resolved to continue the war which might entitle Sweden to some of the provinces of Germany; and the late king's friend, the chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, was determined to fill his place — a man whose comprehensive and prudent mind knew how to hold the strength of his party together. Nevertheless, he had not the suavity and generous magnanimity of his late master. The electoral princes, especially Saxony, found it irksome to yield obedience to the dictates of a Swedish nobleman, and although he succeeded in uniting the Protestant states of the four upper circles, Swabia, Franconia, and the upper and lower Rhine, in the Treaty of Heilbronn in the spring of 1633, it was soon manifested, by the indecision of some, the opposition of others, and the want of union amongst the leaders of the army, that the genius of Gustavus Adolphus no longer presided over the whole.

Wallenstein alone, whose genius surpassed all others, might have availed himself of this moment of doubt and hesitation by bringing the war to a decision, and making the emperor triumphant; but he was occupied with other cares, and remained in a state of incomprehensible inaction. After the battle of Lützen he summoned a court-martial, in order to remove from his own shoulders all responsibility for the loss of that action, and as he possessed the power of life and death over all those under his orders, he forthwith condemned several of his generals and superior officers to the axe, and adjudged a great number of private soldiers to be hanged; finally, he ordered more than fifty names of absent officers to be nailed to the gallows in Prague, as those of traitors and cowards. He then enlisted fresh troops, replaced his artillery by melting down the bells of the churches, and was soon in possession of an army as powerful as his former one. Instead, however, of directing his march through the imperial states, and advancing against the Swedes under Gustavus Horn and Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who were masters of the frontiers of Germany, he marched on to Silesia, where such a large army was not at all required, and negotiated with the Saxons for a length of time upon the subject of a separate treaty of peace, after he had already concluded an armistice with General Arnim, in command of the Saxon army. At the same time, according to the subsequent accusations brought against him, he endeavoured to ascertain what amount of indemnification the enemy would allow him in case he went over to their side, for he had long since believed he read in the stars that it was his destiny to reign and hold unlimited sway as king.

Meantime, in order by more active proceedings to prevent the emperor from suspecting his intentions, he attacked the Saxons and Swedes, and drove them out of Silesia, taking prisoner the old count of Thurn, the originator of the war. The whole of Vienna was in a state of excitement, and fully expected that the man they so much hated would be led through their streets as the most culpable of all those connected with the dreadful scenes of the revolution. Wallenstein, however, to the astonishment of all, gave him his liberty, and when he was remonstrated with by the emperor for releasing his prisoner he replied: "What use was I to make of such a fool? I wish the Swedes possessed no better generals than this Thurn, for at the head of the

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Swedes he will do more service for the imperial cause than he could if in prison."

During this interval Bavaria was very hard pressed by Horn and Bernhard of Weimar; and, urged by the elector's earnest demands for aid, the emperor had already repeatedly summoned his general to march to the relief of that country. Wallenstein, however, delayed doing so for a considerable time; at length he advanced slowly through Bohemia, arrived in the upper Palatinate and marched back again into Bohemia, where he fixed his winter quarters. He gave strict orders to all his generals, in command of distinct divisions of the army, under the most severe penalties, not to obey the orders of the emperor; and when the latter caused a Spanish army to march from Italy into Germany without placing it under the orders of Wallenstein, and even commanded that a portion of the grand army should be detached from the main body in order to form a junction with the Spanish division, the generalissimo complained loudly and indignantly at this violation of the treaty made between himself and the emperor.

Wearied with these mortifications, and tormented by his attacks of gout to such an extent that he was obliged to have pieces of flesh cut out of the excoriated foot, he resolved to resign the supreme command; but he was determined to do so in such a manner as to place himself in a position to command the fulfilment of the promises originally made to him. He endeavoured, therefore, to attach the leaders of his army still more closely to himself, and to that end summoned them all to assemble, at the commencement of the year 1634, at Pilsen. It was by no means difficult for him to gain them over to his exclusive interest, for it was upon his promise, and in the hope of being completely indemnified through his recommendation, that they had all raised and equipped regiments at their own expense, and, in some instances, staked their whole fortune. If, therefore, he fell, they were in danger of losing all compensation. Consequently, on the 12th of January, 1634, forty superior officers, having at their head field-marschals Illo and Count Terzka, assembled at a dinner — at which, however, through severe illness, Wallenstein himself could not preside — and entered into a solemn compact to adhere faithfully to the duke in life and death as long as he should remain in the emperor's service, or as long as the latter should require his services in the war; and they at the same time made him promise them to remain with them for some time longer, and not to withdraw from the supreme command without their privity and consent. Field-marshal Piccolomini, who subsequently betrayed his general, attached his signature to this agreement likewise, with the rest.

Wallenstein's enemies availed themselves of this certainly important circumstance to bring him more and more under the emperor's suspicion, and carried out their designs to such an extent as to make Ferdinand resolve, at length, to divest him of the supreme command, and to transfer it into the hands of Gallas. It is not to be at all doubted that an Italian-Spanish conspiracy was firmly established against Wallenstein in the imperial court, and was joined by the elector of Bavaria, who continually complained, in most bitter terms, against the general. The principal agent in these secret proceedings was an Italian, Colonel Caretta, marquis of Grana.

These intrigues against Wallenstein were conducted so secretly — the emperor Ferdinand himself being in actual correspondence with him on official business twenty days subsequently to that of the 24th of January, when he had issued the instrument for Wallenstein's dismissal — that the latter only first learned it when Gallas, Piccolomini, and Aldringen published their ordinances, in the name of the emperor, in which they interdicted all the

leading officers of the army from accepting further orders from Wallenstein, Illo, and Terzka. Wallenstein drew up immediately a solemn declaration, signed by himself and twenty-nine of his generals and colonels, in Pilsen, in which it was stated that the compact entered into between himself and officers on the 12th of January contained nothing whatever that was hostile to the emperor or the Catholic religion. He also despatched two officers to the emperor, with the declaration that he was ready to resign his office of generalissimo, and would appear to justify himself before any tribunal the emperor might be pleased to appoint. These two officers, however, were met and detained on the road by Piccolomini, and the message they bore only reached the emperor after the death of Wallenstein.

Piccolomini marched with his own troops against Pilsen, and Wallenstein was obliged to withdraw to the citadel of Eger, of which the commandant, Colonel Gordon, was especially attached to him from motives of gratitude for favours he had conferred upon him. Here, three days previous to his death, having too much reason to feel assured of the hostile intentions of his enemies, he was impelled by necessity to seek for aid from Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who was now encamped in Ratisbon, and whom he urgently requested to advance with some of his troops towards the Bohemian frontiers. It is historically proved that Wallenstein's brother-in-law, Count Kinsky, banished from Bohemia on account of his Protestant faith, was in treaty with the French ambassador, Feuquières, for the engagement of his relative's services in the cause of France and against the emperor, and that Cardinal Richelieu promised Wallenstein the crown of Bohemia as a recompense; and, according to the Swedish writers, similar negotiations were carried on with their party. But no written document, nor any direct act of Wallenstein himself, corroborates these statements or proves that he did charge Count Kinsky with the execution of such commission, whilst both the French and the Swedes remained to the last moment in doubt as to whether or not Wallenstein was merely playing with them in order to gain their confidence. At the same time it is not unlikely that this extraordinary and incomprehensible man, anticipating the probable loss of the emperor's favour, was desirous not to refuse altogether the propositions of the enemy, but rather to hold this resource in reserve in case of being again overturned, as he was before at the diet of Ratisbon.

WALLENSTEIN MURDERED (1634 A.D.)

Wallenstein quitted Pilsen on the morning of the 22nd of February, borne along in a litter, and suffering excruciatingly from the gout. He was accompanied by only ten followers, including Colonel Butler, by whom he was subsequently betrayed; and at the end of the second day's journey he reached Eger, taking up his quarters in the house of the burgomaster, Pechhelbel, in the market-place. On the following evening, Terzka, Illo, and Kinsky, with Wallenstein's secretary Neumann, proceeded to the citadel to sup with Colonel Gordon, the commandant. Whilst they were dining, thirty dragoons, commanded by captains Deveroux and Geraldin, suddenly burst into the hall from the anteroom in which they had been waiting, and falling upon their victims, pierced them to death; not, however, before Terzka, who bravely defended himself, had killed two of the band of assassins. Immediately after this murderous act, Deveroux proceeded with six dragoons to complete the sanguinary plot by assassinating Wallenstein himself. It was now midnight, and the duke had already retired to rest. Having, however, been roused by the shrieks of the countesses Terzka and Kinsky, who had just learned the



WALLENSTEIN FLEEING TO EGER, 1634 A.D.
After K. von Piloty's painting. By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., N. Y.

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fate of their husbands, he rose, and opening the window asked the sentinel what had happened? At the same moment, Deveroux forced open the door of the chamber, and rushing upon him exclaimed, as he stood at the window, "Death to Wallenstein!" The latter, without uttering a word, laid bare his breast, and received the fatal blow.

Thus silent and reserved to the hour of his death, all the profound and mysterious thoughts and sentiments of his soul remained hidden from the world, and a veil of obscurity was cast over his whole life and actions. He was one of those men whose deep-laid plans and motives it is impossible to fathom, and of whom little or nothing can be said in explanation of their views or ideas.

After his death his estates were confiscated, and a great portion of them were transferred as a reward into the hands of his enemies, and even to those by whom he had been murdered. Gallas received the duchy of Friedland, Piccolomini had the principality of Nachod, whilst Butler and the actual assassins were rewarded with others of his estates and large sums of his money. The major part of his possessions, however, was retained by the emperor himself. The value of Wallenstein's landed property alone was estimated at 50,000,000 florins. His widow received the principality of Neuschloss; and his only surviving child, Maria Elisabeth, became shortly afterwards the wife of Count Caunitz.^d

"His imperial majesty," says the chronicler Khevenhiller, "also showed compassion for the soul of Friedland [Wallenstein] and had three thousand masses said at Vienna for him and the others who were killed, in the hope that in their last moments they regretted and repented of their sins."^k

THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN (1634 A.D.)

Wallenstein's army, a few regiments excepted, which dispersed or went over to the Swedes, remained true to the emperor. The archduke Ferdinand was appointed generalissimo of the imperial forces, which were placed under the command of Gallas. Another army was conducted across the Alps (1634) by the cardinal infante Don Ferdinand, brother to Philip IV of Spain. Had Bernard been aided by the Saxons or by Horn, the whole of the imperial army might easily have been scattered during the confusion consequent on the death of its commander, but the Saxons were engaged in securing the possession of Lusatia, and it was not until May that Arnim gained a trifling advantage near Liegnitz. Horn laid siege to Ueberlingen on the Lake of Constance, with a view of retarding the advance of the Spaniards. A small Swedish force under Banér retook Frankfort-on-the-Oder and joined the Saxons. The little town of Höxter was plundered, and all the inhabitants were butchered by Geleen, George of Lüneburg delaying to grant his promised aid in the hope of seizing Hildesheim for himself. Hildesheim capitulated in July. The country swarmed with revolutionary peasant bands, whom hunger had converted into robbers. The upper Rhenish provinces were equally unquiet. Bernhard remained inactive on the Danube, alone disturbed by Johann von Werth, who once more drove him from his quarters at Deggendorf. Feuquières, meanwhile, strenuously endeavoured to win the Heilbrunn confederation over to the interests of France, and to dissolve their alliance with Sweden. Löffler had abandoned the Swedish service for that of France, and his master, the young duke Eberhard of Würtemberg, was, like William of Hesse, in the pay of that crown.

The whole of the Protestant forces was thus scattered when the great

imperial army broke up its camp in Bohemia and advanced upon Ratisbon, with the design of seizing that city and of joining the Spanish army then advancing from Italy. Bernhard vainly summoned Horn to his aid; the moment for action passed. When too late, he was joined by that commander at Augsburg, and the confederates were pushed hastily forwards to the relief of Ratisbon. Landshut was taken by storm and shared the fate of Magdeburg. Aldringer, whilst vainly attempting to save the city, perished in the general conflagration. The castle, which had been converted into a powder magazine, was blown up (1634). The news of the capitulation of Ratisbon, on the 26th of July, reached the victors midway. Arnim and Banér appeared on the same day before Prague. The imperials, nevertheless, indifferent to the fate of Bohemia, continued to mount the Danube. The advanced Croatian guard committed the most horrid excesses.

At Nördlingen, a junction took place with the Spanish troops. The imperial army now amounted to forty-six thousand men under the archduke Ferdinand, the cardinal infante, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Lorraine, generals Gallas and Johann von Werth. The Protestants, although reinforced by the people of Würtemberg, numbered but thirty thousand. Bernhard, too confident of success, and impatient to relieve the city of Nördlingen, at that time vigorously besieged by the imperials, rejected Horn's advice to await the arrival of the Rheingraf,¹ and resolved to hazard a battle. On the 26th of August, 1634, he made a successful attack and gained a favourable position, but was on the following day overwhelmed by numbers. The explosion of his powder magazine, by which numbers of his men were destroyed, contributed to complete his defeat. Count Thurn the Younger vainly endeavoured to turn the battle, and led his men seventeen times to the charge. Horn was taken prisoner, and twelve thousand men fell. Bernhard fled. His treasures and papers fell into the hands of the enemy. The Rheingraf, who was bringing seven thousand men to his aid, was surprised and completely routed by Johann von Werth and Charles of Lorraine. Heilbronn was plundered during the retreat by the Swedish colonel Senger, who fled out of one gate with his booty as the imperials entered at another to complete the pillage.

The horrors inflicted upon Bavaria were terribly revenged upon Swabia. The duke of Würtemberg, Eberhard III, safe behind the fortifications of Strasburg, forgot the misery of his country in the arms of the beautiful markgräfin von Salm. Waiblingen, Nürtingen, Kalw, Kirchheim, Böblingen, Besigheim, and almost every village throughout the country were destroyed; Heilbronn was almost totally burned down; the inhabitants were either butchered or cruelly tortured. To pillage and murder succeeded famine and pestilence. The population of the duchy of Würtemberg was reduced from half a million to forty-eight thousand souls. The Jesuits took possession of the old Lutheran university of Tübingen. Osiander, the chancellor of the university, unmoved by the example of his weaker brethren, who recanted in order to retain their offices and dignities, bravely knocked down a soldier, who attacked him, sword in hand, in the pulpit. The Catholic service was in many places re-established by force.

The whole of Würtemberg was either confiscated by the emperor or partitioned among his favourites: Trauttmansdorf received Weinsberg; Schlick, Böblingen and Tuttlingen; Taupadel, who had been left by Bernhard in Schorndorf, was forced to yield. Augsburg was again distinguished amid the general misery by the loss of sixty thousand of her inhabitants, who were

[This was Otto Ludwig, count of Rheingau, who had fought under Christian IV of Denmark and in 1623 entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus.]

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swept away by famine and pestilence. The remaining citizens, whom starvation alone compelled to capitulate, were deprived of all their possessions, forced to recant, and refused permission to emigrate. Würzburg, Frankfort, Speier, Philippsburg, the whole of Rhenish Franconia, besides Mainz, Heidelberg, and Coblenz, fell into the hands of the emperor. The whole of the Palatinate was again laid waste, and the inhabitants were butchered in such numbers that two hundred peasants were all that remained in the lower country. Isolani devastated the Wetterau with fire and sword, and plundered the country as far as Thuringia. The places whither the Swedes had fled for refuge also suffered incredibly. The fugitive soldiery, without provisions or baggage, clamoured for pay, and Oxenstierna, in order to avoid a general pillage, laid the merchants, assembled at the fair held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, under contribution. The sufferings of the wretched Swabians were avenged by the embittered soldiery on the Catholic inhabitants of Mainz.

The imperial army, although weakened by division, by garrisoning the conquered provinces, and by the departure of the infante for the Netherlands, still presented too formidable an aspect for attack on the part of Bernhard, who, unwilling to demand the aid he required from France, remained peaceably beyond the Rhine. The Heilbronn confederacy had, independently of him, cast itself into the arms of France. Löffler, the Swedish chancellor and the chief leader of the confederation, had contrived to secure to France, without Bernhard's assent, the hereditary possession of Alsace, for which he was deprived of his office and banished by Oxenstierna. The celebrated Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, replaced him as Swedish ambassador in Paris. Württemberg and Hesse had long forwarded the interests of France.

THE PEACE OF PRAGUE (1635 A.D.)

The sin committed by the Heilbronn confederation against Germany by selling themselves to France is alone to be palliated by the desperate situation to which they were reduced by the defection of the Protestant electors. Saxony and Brandenburg again concluded peace (1635) at Prague with the emperor, to whom they abandoned all the Protestants in southern and western Germany and the whole of the Heilbronn confederation, under pretext of the urgent necessity of peace, of the restoration of the honour of Germany, and of the happiness of the people by the expulsion of the foreigner. Saxony was reinstated in the territory of which she had been deprived by the Edict of Restitution, and received Upper Lusatia as a hereditary fief. Augustus, elector of Saxony, was also nominated administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg in the room of the archduke Leopold. A Saxon princess, the daughter of the electoress Magdalena Sibylla, was given in marriage to Prince Christian of Denmark as an inducement to that kingdom to take the field against Sweden. Brandenburg received the reversion of Pomerania, whose last duke, Bogislaw, was sick and childless. The princes of Mecklenburg and Anhalt, and the cities Erfurt, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, also conformed to the treaty for the sake of preserving their neutrality, for which they were bitterly punished.

Had the emperor taken advantage of the decreasing power of Sweden, of the procrastination on the part of France, and of the general desire for peace manifested throughout Germany, to publish a general amnesty and to grant the free exercise of religion throughout the empire, the wounds inflicted by his bloodthirsty policy might yet have been healed, but the grey-headed hypocrite merely folded his hands, dripping in gore, in prayer, and demanded fresh

victims from the god of peace. Peace was concluded with part of the heretics in order to secure the destruction of the rest. The last opportunity that offered for the expulsion of the foreign robber from Germany was lost by the exclusion of the Heilbronn confederation from the Treaty of Prague by the emperor; and although they in their despair placed the Empire at the mercy of the French, and their country for centuries beneath French influence, their crime rests on the head of the sovereign, who by his acts placed the empire on the brink of the precipice, and on those of the dastardly electors, who, for the sake of securing an enlarged territory to their houses, basely betrayed their brethren. The elector of Saxony, for the second time unmindful of his plighted faith, abandoned Protestant Silesia to the wrath of the Jesuits, and the fate of the remaining Protestant provinces, excluded from the Treaty of Prague, may be read in that of the Palatinate and of Würtemberg.

Oxenstierna hastened in person to Paris for the purpose of making terms with Richelieu, and of thereby counterbalancing the league between the emperor, Saxony, and Brandenburg; and Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar was compelled passively to behold the dispute between Sweden and France for sovereignty over Protestant Germany. The French soldiery were, moreover, so undisciplined and cowardly that they deserted in troops. Bernhard was consequently far from sufficiently reinforced, but nevertheless succeeded in raising the siege of Heidelberg. The death of the energetic and aged rheingraf took place just at this period.

Whilst matters were thus at a standstill on the upper Rhine, success attended the imperial arms in the Netherlands. The French, victorious at Avein, were forced to raise the siege of Louvain by the infante and Piccolomini (1635). The Dutch were also expelled from the country. Bernhard, fearing to be surrounded by Piccolomini, retired from the Rhine into upper Burgundy. Heidelberg fell; two French regiments were cut to pieces at Reichenweier by Johann von Werth; Hatzfeld took Kaiserslautern by storm, and almost totally annihilated the celebrated yellow regiment of Gustavus Adolphus. Mainz was closely besieged, and France, alarmed at the turn of affairs, sent the old cardinal De la Valette to reinforce Bernhard, who advanced to the relief of Mainz and succeeded in raising the siege, notwithstanding the cowardice of the French, who were forced by threats to cross the Rhine. Johann von Werth, meanwhile, invaded Lorraine, and, with Piccolomini and the infante, made a feint to cross the French frontier. De la Valette and Bernhard instantly returned, pursued by Gallas and already surrounded by Colloredo,¹ who was defeated by Bernhard at Meisenheim, where he had seized the pass. Hotly pursued by Gallas and hard pushed by the Croats, Bernhard escaped across the Saar at Walderfingen on a bridge raised on wine-casks, before the arrival of the main body of the imperials, which came up with his vanguard at Boulay, but met with a repulse. After a retreat of thirteen days, the fugitive army reached Metz, in September, 1635. Gallas fixed his headquarters in Lorraine, but the country had been already so completely pillaged that he was compelled to return in November, and to fix his camp in Alsace-Zabern, where he gave himself up to rioting and drunkenness, whilst his army was thinned by famine and pestilence. Mainz was starved out and capitulated, after having been plundered by the Swedish garrison.

In the commencement of 1636 Bernhard visited Paris, where he was courteously received by Louis XIII. The impression made upon his heart

¹ The Colloredo are descended from the Swabian family of Walsee, which, in the fourteenth century, settled in Friuli, and, at a later period, erected the castle on the steep (*collo rigido*).

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by the lovely daughter of the duke de Rohan was no sooner perceived than a plan was formed by the French court to deprive him of his independence as a prince of the empire. Bernhard discovered their project and closed his heart against the seductions of the lady. The aid promised by France was now withheld. Both parties were deceived. France, unwilling to defray the expenses of a war carried on by Bernhard for the sole benefit of Protestant Germany, merely aimed at preserving a pretext for interference in the political and religious disputes agitating that country, and, for that purpose, promised Bernhard a sum of 4,000,000 livres for the maintenance of an army of eighteen thousand men.

The reconquest of Alsace followed: at Zabern, which was taken by storm, Bernhard lost the forefinger of his left hand, and the bed on which he lay was shattered by a cannon ball. He returned thence to Lorraine, where he carried on a petty war with Gallas and took several fortresses. The humanity evinced by him at this period, so contrary to the license he had formerly allowed his soldiery from a spirit of religious fanaticism, proceeded from a desire to please the French queen, the celebrated Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III of Spain. He surprised Isolani's Croats at Champlitte, and deprived them of eighteen hundred horses and of the whole of the rich booty they had collected (1636).

THE DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH

In the beginning of the year, Johann von Werth had, independently of Gallas, ventured as far as Louvain, where a revolution had broken out. The Gallo-Dutch faction, nevertheless, proved victorious, and the imperials were expelled. Werth, unable to lay siege to the town with his cavalry, revenged himself by laying the country in the vicinity waste. In April he joined Piccolomini with the view of invading France and of marching full upon Paris. This project was, however, frustrated by Piccolomini's timidity and by the tardy movements of the infantry. This expedition, undertaken in defiance of the orders of the elector of Bavaria, forms one of the few amusing episodes of this terrible tragedy.

Werth, advancing rapidly with his cavalry, beat the French on every point, forced the passage of the Somme and Oise, and spread terror throughout France. The cities laid their keys at his feet, the nobles begged for sentinels to guard their houses, and paid them enormous sums. Paris was reduced to despair. The roads to Chartres and Orleans were crowded with fugitives, and the metropolis must inevitably have fallen had Werth, instead of allowing his men to remain behind plundering the country, pushed steadily forward. By this delay, Richelieu gained time to levy troops and to send the whole of the disposable force against him. A part of the French troops was, nevertheless, cut to pieces during a night-attack at Montigny, and it was not until the autumnal rains and floods brought disease into his camp that Werth retired. He remained for some time afterwards at Cologne, where he wedded the countess Spaur (of an ancient Tyrolese family). Ehrenbreitstein, still garrisoned by the French, who had long lost Coblenz, was closely besieged by Werth, and forced by famine to capitulate (1637).

William of Hesse, instead of joining Bernhard after the battle of Nördlingen, had raised troops with the money received by him from France and had seized Paderborn, which was retaken by the imperialists in 1636. George von Lüneburg, who had, in 1634, become the head of the Guelfic house on the death of Frederick Ulrich of Wolfenbüttel, long hesitated to give in his adhe-

sion to the Treaty of Prague, but Oxenstierna, on becoming acquainted with his intercourse with the emperor, depriving him, by means of Sperreuter, of his best regiments, his hesitation ceased and he acceded to the emperor's terms. Sperreuter, who had deserted with the lower Saxon regiments to the Swedish general Banér, now went over to the emperor, and Baudis to Saxony. A reaction took place in all the German regiments under the Swedish standard, of which the Prague confederation failed to take advantage, and their commanders were bribed by Kniphausen to remain in the pay of Sweden. This general fell, in January, 1636, at Haselünne, during an engagement with Geleen, who was beaten off the field. Minden was betrayed, in May, to the Swedes, by the commandant Ludingshausen, Kniphausen's son-in-law.

The remnant of the old Swedish army under Banér found itself exposed to the greatest danger by the conclusion of peace at Prague. Banér, together with the elector of Saxony, had advanced upon Bohemia, whence he was now compelled to retreat. On the alliance between George von Lüneburg and Saxony, Baudissin was despatched against him, November, 1635, but was defeated at Dömitz, and Banér, dreading to be cut off by an imperial corps under the Bohemian Marzin, who had taken Stargard by storm and pillaged that town, withdrew to Pomerania. During this autumn, the French ambassador, Avaux, had succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between Wladislaw of Poland and Sweden, and in terminating the long war between those countries. The Swedish regiments under Torstenson consequently evacuated Livonia and Prussia and united with those under Banér; whilst, on the other hand, a wild troop of Polish Cossacks marched to the aid of the emperor.

This cunning policy on the part of France caused the war to rage with redoubled fury. Banér and Torstenson defeated the Saxons in the depth of winter at Goldberg and Kiritz, and, in February, Banér again invaded Saxony and cruelly visited the defection of the elector on the heads of his wretched subjects. The arrival of Hatzfeld at the head of a body of imperials compelled him to retire behind Magdeburg, where Baudissin was severely wounded and relinquished the command. Each side now confined itself to manœuvring until the arrival of reinforcements. The Swedish troops arrived first, and Hatzfeld and the Saxons, being drawn into an engagement at Wittstock, before Götz was able to join them, were totally defeated. Hatzfeld was wounded, and the elector lost the whole of his baggage and treasure. Saxony was again laid waste by Banér's infuriated troops. The gallant defence of Leipsic increased their rage. All the towns and villages in the vicinity were reduced to ashes. A similar fate befell Meissen, Wurzen, Oschatz, Colditz, Liebenwerda, and several smaller towns. The peasants fled in crowds to the fortified cities and to the mountains, and, to complete the general misery, famine and pestilence succeeded to sword and fire-brand. A bloody revenge was taken by Derflinger with a Brandenburg squadron on a thousand Swedish horse that ventured into the province of Mansfeld.

DEATH OF FERDINAND II (1637 A.D.)

In the midst of these military operations all things proclaimed the returning ascendancy of Ferdinand in Germany, and proved the advantage which he had derived from his reconciliation with the two chief Protestant princes, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. An electoral diet was assembled at Ratisbon, by the emperor in person, on the 15th of September, 1636, for the ostensible purpose of restoring peace, for which some vague negotiations

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had been opened under the mediation of the pope and the king of Denmark, and congresses appointed at Hamburg and Cologne, but with the real view of procuring the election of his son Ferdinand as king of the Romans. Some attempts were made by the Protestants to hasten the negotiations, by requiring that Ferdinand, though elected, should not be crowned till after the termination of hostilities, and by the English ambassador in favour of the unfortunate princes of the palatine house. But the superior influence of the emperor overruled all opposition; the benefits of the amnistie were offered only to the duke of Würtemberg, on the most rigorous terms, and the instances for the restoration of the prince palatine evaded by requiring impracticable conditions. The alarms of the diet were excited by an artful rumour that the king of France fostered designs on the imperial crown, in case of an interregnum, which from the declining health of the emperor was soon likely to happen, and Ferdinand was elected with only the fruitless protest of the palatine family and the dissenting voice of the elector of Treves, who was still in custody at Vienna. His capitulation contained no stipulation of importance except a few temporary regulations occasioned by the war, with the declaration that the exclusion of the elector of Treves should not operate on any future occasion. He was accordingly acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, except France and Sweden.

The emperor did not long survive this happy event. He died on the 15th of February, 1637, soon after his return to Vienna, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, of a decline, derived from incessant anxiety and continual fatigues of body and mind.

When we review the awful period of his reign, pregnant with such extraordinary events and stupendous revolutions, we cannot but admire, in Ferdinand II, the great qualities which have distinguished the greatest men of every age and nation: penetration and sagacity, unbroken perseverance, irresistible energy of character, resignation and fortitude in adversity, and a mind never enervated by success. But these great qualities were sullied and disgraced by the most puerile superstition, inveterate bigotry, and unbounded ambition. In many features of his public character, Ferdinand resembled his relative Philip II — in his talents for the cabinet no less than in his incapacity for the field; in elevation of mind as well as in bigotry, persecution, and cruelty; in fortitude in adverse, and arrogance in prosperous circumstances. But it is a satisfaction to record that in his private character he differed essentially from the gloomy tyrant of Spain. He was a good and affectionate father, a faithful and tender husband, an affable and indulgent master; he was easy of access to the meanest of his subjects, compassionate and forgiving, where his religious prejudices were not concerned. From a principle of superstitious humility, he admitted into his presence the poor of all descriptions; and even beggars who were suspected of being infected with the plague were not repulsed. He purchased the liberty of many Christian slaves from their Asiatic or African masters, gave public entertainments to the needy, at which he assisted in person, and appointed advocates, at his own expense, to plead the cause of the indigent and the helpless in the courts of justice.

As the virtues of his amiable predecessor and uncle, Maximilian II, were principally derived from early habits and education, so the failings of Ferdinand may be attributed to the early impressions which he received from his mother and his uncle William of Bavaria, and to the prejudices instilled into him by the Jesuits, which strengthened with his years and grew with his growth. Had he not been influenced by the narrow and jaundiced views of superstition and bigotry, he might have maintained the peace and happiness

of his hereditary dominions; might have ruled the empire — not as the head of a sect or the chief of a party, but as the sovereign and friend of all; and might have saved Germany and Europe from thirty years of anarchy, persecution, and terror, devastation and carnage. In fine, the defects of education and erroneous principles rendered him the misfortune of his family, the enemy of his country, and the scourge of his age.

A prince of so superstitious a character as Ferdinand was not likely to be sparing in his benefactions to the clergy. He endowed many religious establishments, and enriched others: for the Jesuits he founded sixteen colleges, and convents for the Barnabites, Capuchins, Camaladunes, Paulines, barefooted Carmelites, reformed Augustins, Benedictines of Montferrat, Servites, and Irish Franciscans. He settled an annual pension of 24,000 florins on the archbishopric of Prague, the twenty-eighth part of the produce of the gold and silver mines in Hungary on the archbishopric of Gran, and 40,000 florins annually on the Austrian prelates. He founded also four bishoprics in Bohemia, many schools for the education of the clergy, numerous hospitals and almshouses, and gave great presents to the secular clergy of the hereditary countries.

When we consider that his ordinary revenue did not exceed 5,400,000 florins, and reflect on the enormous expenses of his wars and the charges of his splendid establishment, it is scarcely necessary to observe that, notwithstanding the sums he drew from the confiscated property of his adversaries and rebel subjects, these benefactions contributed to exhaust his resources, to load him with pecuniary embarrassments, and often to retard or prevent the success of his military operations.^o

ACCESSION OF FERDINAND III (1637 A.D.)

Ferdinand II was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand Ernest of Hungary, as Ferdinand III. Soon afterwards the last duke of Pomerania died, on March 20th, 1637. The elector of Brandenburg issued a patent of seizure (*Besitzer-greifungspatent*) and demanded the homage of the Pomeranian estates, which they, however, were unable to render, as the greater part of the country was in the hands of the Swedes. To enter into effective possession of his inheritance the elector had first to conquer it for himself; and he was therefore obliged to put forth all his strength in the struggle with Sweden and to throw himself completely into the arms of the emperor, Ferdinand III. To this end (proceeding along the road marked out by Schwarzenberg) he concluded a treaty with the emperor at Prague, by which he obtained the right of enlisting soldiers to the number of six thousand foot and one thousand horse for the purpose of gaining possession of Pomerania. These men took the oath of fealty to both the emperor and the elector, and thus occupied an anomalous position, which soon proved fraught with ominous consequence for the electorate; for the officers, most of whom were ill-disciplined and strong adherents of the Habsburgs, and General Klitzing more than any of them, appealed perpetually from the authority of the elector to the oath they had sworn to the emperor, and established in the mark of Brandenburg a military anarchy, which Schwarzenberg did nothing to prevent and which brought the country to the verge of ruin. Brandenburg had finally returned into the channel of Habsburg influence, which was equally prejudicial to her territorial and religious interests. The prospect of winning lower Germany back to the cause of Sweden and the Gospel had been dissipated utterly; Banér was once more completely isolated.

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Nevertheless he would probably have succeeded in maintaining the commanding position on the lower Elbe, which was the advantage the battle of Wittstock had given him, if he had been able to work hand in hand with Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, as the latter most earnestly desired; that is to say, if Bernhard could have returned to the right bank of the Rhine and stayed there, thus arresting the imperial troops stationed in the west. Instead of so doing he was constrained by the French first to clear Franche-Comté of the enemy in concert with the duke de Longueville, so that it was August before he could appear on the right bank of the Rhine, and then only for a short time. This made it possible for Gallas to advance against Banér from the Rhine; and as Hatzfeld and Götz were also marching against him from Westphalia and Hesse, he very soon found himself more and more closely hemmed in at Torgau by a force of more than double the strength of his own, and could see no way of escape except to retire into Pomerania and there join hands with Wrangel's troops. Even this was in the highest degree difficult, and was only effected by an operation carried out with masterly skill for the purpose of misleading the enemy. Banér artfully spread the report that he was planning an attempt to cut his way through at Erfurt. The enemy's attention being thus diverted to this quarter and part of his troops detained on the left bank of the Elbe, Banér suddenly turned eastwards, passed through Lusatia to the Oder in forced marches, crossed it at a shallow place near Fürstenberg, and then marched to Landsberg-an-der-Warthe, that by means of this important passage of the Warthe he might secure his junction with Wrangel, who wished to press forward to Küstrin by the right bank of the Oder.

But when he reached Landsberg on the 4th of July he found that the enemy had promptly marched after him, had outstripped him by taking a shorter way through Jüterbog, Baruth, and Küstrin, and were already posted in complete order of battle on the heights behind the town. Being too weak to cope with them in the field, he hurriedly returned to the Oder; crossed it again at a place called Göritz, repulsed the Brandenburg troops under Klitzing after a stubborn engagement, and joined hands with Wrangel behind the Finow. By the masterly strategy of this retreat he had evaded the superior force of the enemy; but he was nevertheless obliged to give ground before them and to retreat to the strongly fortified town of Stettin. The greater part of Pomerania fell into the hands of the imperials.

After these reverses, what did it signify if, in the face of the intrigues of the French and in spite of their lukewarm support, Bernhard — after gaining some advantage over the duke of Lorraine — contrived to cross the Rhine at Rheinau, exactly halfway between Breisach and Strasburg, on the 6th of August? The project of concerted action with the Swedes, which he had most at heart, was now entirely out of the question, for they had been driven back to the Baltic coast; while on the other hand, himself isolated, he found his position so menaced by the numerical superiority of the enemy under Johann von Werth that, although he successfully repulsed several attacks upon his entrenchments on the Rhine, he was ultimately compelled to retreat to the left bank of the river (in September) and to take up his winter quarters in the territory of the see of Bâle, during which process he was forced into many unfriendly and vexatious explanations with the Swiss confederates.

THE TREATY OF HAMBURG (1638 A.D.)

On the whole, at the end of 1637, the imperials had gained a very decided advantage, in spite of the victory won by the Swedes at the beginning of the

year. Up to this time the intervention of the French had not affected the progress of the war to any material extent. Marshals La Valette and La Meilleraie had indeed succeeded in taking up a series of positions on the lower Rhine, at the end of September Prince Frederick Henry of Orange had taken Breda after a long siege, and the duke de Schomberg had defeated the Spaniards at Leucate in Languedoc. But all these advantages gained over the Spaniards could not be placed in the balance against the unfavourable state of affairs in Germany, the principal theatre of war. Here the imperials appeared to have finally attained a crushing superiority. They had even succeeded in expelling from his own dominions the gallant landgraf William of Hesse — the only German prince beside Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar who had manfully maintained the struggle against the emperor — and forcing him to flee into East Friesland, where he succumbed to the agitations and exertions of a harassing military career in the year 1637. There was not the shadow of a doubt that great efforts would be required of the powers still in arms against the emperor if they were to carry their resistance to any successful issue.

The two foreign powers which were implicated in the war were by no means blind to this fact. Although during the previous year Oxenstierna had repeatedly entered into negotiations for peace with the imperials at Hamburg, yet now that both were in danger of succumbing they concluded, on the 6th of March, 1638, a new treaty of alliance, by which both pledged themselves to persevere in the common cause, and not to make peace with the emperor except conjointly.

VICTORIES OF BERNHARD OF SAXE-WEIMAR

But at the very time when the forces arrayed against the emperor's supremacy entered into closer political union by this treaty, a complete reversal of the military situation in favour of the Protestant and anti-Habsburg cause was brought about by the only prince who, throughout the war, held the banner of that cause aloft under the most arduous circumstances from motives of the loftiest idealism and patriotism, Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.

Devoted as he was with equal fervour to his country and his religion, the valiant duke had felt it bitterly that in the previous year he had been able to do so little to support Banér's gallant exertions. His loyal devotion to the whole of his beloved native land of Germany was, he protested, at all times the purpose and guide of all his undertakings. Thus he had written at Strasburg in November of 1636. But in order to continue his resistance to the emperor's policy, which he believed to be prejudicial to the interests of his country, this prince, inspired by sentiments so truly German, had been obliged to take the pay of a foreign power. This fact sets in a strong light all the perversity of circumstances which had been brought about by this unhappy war. And France, which furnished the pay for him and his army, insisted that his first duty was to protect the French frontier, and did little or nothing to provide him with an opportunity of taking effective part in the war within the empire. Tardily, and without even approximate fulness, she met the obligations which she had undertaken towards the duke. The promised French auxiliaries came in dribblets and in nothing like the promised strength; and, what was even worse, they were extremely loth to carry the war over to the right bank of the Rhine.

What did the war in the empire yonder matter to France or to Richelieu? The army which they subsidised was to serve, in the first instance, for the

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maintenance of the positions on the left bank of the Rhine which the cardinal hoped to gain for France. The new alliance with Sweden made no difference to this state of things; it was merely intended to keep the war going, because the private aims of France were only to be attained by that means. What Richelieu desired was to extend French dominion on the left bank of the Rhine while Sweden conducted the war within the empire. He could with difficulty be induced to furnish French troops for the campaign on the right bank, and when he did so they were not placed under Bernhard's command, as the latter wished, but remained independent and were commanded by French marshals.

Capture of Laufenburg (1638 A.D.)

Then Bernhard, who had been waiting in his winter quarters in vain for the French succours, determined to do what he could by himself. On January 28th, 1638, in the middle of winter, he started from Zwingen with his little army of barely eight thousand men all told, marched along the upper Rhine, past the important fortress of Rheinfelden, to a place called Stein, which lay on the left bank of the river opposite Säckingen, where they crossed in a couple of small boats on the 30th of January. The imperials, who thought that the fortress of Rheinfelden gave them the command of the whole upper course of the Rhine, had for some incomprehensible reason left Säckingen without a garrison. The town consequently opened its gates to Bernhard immediately, Laufenburg was taken by a *coup de main* on the 31st, and a fine covered bridge thus secured. When Waldshut also had fallen, Bernhard resolved to make an attack upon Rheinfelden itself, which was strongly fortified and held by Major Rödel, a gallant commander. The siege commenced on the 2nd of February, the bombardment on the 10th. But in spite of the best progress the besiegers could make with their mines and parallels the brave garrison held out. Bernhard then determined to carry it by storm, and fixed the 28th of February for the assault.

On that very day, however, a hostile force advanced to the relief of the fortress, the value and importance of the command of the Rhine which it gave being fully appreciated by the imperials. For this reason the emperor had summoned Savelli from Lorraine and requested the elector of Bavaria to despatch that gallant cavalry leader, Johann von Werth, in support of the relief expedition. The united forces of the two arrived before Rheinfelden on the 28th of February. A hot engagement ensued, in which Bernhard, whose forces were not only the weaker but were split up by the Rhine into two divisions, though not actually defeated, suffered such losses that he was obliged to retire and leave the way to the fortress open to the enemy. While he withdrew to Laufenburg they supplied the fortress with provisions and ammunition; and, fancying that they had put it out of Bernhard's power to harm them, they disposed their forces in widely scattered positions without the slightest apprehension as to the result. In addition to this, no real concord prevailed between the two commanders. Bernhard turned these circumstances to his own profit; two days later he ventured to leave Laufenburg once more, and march against the imperial and Bavarian forces. On March the 3rd he succeeded in taking them completely by surprise and inflicting a crushing defeat upon them. The most obstinate resistance was made by Johann von Werth, but ultimately he and Savelli, together with all the other generals and most of the colonels of their army, were taken prisoners by Bernhard. The army itself was utterly annihilated, scattered remnants were

all that found refuge in Bâle. In spite of this disaster the brave garrison of Rheinfelden held out for fully three weeks longer, ultimately capitulating on the 23rd of March, on condition that they were allowed to retire with the honours of war to Breisach.

By this victory Bernhard had made himself master of the upper Rhine all the way to Breisach. His position was already such that he could venture to detach Taupadel with the bulk of the cavalry to the upper Danube, to oppose the new imperial army which was being collected there and prevent it from coming down through the Black Forest to the Rhine valley to relieve Breisach. For the task which Bernhard now set himself was to take this very strongly fortified town, which was considered the most important stronghold in the empire and was the point of greatest strategic importance to the imperials.

Siege of Breisach (1638 A.D.)

Breisach, with its substantial bridge over the Rhine, was as a matter of fact the point in the whole valley of the Rhine which, in the case of war between the emperor and France, it was of the utmost consequence for either side to possess. For the emperor it constituted the main bulwark of the provinces of anterior Austria and the best approach for the invasion of Lorraine; for the French it was the best crossing-place for an attack upon the empire. The emperor declared that the holding of Breisach was the most important undertaking of the whole war, and sent orders to Reinach, the commandant, to defend it to the last drop of his blood. The imperial leaders had instructions to try and relieve it, should it be invested, though the whole army should perish in the attempt. Even Götz, who was in Westphalia, received orders to hasten thither. It was a foregone conclusion that the most stubborn fights of the campaign would be fought around this fortress. Therefore, when Bernhard marched down the Rhine after the taking of Rheinfelden, he addressed an urgent petition to Richelieu to send him an auxiliary force under Guébriant and to pay at least a portion of the subsidy that was due to him. For he could not venture to cherish the hope of discharging a task of such extreme difficulty with his little army, which, small as it was, he had to divide in order simultaneously to undertake the siege and ward off the attempts at relief which were sure to be made from all quarters.

Relying on the anticipation of the French reinforcements, Bernhard's first endeavour was to isolate Breisach. He took the strong castle of Rötteln in the early days of April, and then proceeded to take Neuenburg and Freiburg. But a strong relieving force was already assembling about Nördlingen, and Taupadel, who had fixed his quarters in Würtemberg, in the valley of the upper Neckar, became involved in difficulties, from which he was forced to appeal to Bernhard to extricate him. To this request the latter could not respond until he had received the promised reinforcements from France. When they did reach Neuenburg on the Rhine, under the command of Guébriant on May the 2nd — not indeed in the promised strength, but only to the number of three thousand men — Bernhard sped into the mountainous country of the Black Forest to effect a junction with Taupadel and repulse the imperial army under Götz. The latter evaded him and made a wide *détour* to reach the Rhine through the valley of the Kinzig.

As a matter of fact, although Bernhard also returned in hot haste to the Rhine, Götz succeeded in reaching Offenburg and sending a fresh supply of provisions into Breisach. The situation thus underwent a change very much

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to Bernhard's disadvantage, for he was obliged at one and the same time to keep his front towards the imperial relieving force and to blockade the fortress, before which he sat down at the beginning of June. For this his forces were wholly inadequate. On the 18th of June he was again compelled to raise the blockade and to beg for additional help from France. He had to send a special embassy to Richelieu — the conduct of which he entrusted to the Swiss colonel Hans Ludwig von Erbach, who had entered his service as a major-general — before he could attain his end; but at length Turenne was despatched to his assistance, though with only two thousand men, and arrived at Kolmar on the 27th of July.

No sooner had he obtained these succours than Bernhard set his army in motion to attack Götz, who had meanwhile brought reinforcements to General Savelli (who had escaped from captivity) and was about to throw a fresh convoy of provisions into Breisach. On August 9th, a sanguinary battle was fought at Wittenweiler, in which the imperial troops, though surprised on the march by Bernhard in an awkward defile, offered a most vigorous resistance but were nevertheless thoroughly beaten. Only two or three thousand men escaped from the field.

Now (by the middle of August) Bernhard was able for the first time to devote himself seriously to the siege of Breisach. He made his engineer, Thomas Kluge, girdle the fortress with a row of strong entrenchments. On the night between the 6th and 7th of October he succeeded in occupying the Island Redoubt, the outermost defence of the fortress. Breisach was now completely cut off from the outer world, and all that remained to do was to starve out the garrison, who refused to discuss terms of capitulation. But the enormous importance ascribed by the imperials to the possession of this fortress urged them on to fresh attempts to relieve it, in spite of their previous defeats. Its relief was to have been undertaken simultaneously in the middle of October by the duke of Lorraine from the west and Götz from the east. Bernhard would then have been reduced to a position of the utmost difficulty. But Götz, whose incapacity became daily more apparent, hesitated too long, and Bernhard succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon the duke of Lorraine, who was first in the field, at Sennheim (Cernay) in Alsace, on the 15th of October, and then hurried back to the right bank of the Rhine, where Götz had appeared before Breisach on the 22nd. On the 24th an extremely fierce engagement was fought in the lines round the fortress, and ultimately resulted in the defeat of Götz. This sealed the fate of the fortress, for it could now no longer count upon relief from any quarter. At the beginning of November the last outworks were taken, and the ring of besiegers drew closer and closer. It was absolutely impossible to get provisions into the town. A famine ensued among the inhabitants and the garrison, and gradually assumed more and more hideous proportions. When all the provisions had been consumed the unfortunate people had recourse to the most unnatural and loathsome articles of diet. Rats and mice became costly luxuries. The cup of anguish inseparable from a siege was emptied to the dregs, and still the commandant showed no disposition to accept the terms of capitulation which Bernhard offered. He held his post as long as it was humanly possible, and beyond the limit imposed by the laws of humanity. Not until the last horrible extremity was reached and repeated cases of cannibalism had occurred among a populace driven by hunger to madness and despair, did Reinach resolve (on December 20th) to accede to terms by which the garrison marched out with the honours of war. But those who left the fortress were mere shadows of humanity, broken down in body and mind. It was not without good reason that Duke

Bernhard wrathfully reproached Reinach for having let matters come to this pass.

Bernhard, now at the zenith of his military reputation, was regarded by the Protestants of Germany as their saviour and deliverer in time of utmost need, and was lauded in extravagant encomiums as a second Gustavus Adolphus. The forces ranged against the emperor were everywhere on the alert, drawing fresh life and vigour from the amazing successes of the hero of Weimar. The decisive effects of the victories of Wittenweier and Rheinfelden had been felt even in the north; the imperial forces had been withdrawn from Westphalia, Hesse, and Thuringia to go to the relief of Breisach, and the road was thus left open to Banér, who drove the emperor's forces back from Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and once more menaced Brandenburg. The imperial troops, which were few in number, had to retire into Silesia and Bohemia. In the following year (1639) Banér was able to venture far on the way towards Bohemia after gaining a victory over the imperials at Chemnitz. Both he and Bernhard indulged in the boldest plans for the campaign of 1639, in which they were at last to act in concert and to subdue the emperor by tremendous blows from the north and west; after which they might hope to compel him to conclude the universal peace so long desired, upon the basis of true religious liberty.

THE TREACHERY OF FRANCE

From one quarter alone Bernhard was confronted with difficulties and attempts to withhold from him the fruits of his victories, and that was from France, the very power in whose service he had gained them. By the agreement of October, 1635, Richelieu had pledged himself to hand Alsace and the government of Hanau over to him with all the rights which the house of Austria had enjoyed in those territories. On the flimsiest pretexts he now raised objection after objection to the carrying out of this compact, and more particularly to the surrender of the fortress of Breisach which had just been conquered with such difficulty. After dropping his original contention that Breisach did not belong to Alsace, as too perverse and repugnant to the facts of the case, Richelieu proceeded to argue that this important stronghold could never be maintained by so small a force as Bernhard would have at his disposal as landgraf of Alsace. The troops which he had commanded had been in the service of the king of France, the king of France had paid him, and the king was therefore entitled to share in the fruits of victory.

Bernhard, who had promptly set to work to construct a properly organised government in Alsace, vainly endeavoured by means of repeated embassies to bring the French to recognise the contract of 1635. In consequence of the warnings of his friends in Paris he refrained from going thither in person. But when Guébriant, acting on instructions from Richelieu, conveyed to him the suggestion that he should hold Alsace "under the suzerainty of the king of France," *i.e.* that he should become that king's vassal, he flew into a violent rage and declared that he would not be the first to dismember his country. His relations with France grew more and more strained and unfriendly as the perversity of their nature became more and more apparent. What might not this prince have accomplished, with his high military abilities and his ardent patriotism, if his victories had been achieved by the help of his German co-religionists and not by the subsidies of France! To the German nation he would have become what Wallenstein might have become had he not been a general in the emperor's service.

Meanwhile on the imperial side there was no lack of tempting offers, by

[1639 A.D.]

which it was hoped that he might be won over and induced to give in his adherence to the Peace of Prague. But in spite of his dismal experience of the French, Bernhard indignantly rejected all such overtures, the acceptance of which would have brought him into conflict with the whole tenor of his past career. From first to last he believed that the chief task of his life was to bring the emperor to terms in a lasting peace, based upon sound principles and satisfying the just demands of his co-religionists. With all the vehement optimism of his character he clung to the hope that now that he had done such great things he would find adherents and supporters among his Protestant compatriots. He had already entered into an alliance with the high-spirited landgräfin Amalia Elizabeth of Hesse, and had tried to win her over to take part again in the war from which, by the agreement of Mainz of 1638, she had withdrawn in her capacity of guardian to her infant son William VI, at the urgent request of the estates of her dominions.

THE DEATH OF BERNHARD (1639 A.D.)

The valiant duke was making preparations for transferring the theatre of war once more to the right bank of the Rhine and joining hands with Banér for concerted operations; his troops had even crossed the Rhine at Neuenburg, when he fell a victim to a malady of the nature of plague at that place, on the 18th of July, 1639. His death happened so opportunely for the French, who had long been jealous of his proud independence, as to give rise among his contemporaries to a wholly unfounded rumour that he had been poisoned at the instigation of France.²

In these days of the fatherland's deepest need and degradation Duke Bernhard of Weimar had alone stood forth as truly great and honourable, and above all a German at heart.

LAST TEN YEARS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

With the successive deaths of Gustavus Adolphus, Wallenstein, and Bernhard of Weimar there was an end of the generals who were at the same time statesmen, and whose military operations were conceived on a large scale, commensurate with the magnitude of their political conceptions. From now on the hordes of soldiers marched to and fro, from one end of Germany to the other — without any coherent plan, but merely with a view to small advantages and plunder. Germany, already exhausted, was now completely devastated. The foreign powers, France and Sweden, sent gold and generals to Germany. There they organised armies of their own which should subsist on plunder; and with these armies as support they were able to play the master in the realm. The emperor and the states which upheld him were the enemy, and it was their lands which were to be ravaged in such a barbarous manner. The emperor's forces, on the other hand, attacked with equal fury the states allied to France and Sweden. For the rest the soldiery treated friend and foe alike; they robbed and pillaged everywhere without license. During the long-continued war, with its numerous vicissitudes, numberless places were plundered and laid waste by Swedes, French, and imperial troops until they became a wilderness. The wretched, impoverished people became stupid and brutal under so much misery. All escaped who could and concealed themselves in the woods or in caves; many joined the soldiery, while still others became thieves and murderers.

All cried for peace: but no power was great enough to overcome the

others, nor would any abate a bit of its own self-seeking. Foreigners demanded indemnification; the Germans were still in controversy over religious questions. The emperor and the Catholics, even the obstinate Lutherans, would hear nothing of universal religious freedom; the reformed church should forever remain outside the pale. This solution was not of a nature to please the reform party, while the emperor and the Catholics were willing neither completely to raise the unfortunate restitution edict, nor to grant a general amnesty.

Bavaria had no desire to give back the electorate and Palatinate: and the emperor would not listen to any proposals of indemnification to Bavaria, Sweden, or France. Many princes of the empire expected largely to increase their territorial possessions of land by a continuance of the war. All negotiations for peace were, therefore, fruitless, and the German people was compelled to continue to pay the foreign invader and the domestic destroyer with its goods and its blood, with the sacrifice of its power and its honour, its freedom and its rights.

While the French entrenched themselves in the southwestern part of the empire, the Swedish general Banér fought bravely in northern Germany against the forces of the emperor, which in the beginning were led by Gallas, and afterwards were commanded by the brother of the emperor, Archduke Leopold William. The latter drove Banér, who had been ravaging Bohemia with fire and sword (1640), into Meissen and Thuringia, which he mercilessly devastated because of the desertion of the elector of Saxony. It was the unhappy people of those princes who had upheld the peace negotiations at Prague who must now atone most fearfully; for what had been left undisturbed by the imperial allies, the Swedes now overran and destroyed. Then Banér joined forces with the French general Guébriant; and while the emperor was at Ratisbon, discussing in the diet the best means of driving foreigners from the empire, he drew near by forced marches and came unexpectedly upon the imperial army from behind, wishing to take the emperor prisoner. Fortunately for the latter, a thaw suddenly set in which broke the ice in the Danube and swelled the waters to such a height that it was impossible to construct a bridge of boats, and the Swede was obliged to retreat, thus leaving the emperor untouched. At the same time Guébriant became separated from Banér, and the imperial army now followed on the latter's retreat through the Palatinate. Yet he fought his way bravely through Bohemia to Saxony, where Guébriant again joined him. Banér died suddenly on the 20th of May, 1641, at Halberstadt. He was a brave soldier; but overindulgent in eating and drinking. It was his debauchery that carried him to the grave.

Torstenson Succeeds Banér

General Lennart Torstenson now took the chief command of the Swedish army. Torstenson was frail in body and could scarcely stand upon his legs because of the gout. However, his spirit was vigorous and healthy and not to be broken by any reverses; he passed his days and nights conceiving daring plans for war. Torstenson immediately marched fresh troops out of Sweden into Germany, restoring military discipline first of all. In 1642 he suddenly carried the war into the emperor's land — Silesia and Moravia. From there the archduke William and the imperial general Piccolomini drove him back to Saxony, and on the 2nd of November, 1642, a decisive battle was fought on the plain before Breitenfeld, not far from Leipsic. The Swedes were again victorious, after the bravest resistance by the imperial troops.

[1643-1647 A.D.]

Suddenly Torstenson, who despite his gout was like a flash of lightning in his military operations, opened a campaign in Bohemia and Moravia, and penetrated even to the gates of Vienna. This daring exploit would have decided the war in favour of the Swedes, if at the same time Guébriant had advanced on Bavaria. However, Guébriant was killed at Rottweil and another general of the French army, Rosen, was defeated by General Johann von Werth, at Tuttlingen, on the 24th of November, 1643.

Meanwhile, negotiations for peace had been going on for a long time between the emperor and Sweden, and Denmark had interfered as a mediatory power. Prompted wholly by her jealousy of Sweden, it was her secret intention to weaken the political power of that state. As soon as the bold and vigilant Torstenson realised this, he marched, straight as an arrow, out of Moravia into Holstein. He then occupied Jutland, and held Denmark in terror. The emperor then sent an army under Gallas to the relief of the Danes. However, Torstenson by a dexterous manœuvre hastened past the imperials near Rendsburg, and when the latter followed him, he overwhelmed Gallas' force in a severe battle at Jüterbog; afterwards, in 1644, he swept back swiftly with sixteen thousand men to Bohemia. There, in 1645, he won a decisive victory over the imperial army at Jankau, and then marched upon Vienna, in the hope that Prince Rákóczy of Transylvania would support him while the French army was marching through Swabia to Franken and advancing on Bavaria. By this move Emperor Ferdinand III was placed in great danger; but his courage remained unaltered, and soon the luck of war turned in his favour. Rákóczy made peace with him, and the French army, although victorious over the imperial in an important battle near Allersheim, was nevertheless so weakened by its great losses that it was compelled again to return to the Rhine. At this point Torstenson, who had beleaguered the city of Brunn in Moravia was forced to raise the siege, by which he suffered the loss of many brave soldiers.

Wrangel Succeeds Torstenson

Denmark, on the other hand, and the elector of Saxony decided to make peace with Sweden, the latter for the reason that the Swedes had so fearfully ravaged his lands. About the same time Torstenson relinquished his command of the Swedish army, his frail body being no longer able to withstand the hardships of war. The chief command of the Swedish army then devolved upon the brave Karl Gustaf Wrangel. In 1646 he joined forces with the French general Turenne, and both armies now occupied Bavaria; and in 1647 the elector Maximilian, who for twenty-nine years, during innumerable changes of fortune, had upheld the cause of the emperor and the Catholics, was compelled to accede to an armistice until the consummation of peace. It was out of anxiety for his territories, which he wished to save from ruin, that the aged prince thus held himself neutral.

The outlook for the emperor was very dark about that time. He had only twelve thousand men remaining in his army, and after the death of Gallas he appointed for commander-in-chief a Protestant, Peter Holzapfel, called Melander — a Hessian by birth. It was the jealousy which France bore towards Sweden which saved the emperor. The French suddenly marched their troops back to the Rhine, while Wrangel remained firm before Eger. When Bavaria saw that the tide of war had turned, the truce with Sweden was broken, and the Bavarian forces rejoined those of the emperor. Soon after, Wrangel was forced back to the Weser, and the imperials and the

Bavarians followed. France now feared that the emperor might retrieve some of his past ill-fortune and the command was given to General Turenne to unite again with the Swedes. This reunion did in fact take place at Gelnhausen.

Then Wrangel determined to scourge Bavaria for its defection. He crossed the Danube at Lauingen and defeated the imperial forces, which were commanded by General Melander, on the 17th of May, 1648, at Zusmarshausen. Melander himself fell in the battle. Wrangel then crossed the Lech with the intention of carrying the war through Bavaria into Austria. The Swedes now devastated poor Bavaria, while the old elector fled to Salzburg. Wrangel, however, could not maintain himself in the wasted land, where moreover Johann von Werth successfully attacked him; so he returned to Swabia.

Meanwhile the Swedish general Königsmark had entered Bohemia, advanced towards Prague, and mastered a portion of the city. The count palatine of Zweibrücken, Charles Gustavus [afterwards Charles X of Sweden], who had brought fresh troops from Sweden, joined him, and Prague was now besieged by the united Swedish armies. Eight thousand imperial troops came to its relief; but in their wake flew messengers from Westphalia (October, 1648), bearing the glad tidings that peace was proclaimed. Thus after thirty years of continuous, prolonged misery, and after Germany had lost by it two thirds of its population, the war terminated on precisely the same spot which in 1618 had been the scene of the original outbreak.^e

Peace was proclaimed throughout the empire to all the armies, to all the besieged cities, to the trembling princes, to the wailing people. The wild soldiery was roused to fury at the news. At Feuchtwangen, Wrangel dashed his cocked hat to the ground and gave orders to let loose all the furies of war during the retreat. The beautiful city of Liegnitz in Silesia was wantonly set on fire by one of his men. The neighbouring city of Jauer was similarly treated by the imperial troops, who, shortly before the peace, had attacked the Swedes in that place. Turenne, the idol of France, acted in the same manner. Neresheim was sacked, and Weil was laid in ashes by his soldiery. This robber band at length disappeared behind the Vosges (1649). Had the disputes between the royalists and cardinalists in France been turned to advantage, a peace more favourable for Germany might have been concluded; but no one — with the exception of the indefatigable Charles of Lorraine, who joined the French princes, carried on the war at his own cost, and, in 1649, defeated Mazarin's troops at Cambray — appeared conscious of the fact.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1643-1648 A.D.)

Plenipotentiaries from the belligerent powers had, since 1643, been assembled at Osnabrück and Münster in Westphalia, for the purpose of concluding peace. The hatred subsisting between the different parties in Germany had insensibly diminished, and each now merely aimed at saving the little remaining in its possession. Misery and suffering had cooled the religious zeal of the people, license that of the troops, and diplomacy that of the princes. The thirst for blood had been satiated, and passion, worn out by excess, slumbered. Germany had long sighed for the termination of a struggle solely carried on within her bosom by the stranger. The Swedes and French had, however, triumphed, and were now in a position to dictate terms of peace favourable for themselves, and a long period elapsed before the jealous pretensions of all the parties interested in the conclusion of peace were satisfied. The procrastination

[1643-1648 A.D.]

tinuation of the emperor, who allowed three quarters of a year to elapse before giving his assent to the treaty of peace, the tardiness of the French and Swedish ambassadors in appearing at the congress, the disputes between the members about titles, right of precedence, etc., carried on for months and years, are to be ascribed not so much to the pedantry of the age, to Spanish punctilio, and to German tedium, as to the policy of the belligerent powers, who, whenever they expected a fresh result from the manœuvres of their generals, often made use of these means for the sole purpose of prolonging the negotiations.

The fate of the great German fatherland, the prospects of the immense empire over which Charlemagne and Barbarossa had reigned, lay in the hands of Avaux, the shameless French ambassador, who cited the non-occupation of the left bank of the Rhine by France as an extraordinary instance of generosity, and of Salvius, the Swedish envoy, who, ever dreading to be outwitted by his principal antagonist, Avaux, vied with him in impudence. At the side of the former stood Servien, at that of the latter John Oxenstierna, the son of the great chancellor. Trauttmansdorf, the imperial envoy, a tall, ugly, but grave and dignified man, alone offered to them a long and steady resistance, and compelled them to relinquish their grossest demands. By him stood the wily Volmar of Würtemberg, a recanted Catholic. The Dutch ambassador, Paw, vigilantly watched over the interests of his country, in which he was imitated by the rest of the envoys, who, indifferent to the weal of Germany as a whole, were solely occupied in preserving or gaining small portions of territory from the great booty. Barnbühler of Würtemberg, whose spirit and perseverance remedied his want of power, and the celebrated natural philosopher, Otto von Guericke, the inventor of the air-pump, burgomaster of ruined Magdeburg, might also be perceived in the background of the assembly, which had met to deliberate over the state of the empire under the presidency of foreigners and brigands.

The misery caused by the war was, if possible, surpassed by the shame brought upon the country by this treaty of peace. In the same province, where Arminius had once routed the legions of Rome, Germany bent servilely beneath a foreign yoke. At Münster, Spain concluded peace with Holland. The independence of Holland and her separation from the empire were recognised, and Germany was deprived of her finest provinces and of the free navigation of the Rhine — a fatal stroke to the prosperity of all the Rhenish cities. The independence of Switzerland was also solemnly guaranteed. Peace was concluded between France and the empire. France was confirmed in the possession of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the whole of Alsace, with the exception of Strasburg, of the imperial cities, and of the lands of the nobility of the empire situated in that province, in consideration of which Breisach and the fortress of Philippsburg, the keys to upper Germany, were ceded to her, by which means Germany was deprived of one of her finest frontier provinces and left open to the French invader, against whom the petty princes of southern Germany were thus left unprotected, and fell, in course of time, under the influence of their powerful neighbour. At Osnabrück, peace was concluded with Sweden, which was indemnified for the expenses of the war by the payment of \$5,000,000 and by the cession of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, the objects of Danish jealousy, of the city of Wismar, the island of Rügen, and Stralsund, and consequently of all the important posts on the Baltic and the North Sea.

One portion after another of the Holy German Empire was thus ceded to her foes. The remaining provinces still retained their ancient form, but hung

too loosely together to withstand another storm. The ancient empire existed merely in name; the more powerful princes virtually possessed the power and rendered themselves completely independent, and the supremacy of the emperor, and with it the unity of the body of the state, sank to a mere shadow. Each member of the empire exercised the right of making war, of concluding peace, and of making treaties with every European power, the emperor alone excluded. Each of the princes possessed almost unlimited authority over his subjects, whilst the emperor solely retained some inconsiderable prerogatives or reservations. The petty princes, the counts, knights, and cities, however, still supported the emperor, who, in return, guarded them against the encroachments of the great princes. The petty members of the empire in western Germany would, nevertheless, have preferred throwing themselves into the arms of France.

Every religious sect was placed on an equal footing, their power during the long war having been found equal, and their mutual antipathy having gradually become more moderate. The imperial chamber was composed of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, and, in order to equalize the power of the electoral princes, the Rhenish Palatinate, together with the electoral office, was again restored to its lawful possessor. Bavaria, nevertheless, retained both the electoral dignity and the upper Palatinate, notwithstanding the protest made by Charles Louis, the son of the ex-king of Bohemia, against this usurpation. All church property, seized or secularised by the Protestants, remained in their hands, or was, by the favour of the princes, divided among them. The emperor and the Catholic princes yielded, partly from inability to refuse their assent, and partly because they began to perceive the great advantage gained thereby by the temporal princes; nor was it long before they imitated the example. The pope naturally made a violent protest against the secularisation of church property. Innocent X published a bull against the Peace of Westphalia. The religious zeal of the Catholics had also cooled, notwithstanding the admonitions of the Jesuits; the princes, consequently, were solely governed by political ideas, which proved as detrimental to the papal cause after, as religious enthusiasm had been during the Reformation. The authority of the pope, like that of the emperor, had faded to a shadow.

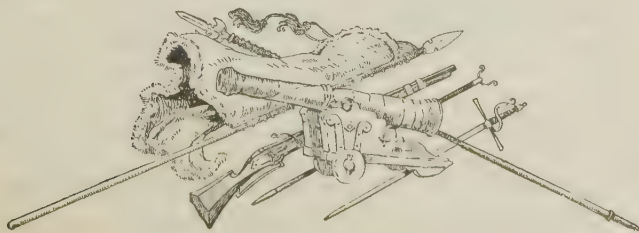
All secularised property reclaimed by the Catholics since the Normal year, 1624, consequently since the publication of the Edict of Restitution, was restored to the Protestants; and all Protestant subjects of Catholic princes were granted the free exercise of the religion professed by them in the said year, which, happening to have been that immediately after the battle on the White Mountain, and the emperor declaring that, at that period, his Reformed subjects no longer enjoyed liberty of conscience, caused the protests made by the emigrated Austrian Protestants to remain without effect. The Silesian princes, still remaining in Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, Ols, Münsterberg, and the city of Breslau, were allowed to remain Lutheran, and three privileged churches were, moreover, permitted at Glogau, Jauer, and Schweidnitz. The ancient system was strictly enforced throughout the rest of the hereditary provinces. The sole favour shown towards the Protestants was their transportation to Transylvania, where they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. The Jesuits were invested with unlimited authority in that portion of the German empire which remained Catholic after the Peace of Westphalia. In 1652 an imperial edict enforced the profession of Catholicism, under pain of death, by every individual within the hereditary provinces.

The disputes between the Lutherans and the Reformed church were also

[1618-1648 A.D.]

brought to a close, and the senseless law by means of which the faith professed by the prince was imposed upon his subjects was repealed. The violence with which the doctors of theology defended their opinions, nevertheless, remained unabated.

Germany is reckoned by some to have lost one half, by others, two thirds of her entire population during the thirty years' war. In Saxony, nine hundred thousand men had fallen within two years; in Bohemia, the number of inhabitants at the demise of Ferdinand II, before the last deplorable inroads made by Banér and Torstenson, had sunk to one fourth. Augsburg, instead of eighty, had eighteen thousand inhabitants. Every province, every town throughout the empire had suffered at an equal ratio, with the exception of the Tyrol, which had repulsed the enemy from her frontiers and had enjoyed the deepest peace during this period of horror. The country was completely impoverished. The working class had almost totally disappeared. The manufactories had been destroyed by fire; industry and commerce had passed into other hands. The products of upper Germany were far inferior to those of Italy and Switzerland, those of lower Germany to those of Holland and England. Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited, and were only by slow degrees repopled by foreign emigrants or by soldiery. The original character and language of the inhabitants were, by this means, completely altered. In Franconia, which, owing to her central position, had been traversed by every party during the war, the misery and depopulation had reached to such a pitch that the Franconian estates, with the assent of the ecclesiastical princes, abolished (1650) the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, and permitted each man to marry two wives, on account of the numerical superiority of the women over the men. The last remains of political liberty had, during the war, also been snatched from the people; each of the estates had been deprived of the whole of its material power. The nobility were compelled by necessity to enter the service of the princes, the citizens were impoverished and powerless, the peasantry had been utterly demoralised by military rule and reduced to servitude. The provincial estates, weakly guarded by the crown against the encroachments of the petty princes, were completely at the mercy of the more powerful of the petty sovereigns of Germany and had universally sunk in importance. Science and art had fled from Germany, and pedantic ignorance had replaced the deep learning of her universities. The mother tongue had become adulterated by an incredible variety of Spanish, Italian, and French words, and the use of foreign words with German terminations was considered the highest mark of elegance. Various foreign modes of dress were also as generally adopted. Germany had lost all save her hopes for the future. †





CHAPTER X

NEITHER HOLY, NOR ROMAN, NOR EMPIRE¹

[1648-1748 A.D.]

To the empire, as a great political body, the Peace of Westphalia can appear scarcely in any other light than as a fatal blow to its strength and influence. To a few of the greater states this peace became the foundation of independence; but to the smaller it was the ultimate cause of weakness and degradation, and led to the subjugation of most of the imperial towns, once the chief seats of German wealth, prosperity, and commerce.—COXE.²

It will not require many words, nor will it prove a task of much difficulty to represent the sadly depressed state of the country after a war of such devastation. Two thirds² of the population had perished, not so much by the sword itself as by those more lingering and painful sufferings which such a dreadful war brings in its train: contagion, plague, famine, and all the other attendant horrors. For death on the field of battle itself is not the evil of war; such a death, on the contrary, is often the most glorious, inasmuch as the individual is taken off in a moment of enthusiastic ardour, and whilst he is inspired with the whole force of his vital power; thus he is relieved from the anxious and painful contemplation of the gradual approach of his last moments. But the true curse of war is based in the horrors and miseries it spreads among and with which it overwhelms those who can take no active share in it — women, children, and aged men, from whom it snatches all the enjoyments, all the hopes of life; thence the germ of a new generation becomes poisoned in its very principle, and can only unfold itself with struggling pain and sorrow, without strength or courage.

Nevertheless, in Germany the natural energy of the people speedily aroused

[¹ It is perhaps hardly necessary to remind the reader that the famous phrase is Voltaire's.]

[² According to Simeⁿ from one half to two thirds.]

[1648 A.D.]

itself among them, and a life of activity and serious application very soon succeeded in a proportionate degree to that which had so long been characterised by disorder and negligence; and it is thus that the two extremes often meet. The demoralisation so generally existing — produced on the one hand by the warriors who, on their return home from the camp, introduced there much of the licentiousness they had previously indulged in, and, on the other hand, through the juvenile classes having grown up and become matured without education, and being by force of example in almost a savage state — obliged the princes now to devote all their attention and care towards re-establishing the exercise of religious worship, and restoring the schools and ecclesiastical institutions — measures which never fail to produce beneficial results. But it was agriculture which more especially made rapid strides in the improvements introduced, and which was pursued with an activity hitherto unexampled. As a great number of the landowners had perished during the war, land generally became materially reduced in price, and the population accordingly showed everywhere the most active industry in the cultivation of the soil; so that within a short space of time the barren fields were replaced by fertile meadows, and fruitful gardens amidst smiling villages greeted the eye in every part. The moment had now arrived, likewise, when the claims of the peasantry to the rights of freeborn men were acknowledged more and more, and the chains by which they had been hitherto bound were gradually relaxed, until at length the final link which held them fell to the ground. Thus Germany might have become more flourishing than ever by the prosperous state of its agriculture, for it is from the maternal earth that a nation draws its source and strength of life, when it devotes its powers to that object; but essential and general causes interfered, unhappily, to prevent the fulfilment of this desirable object.

In the first place, the declining state of the cities operated in a special degree to destroy the beneficial results of agriculture. The prosperity of the cities had received a vital blow, by the complete change which had been introduced into the whole system of commerce; its decline, however, was only partial until the period of the Thirty Years' War. Shortly previous to the commencement of the war, a foreign writer placed Germany still at the head of every other country, in respect to the extent and number of its cities, and the genius, talent, and activity of its artists and artisans. They were sent for from every part of Europe. At Venice, for instance, the most ingenious goldsmiths, clockmakers, carpenters, as well as even the most distinguished painters, sculptors, and engravers, were at the end of the sixteenth century all natives of Germany. But it will suffice to mention the names of such celebrated artists as Albrecht Dürer, Hans Holbein, and Lucas Kranach, to form an idea of the prosperous state of the arts in the cities of Germany at the commencement of the sixteenth century. This terrible war, however, gave them their mortal blow; numerous free cities, previously in a flourishing state, were completely reduced to ashes, others nearly depopulated altogether, and all those extensive factories and institutions which gave to Germany the superiority over other nations were through loss of the workmen, completely deserted and left in a state of inactivity.

Thence, at a meeting of the Hanseatic League in Lübeck, in 1630, those few cities which still remained in existence declared they were no longer able to contribute towards the expenses of the league. Economy and strict industry might perhaps have raised them gradually from the state of misery into which they had thus fallen, but their ancient prosperity and importance were both forever gone; and, as is stated by an early writer, on the foreheads of

these once wealthy citizens might be traced in characters too clearly expressed how fallen was their state, reduced as they now were to endure a painful and laborious existence. Many of the cities, some voluntarily, others through the necessity of the times, saw themselves compelled to submit to the power of the princes, as, for instance, Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen made himself master of Münster, in 1661; the elector of Mainz, of the city of Erfurt, in 1664; the elector of Brandenburg, of the city of Magdeburg, in 1666; and the duke of Brunswick, of the city of Brunswick, in 1671; whilst those which retained the title of free cities — how poor and miserably did they drag on their existence, until at length, in more recent times, they likewise lost their privilege altogether.

The nobility had likewise lost much of their ancient dignity and lustre. Ever since they had ceased to form more especially the military state of the empire, and their noble cavaliers no longer conferred exclusively glory upon the nation; ever since they had abandoned their independence, by attaching themselves to the court, or wasted all their strength in a life spent in indolence and without any noble object in view; and, finally, ever since they had commenced imitating and adopting the manners, customs, and languages of foreign nations, and substituted their effeminacy and refinement for the ancient energy and sincerity for which Germany had ever been so renowned — ever since these changes and innovations had been introduced, the nobles of the empire had gradually degenerated and lost all their consequence and dignity. Thus were eclipsed two of the most important and essential orders of the empire, the two which, in spite of all their other defects, had above every other contributed to give to the Middle Ages the grand and vigorous character for which that period was so much distinguished.

It is true that during the last few centuries changes of a similar nature had taken place in other countries of Europe, which, by thus substituting a new order of things, obliterated all that had characterised the Middle Ages. But with all this, ample compensation was found in the wealth and prosperity commanded by commerce, whilst in this respect Germany was now deprived of all such resource. The share which a few of the cities still took in the commerce of the world could not establish or effect a balance of the whole; whilst, on the other hand, instead of restricting themselves to that simple order of life so especially necessary among an agricultural people, and thus trying to avert the coming indigence, they launched out more and more into a luxurious state of living; and accordingly, in exchange for precious and exotic articles of merchandise, they gave up to foreign nations all the rich fruits of agriculture and industry produced at home at the expense of so much toil and anxiety. For however fertile the soil of their country, and however varied its produce, it could not possibly equal in value the rich wares imported from all parts of the world. When, however, the love of luxury and sensual pleasure has gained the upper hand, nothing can restrict or check its extravagant and insatiable demands.

This evil, however, was not one originally implanted in the nature of the German: it was communicated by those foreigners whom they sought to imitate in everything — even in their degeneracy. The excursions now made beyond Germany, and especially to France, and its metropolis; the imitation more and more indulged in of the fashions and manners of the French, and even of their immorality itself; the introduction and reception of French professors and governesses into various German families for the education of the juvenile members; the contempt more and more shown and felt for their own native language; the enthusiasm indulged in for that French

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philosophy, so superficial, and yet at the same time so easily adapted to render the individual wholly indifferent to his religious, moral, and social duties — all these causes had operated more and more injuriously amongst the higher, as well as the middle classes of society, and thence, at the present period, their influence presented the most baneful effects.

On the other hand, however, it is not to be denied that relations with foreign countries have materially promoted the civilisation of Germany; and it is impossible not to recognise in the course of modern history a tendency to render more and more firm and durable the bond of union between all the nations of Christendom. Placed as the German Empire is, in the centre of the principal nations of Europe, it has ever warmly sympathised with, and the forms of its political constitution have ever encouraged the movement of moral and intellectual progress. For in most other countries, each of which was constituted into one homogeneous kingdom, the chief city was the first to set the example in the adoption of all that it might judge worthy of patronage and dissemination, and thence it established the rule or law for the co-optation thereof generally throughout the provinces: by this means, however, the progress made became gradually subjected to certain fixed forms, whence it could not be exempt from partiality. In Germany, on the contrary, science and art have marched together full of activity and independence as in a free dominion. The superior, equally with the lesser states rivalled each other in their patronage; no single town, no particular individual, was empowered to impose laws; and, finally, no favouritism, no exception of person, was shown, but everything bearing within it essential and sterling merit was sure sooner or later to meet with due acknowledgment and appreciation; and thence it is that the German nation has made such progress in all the sciences.

Nevertheless, this moment must be regarded as teeming with dangerous error. Nothing is more difficult for human nature than to maintain the one direct and central path without diverging to one side or the other — nothing more difficult than to combine civilisation and enlightenment with religious and moral strictness, to unite an acute sensibility for all that is really good and valuable in genius, wherever found, with honesty and constancy of principle, and to conjoin independence of spirit with self-denial and submission. The period we are about to trace will show us in what degree this object was alternately approached or receded from by the German nation; whilst, at the same time, it will present us with all those vicissitudes to which mankind is subject.

This series of good and bad fortunes is, we shall find, more especially shown in external relations. Days of prosperity and peace were succeeded by those of distress; but the latter down to and during this period continued in their degree to outweigh the former. In no period of German history do we find presented such melancholy pictures as during the long reign of Louis XIV of France, nor has German state policy ever shown so much weakness



GERMAN SPOON, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

and pusillanimity as when suffering from his ambitious designs. During the short interval of tranquillity from the time of his death to the war of the Austrian succession, the arts of peace once more revived a little, but the progress of their development was again checked by the storms of that contest, and more especially by the still more ruinous Seven Years' War which immediately succeeded. The interval of twenty-five years, from the conclusion of this war to the commencement of the French Revolution, was the longest period of tranquillity Germany had hitherto enjoyed; and during this space of time art and science once more came into activity, and made such flourishing progress that, in spite of the war of twenty-five years by which the French Revolution was succeeded, their development, although much checked, was not altogether destroyed.

DEATH OF FERDINAND III (1657 A.D.)

The emperor Ferdinand III lived nine years after the Peace of Westphalia; he reigned with moderation and wisdom, and until his death the peace of Germany remained undisturbed. He had already procured the decision of the princes in favour of his son Ferdinand as his successor to the imperial throne, when unfortunately that young man, who had excited the most sanguine hopes, and towards whom all eyes were turned with confidence, died in 1654 of the small-pox. Ferdinand was, therefore, forced to resume his efforts with the princes in favour of his second son, Leopold — although he was far from possessing the capacity of his deceased brother — but he himself died on the 2nd of April, 1657, before the desired object was fully obtained.

The election of the new emperor met with considerable difficulty, because the government of France was anxious to avail itself of this moment to obtain possession of the imperial dignity, to which it had long aspired. It had in fact already succeeded in gaining over the electoral princes of the Rhine; but all the rest of the German princes felt the shame and disgrace such a choice must bring upon the nation, and decided at once in favour of Leopold, archduke of Austria, although this prince was only eighteen years of age; and he was accordingly elected at Frankfort on the 18th of July, 1658.

Meantime Cardinal Mazarin, the prime minister of France, had already formed an alliance which, under the name of the Rhenish Alliance, had for its object the total annihilation of the house of Austria, although ostensibly its only aim was the conservation of the Peace of Westphalia. The parties included in the alliance were France, Sweden, the electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves, the bishop of Münster, the palatine of Neuburg, the elector of Hesse-Cassel, and the three dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg: a singularly mixed alliance of Catholic spiritual and lay princes with the Protestant princes and Swedes, who had only so recently before stood opposed to each other in open warfare. A learned historian of that period unfolds to us what were the real intentions of France in forming this alliance, as well as the motives by which she was guided throughout her proceedings against Germany: "Instead of resorting to open force, as in the Thirty Years' War, it appeared more expedient to France to hold attached to her side a few of the German princes, and especially those along the Rhine, by a bond of union — and, as it is said, by the additional obligation of an annual subsidy — and, above all things, to appear to take great interest in the affairs of Germany; thus the princes might be brought to believe that the protection of France would be more secure than that of the emperor and the laws of the empire. This means of paving the

[1658-1688 A.D.]

way for the destruction of all liberty in Germany was, as may be easily judged, by no means badly conceived."

France very soon showed that she only waited for an opportunity of seizing her prey with the same hand which she had so recently held out in friendship. The long reign of Leopold I was almost wholly filled up with wars against France and her arrogant prince, Louis XIV; and unhappy Germany was again made the scene of sanguinary violence and devastation. Leopold, who was a prince of a mild and religious disposition, but, on the other hand, of an equally inactive and pusillanimous character, was by no means fitted to enter the field against the French king, in whom were united great cunning, unlimited ambition, and insolent pride. France now pursued with persevering determination the grand object she had in view, of making the Rhine her frontier and of gaining possession of the Spanish Netherlands — which, under the name of the Burgundian circle, belonged to the Germanic Empire — Lorraine, the remaining portion of Alsace, not yet in its occupation, together with all the lands of the German princes situated on the left bank of the Rhine. This spirit of aggrandisement was shared equally by king and people. Already, during the reign of Louis XIV, the French authors began to write in strong and forcible language upon the subject of conquest, and one among them, a certain D'Aubry, even went so far as to express in a pamphlet his opinions founded on the theory — at that moment a novel one, but which afterwards became of serious consideration, and was nearly carried into execution — that the Roman-Germanic Empire, such as it was possessed by Charlemagne, belonged to his king and his descendants; and the abbé Colbert, in an address to the king, in the name of the clergy, adds the words: "O king, who giveth laws to the seas as well as to all lands; who sendeth thy lightning wherever it pleaseth thee, even to the shores of Africa itself; who subjecteth the pride of nations, and forceth their sovereigns to bend the knee in all humility before thee in acknowledgment of the power of thy sceptre, and to implore thy mercy," and so forth.

Accordingly, Louis now commenced operations by conquering the Netherlands, pleading his ancient hereditary right to the possession of that country. The Spaniards appealed for aid to the other circles of the Germanic Empire, but not one of the princes came forward to assist them — some through indifference, others from fear, and the rest again from being disgracefully bought over by French money: such were the results of the Rhenish Alliance. Abandoned thus by all, the Netherlands fell into the hands of the king, and at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), in 1688, the Spaniards saw themselves forced to surrender a whole line of frontier towns to France, in order to save a portion only of the country.

THE GREAT ELECTOR

In addition to this, in the year 1672, France with equal injustice invaded Holland itself, and had she succeeded in her plans she would very soon have been in a condition to hold dominion over the European seas. This new danger, however, produced as little effect upon the princes of Germany as the preceding one; they paid little or no attention to it; nay, the elector of Cologne and the warlike bishop of Münster, Cristoph Bernhard von Galen, one of the most distinguished men of his day, actually concluded an alliance with France. One only of the princes of Germany, the elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, known likewise under the title of the Great Elector acted with the energy so necessary; and, completely aware of the exact

condition of the nation, felt the necessity of preventing the total subversion of the equilibrium of Europe. Accordingly, he made immediate preparations for placing his territories of Westphalia in a state of defence, exposed as they were in the immediate vicinity of the scene of action; for by the definitive arrangement of the inheritance of Jülich, in 1656, he had received the duchy of Cleves and the provinces of Mark and Ravensberg, whilst to the count palatine of Neuburg had been allotted the duchies of Jülich and Berg.

Frederick William likewise induced the emperor Leopold to adopt measures for opposing the further progress of the French invaders, and both together raised an army which they placed under the orders of the imperial general, Montecuculi; but the co-operation of the Austrians became almost nullified through the influence of Prince Lobkowitz, the emperor's privy councillor, who, gained over by France, opposed all the plans of the imperial general. Thence the elector beheld his fine army harassed and worn out by hunger and sickness, and in order to prevent the French from completely destroying his territories in Westphalia, in 1673, he concluded with them a peace in their camp of Vossem near Louvain. His possessions were restored to him, with the exception of the castles of Wesel and Rees, which the enemy resolved to retain until a general pacification was permanently established.

Now, however, the emperor, after having lost his best allies, determined to pursue the war with more vigour. Montecuculi gained some advantages along the lower Rhine, and, amongst the rest, he succeeded in making himself master of Bonn; but all along the upper Rhine and in Franconia, the French redoubled their ravages, and more especially in the Palatinate, which was now made the most sanguinary scene of the whole war, as it was subsequently, and where the French have left eternal monuments of their cruel proceedings. As they thus continued to invade even the very empire itself, the princes now united to resist them, and the elector of Brandenburg renewed his alliance with the emperor. On this occasion Austria was distinguished especially for her energy and activity. At the diet of Ratisbon, long discussions were held upon the subject of the war, but nothing was concluded; and Austria, having discovered that this delay was produced by the French ambassador, who there endeavoured by every means to deceive first one and then another of the princes, that power immediately commanded him, without waiting for any other formality, to quit Ratisbon within three days, and on his departure a declaration of war was forthwith made by the emperor against the king of France.

The war was carried on with varied success and loss, but altogether the advantage was on the side of the French, whose generals were completely successful in their object of making the German soil alone the field for their operations; whilst, on the other hand, the leaders of the allied forces were without activity or union. In order to furnish occupation in his own land for the most powerful of the German princes, namely the elector of Brandenburg, Louis XIV. concluded an alliance with the Swedes, in 1674, showing them the great advantage they would derive by the invasion of that territory. This they accordingly did, severely handling the country; nevertheless, the elector would not abandon the Rhine, but contributed his assistance, and remained as long as his presence was necessary; and it was only in the following year, 1675, that he at length did withdraw from that seat of war, and hastened to the aid of his suffering country.

To the astonishment of both friends and foes, the elector suddenly arrived before the city of Magdeburg, and passing through it continued his march, until he came right in front of the Swedes, who believed him to be still in

[1661-1675 A.D.]

Franconia. They immediately retired, and sought to form themselves into one body; but he pursued them, and came up with them on the 28th of June, 1675, at Fehrbellin. He had only his cavalry with him, his infantry not having been able to follow quickly enough; nevertheless he determined to attack the enemy at once. His generals advised him to await the arrival of his foot soldiers before he gave battle; but every moment of delay appeared to him as lost, and the action began forthwith. It was attended with the most brilliant success; the Swedes, who ever since the Thirty Years' War had been regarded as invincible, were now completely overthrown and put to flight, directing their course towards their own Pomerania. Thither they were pursued by the elector, who conquered the greater portion of the province. This elector may be regarded as the founder of the Prussian monarchy,¹ and his successors only built upon the basis he laid down.^b

ILL-TREATMENT OF THE IMPERIAL CITIES

Louis XIV, while carrying on his attacks externally against the empire, exerted every effort for the destruction of the remaining internal liberties of Germany. His invasion of Holland had been undertaken under the plausible pretext (intended as a blind to the princes) of defending the monarchical principle, and, whilst secretly planning the seizure of Strasburg, he sought to indispose the princes towards the free imperial cities. He accordingly flattered Bavaria with the conquest of Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Augsburg, and Ulm; Bavaria was, however, still apprehensive of the emperor and contented herself with retaining possession of the old imperial city of Donauwörth, notwithstanding the Peace of Westphalia, by which the freedom of that city had been guaranteed.

In 1661 French troops aided the bishop, Von Galen, in subjugating the provincial town of Münster and in depriving her of all her ancient privileges. In 1664 French troops, in a similar manner, aided the electoral prince of Mainz to place the city of Erfurt under subjection. Erfurt belonged originally to Mainz, but had long been free and Protestant, and stood under the especial protection of Saxony. The demand made by the elector of being included in the prayers of the church being refused by the Protestant citizens, the emperor, who beheld the affair in a Catholic light, put the city under the ban of the empire, which was executed by Mainz, backed by a French army, whilst Saxony was pacified with a sum of money. The unfortunate citizens opposed the Mainz faction within the city with extreme fury, assassinated Kniephof, the president of the council, and beheaded Limprecht, one of the chief magistrates, but were, after a gallant defence, compelled to capitulate.

In 1665 Louis reduced the imperial cities of Alsace, Strasburg excepted, to submission. In 1666 the Swedes, under Wrangel, made a predatory attack upon Bremen and bombarded the town, but withdrew on a protest being made by the emperor and the empire. In the same year, Frederick William of Brandenburg annihilated the liberties of the city of Magdeburg, the archbishopric having, on the death of Augustus of Saxony, fallen, in consequence of the Peace of Westphalia, under the administration of Brandenburg. In 1671 the ancient city of Brunswick had been seized by Rudolf Augustus, duke of Wolfenbüttel, and robbed of all her privileges. Most of the merchants emigrated. In 1672 Cologne was subjugated by the elector, the city having, at an earlier period, favoured the Dutch. The citizens,

[¹ See volume XV.]

tyrannised over by the council dependent on the elector, revolted, but were reduced to submission (1689). The rebellious citizens of Liège were also reduced, by the aid of the elector of Cologne, and deprived of their ancient privileges (1684). A similar insurrection, caused (1685) at Brussels, by the heavy imposts was suppressed by force.

Hamburg had been a scene of disturbance since 1671, on account of the narrow-minded despotism of the aristocratic council, which, in 1673, fraudulently obtained a decision, the Windischgrätz Convention, from the emperor, who rebuked the complaining citizens and recommended them to submit. The syndic, Garmer, who had been principally implicated in the affair of the convention, intriguing with Denmark, became suspected by the emperor and was compelled to fly from Hamburg (1678). The burgomaster, Meurer, was also expelled. The convention was repealed, and Meurer was replaced by Schlüter, who was assisted by two honest citizens, Schnitger and Jastram. The Danes, on the failure of Garmer's intrigues, sought to seize Hamburg by surprise and to annex that city, under pretence of its having formerly appertained to Holstein, to Denmark. The citizens were, however, on the watch; Brandenburg hastened to their aid, and the Danes were repulsed. The ancient aristocratic faction now rose and falsely accused Schnitger, Jastram, and Schlüter of a design to betray the city to Denmark; the two former were quartered, the third was poisoned in prison; Meurer was reinstated in his office, and the Windischgrätz Convention reinforced. The ancient pride of the Hansa had forever fallen. In 1667 the Dutch pursued the English merchantmen up to the walls of Hamburg, captured them, and injured the city, which, in order to escape war with England, compensated the English merchants for their losses.

THE LOSS OF STRASBURG (1681 A.D.)

Strasburg, the ancient bulwark of Germany, was, however, destined to a still more wretched fate, and, deserted by the German princes, was greedily grasped by France. The insolence of the French monarch had greatly increased since the Treaty of Nimeguen. In 1680 he unexpectedly declared his intention to hold, besides the territory torn from the empire, all the lands, cities, estates, and privileges that had thereto appertained, such as, for instance, all German monasteries, which, a thousand years before the present period, had been founded by the Merovingians and Carolingians, all the districts which had, at any time, been held in fee by, or been annexed by right of inheritance to, Alsace, Burgundy, or the Breisgau, and for this purpose established four chambers of *réunion* at Besançon, Breisach, Metz, and Tournay, composed of paid literati and lawyers, commissioned to search for the said dependencies amid the dust of the ancient archives. The first idea of these chambers of *réunion* had been given by a certain Ravaulx to Colbert, the French minister, and the execution of their decrees was committed to bands of incendiaries, who, in Alsace, the Netherlands, and the Palatinate, tore down the ancient escutcheons and replaced them with that of France, garrisoned the towns, and exacted enormous contributions from the citizens, with which Louis purchased three hundred pieces of artillery for the defence of the territory thus arbitrarily seized.

The whole of the empire was agitated, but, whilst a tedious discussion was as usual being carried on at Ratisbon, the French carried their schemes into execution and suddenly seized Strasburg by treachery. This city, according to her historian Friesche, had made every effort to maintain her liberty against

[1681-1684 A.D.]

France. The citizens, since the Thirty Years' War, had lived in a state of continual apprehension, maintained and strengthened their fortifications, kept a body of regular troops, and, in their turn, every third day had mounted guard. For sixty years they had been continually on the defensive, and immense sums had been swallowed up in the necessary outlay. Trade and commerce declined. The bishop of Speier levied a high duty on the goods of the Strasburg merchants when on their way through Lauterburg and Philippsburg to the Frankfort fairs, whilst France beheld the sinking credit of the city with delight, exercised every system of oppression in her power, and promoted disunion among the citizens. There were also traitors among the Lutheran clergy. The loyalty of the citizens was, however, proof against every attempt, and Louis expended \$300,000 in the creation of a small party. Terror and surprise did the rest. The city was secretly surrounded with French troops at a time when numbers of the citizens were absent at the Frankfort and other fairs, September, 1681, and the traitors had taken care that the means of defence should be in a bad condition. The citizens, deluded by promises or shaken by threats, yielded, and Strasburg, the principal key to Germany, the seat of German learning and the centre of German industry, capitulated, on the 13th of October, to the empire's most implacable foe. Louis made a triumphal entry into the city he had won by perfidy and was welcomed by Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, the traitorous bishop, in the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!"

The city was strongly garrisoned by the French, and the fortifications were rapidly improved to such a degree as to render it one of the strongest places in Europe. The great cathedral, belonging to the Protestants, was reclaimed by the bishop, and the free exercise of religion was, contrary to the terms of capitulation, restricted. All the Lutheran officials were removed, the clergy driven into the country. The Protestants emigrated in crowds. The chief magistrate, the venerable Dominicus Dietrich, fell a victim to private enmity and was cited to appear before Louis at Paris, where he was long detained prisoner. Louvois, on his steady refusal to recant, sent him into the interior of France, where he was long imprisoned. He was, towards the close of his life, allowed to return to Strasburg, where he expired (1694). His memory has been basely calumniated by many German historians. Numbers of French were sent to colonise Strasburg, Alsace, and Lorraine. Many of the towns and districts received fresh names; the German costume was prohibited, and the adoption of French modes enforced.

A DISGRACEFUL PEACE

The elector of Brandenburg, influenced by his wife, entering into alliance with France, and the Turks, at Louis' instigation, invading Austria, that monarch found himself without an opponent, and, after conquering Luxemburg, destroyed Genoa, which still remained faithful to the empire, by bombarding her from the sea (1684). The emperor, harassed by the Turks and abandoned by the princes, was again compelled (1684) to sign a disgraceful peace [which arranged a truce of twenty years], by which France retained her newly acquired territory, beside Strasburg and Luxemburg. Among all the losses suffered by the empire, that of Strasburg was the most deeply felt. For almost two centuries the possession of that powerful fortress by France neutralised the whole of upper Germany or forced her princes into an alliance with their natural and hereditary foe.

VIENNA BESIEGED BY THE TURKS (1683 A.D.)

Louis, whilst thus actively employed in the west, incessantly incited the sultan, by means of his ambassadors at Constantinople, to fall upon the rear of the empire. In Hungary, the popular disaffection excited by the despotic rule of the emperor had risen to such a height that the Hungarian Christians demanded aid from the Turk against their German oppressors. A conspiracy among the nobility was discovered in 1671, and the chiefs, Frankopan, Nadasdy, Zrinyi, and Tattenbach, suffered death as traitors at Neustadt. Zrinyi was the grandson of the hero of Sziget. His wife died mad. No mercy was extended to the heretics by the triumphant Jesuits and by the soldiers of fortune educated in their school. The magnates were induced by fear or by bribery to recant. The people and their preachers, however, resisted every effort made for their conversion, and a *coup d'état* was the result.

In 1674 the whole of the Lutheran clergy were convoked to Pressburg, were falsely accused of conspiracy, and two hundred and fifty of their number were thrown into prison. These clergymen were afterwards sold, at the rate of fifty crowns per head, to Naples, were sent on board the galleys, and chained to the oar. Part of them were set at liberty at Naples, the rest at Palermo, by the gallant admiral De Ruyter shortly before his death. The defenceless communes in Hungary were now consigned to the Jesuits. The German soldiery were quartered on them, and the excesses committed by them were countenanced as a means of breaking the spirit of the people. The banner of revolt was at length raised by the Lutheran Count Tököly, but the unfortunate Hungarians looked around in vain for an ally to aid them in struggling for their rights. The only one at hand was the Turk, who offered chains in exchange for chains. The emperor, alarmed at the impending danger, yielded, and (1681) granted freedom of conscience to Hungary; but it was already too late.

Louis XIV redoubled his efforts at the Turkish court and at length succeeded in persuading the sultan to send two hundred and eighty thousand men under the grand vizir, Kara Mustapha, into Hungary, whilst he invaded the western frontier of the empire in person. Terror marched in the Turkish van. The retreat of the weak imperial army under Duke Charles of Lorraine, under whom the markgraf Ludwig of Baden, who afterwards acquired such fame, served, became a disorderly flight. The Turks reached the gates of Vienna unopposed. The emperor fled, leaving the city under the command of Ernst Rüdiger, count von Starhemberg, who for two months steadily resisted the furious attacks of the besiegers, by whom the country in the vicinity was converted into a desert and eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants were dragged into slavery.

Starhemberg, although severely wounded, was daily carried round the works, gave orders, and cheered his men. The Turkish miners blew up the strongest part of the walls, and the whole city was surrounded with ruins and heaps of rubbish; still the Viennese, unshaken by the wild cries, the furious attacks, and immense numbers of the enemy, gallantly resisted every attempt. The wounded were tended by the bishop Kolonits, who so zealously fulfilled his duty as to draw a threat from the grand vizir that he would deprive him of his head.¹ The numbers of the garrison, meanwhile, rapidly diminished, and the strength of the citizens was worn out by incessant duty. Starhemberg

¹ Kara Mustapha was subsequently strangled on account of his defeat, and his head, found on the taking of Belgrade, was sent to the bishop, who sullied his fame by his cruelty towards the Hungarian Protestants.

[1683 A.D.]

was compelled to punish the sleepy sentinels with death. Famine now began to add to the other miseries endured by the wretched Viennese, who, reduced to the last extremity, fired, during a dark night, a radius of rockets from the tower of St. Stephen's, as a signal of distress to the auxiliary forces supposed to be advancing behind the Leopold and Kahlenberg. The aid so long awaited was, fortunately, close at hand. The vicinity and greatness of the danger had caused an imperial army to be assembled in an unusually short space of time; the emperor had 20,000 men under Charles, duke of Lorraine; the electors of Bavaria and Saxony came in person at the head of 12,000 men each. Swabia and Franconia sent 9,000 into the field. John Sobieski, the chivalrous king of Poland, brought an auxiliary troop of 18,000 picked men from the north. The German princes ceded to him the command of their united forces, and on Saturday, the 11th of September (1683), he climbed the Kahlenberg, whence he fired three cannon as a signal to the Viennese of their approaching deliverance; and on the following morning fell upon the camp of the Turks, who had thoughtlessly omitted taking the precautionary measure of occupying the heights, and who, confident in their numerical strength, continued to carry on the siege whilst they sent too weak a force against the advancing enemy.

The Germans, consequently, succeeded in pushing on; the imperial troops on the left wing, the Saxons and Bavarians in the centre, leaving the right wing, composed of Poles, behind. The Germans halted and were joined at Dornbach by the Poles. A troop of 20,000 Turkish cavalry, the indecision of whose movements betrayed their want of a leader, was routed by Sobieski's sudden attack, and the Germans, inspirited by this success, fell upon the Turkish camp; 30,000 Christian prisoners were instantly murdered by command of the enraged vizir, who, instead of turning his whole force against the new assailants, poured a shower of bombs and balls upon Vienna. The Turks, already discontented at the contradictory orders, refused to obey and were easily routed. The grand vizir's tent and an immense treasure fell into the hands of the Poles, the whole of the Turkish artillery into those of the Germans. The secret correspondence between Louis XIV and the Porte was discovered among the grand vizir's papers. Forty-eight thousand Turks fell during the siege; 20,000 in the battle.

On the following day, the Polish king entered Vienna on horseback and was greeted by crowds of people, who thronged around him to kiss his stirrup. The emperor, who had taken into deep consideration the mode in which a meeting with Sobieski could be arranged without wounding his own dignity, had at length resolved to come to his rencounter mounted on horseback, and, after bestowing an amicable greeting upon his deliverer, remained stiffly seated in his saddle, nor even raised his hat, on his hand being kissed by Sobieski's son or on the presentation of some of the Polish nobles. The Polish army was also ill provided for, and the Poles evinced an inclination to return; Sobieski, however, declared his intention to remain, even if abandoned to a man, until the enemy had been entirely driven out of the country, and unweariedly pursued the Turks, 20,000 of whom again fell at Parkany, until they had completely evacuated the country, when he returned to Poland.

Charles of Lorraine, aided by Ludwig of Baden, carried on the war during the ensuing year and attempted to recover Hungary. Still, notwithstanding the fate of Kara Mustapha, who had, at the sultan's command, been strangled at Belgrade, and the inability of his successors, who were either too deeply absorbed in the intrigues of the seraglio or too unskilled in war to take the command of a second expedition, the Turkish commandants and garrisons

retained possession of the Hungarian fortresses and offered a brave and obstinate resistance. Every attempt against Buda failed, notwithstanding the defeat of the relieving army at Handzabek by Duke Charles. Ibrahim, surnamed Satan, maintained the city during a protracted siege, which cost the Germans twenty-three thousand men (1684). In the ensuing campaign, Caprara, field-marshal of the imperial forces, besieged the fortress of Neu-häusel, which, after being desperately defended by Zarub, a Bohemian nobleman, who had embraced Islamism and been created a pasha, was finally taken by storm. The whole of the garrison, the pasha included, fell. The whole of upper Hungary fell into Caprara's hands. The unfortunate count Tököly was carried off in chains by the Turks, and his valiant wife, a daughter of the decapitated Zrinyi and the widow of a Rákóczy, long defended her treasures in the rocky fastness of Munkács. Most of her husband's partisans, however went over to the triumphant imperials, and the greater part of the fortified towns capitulated (1685).

Buda, defended by Abdurrahman Pasha and by a garrison, ten thousand strong, who were favoured by the inhabitants, all of whom were Turks, was again besieged by the elector of Bavaria, whilst Charles of Lorraine marched against the Turkish army advancing to its relief. The contest was carried on with equal fury on both sides. The Germans were repulsed with a loss of three to four thousand men. The grand vizir was, meanwhile, kept in check by Duke Charles, and Buda, after a terrific struggle, was finally taken by storm, September the 2nd, 1686, without an effort being made on the part of the terror-stricken vizir. The Turks defended themselves even in the courts and apartments of the ancient castle, where they were slain together with their women and children. The brave Abdurrahman fell. Two thousand men, who had taken refuge in one of the castle squares, alone received quarter. The grand vizir fled. A fearful revenge was taken by the emperor upon Hungary. A tribunal, known as the slaughter-house of Eperies, was held by General Caraffa. Every Hungarian suspected of having sided with Tököly was thrown into prison and cruelly tortured, and a great number were executed. Vengeance fell upon all who refused implicit obedience to Austria; the national right of election was annulled, and the hereditary right of the house of Habsburg proclaimed throughout Hungary. Charles of Lorraine was again victorious over the Turks at Mohács, 1687. He was succeeded in the command by Ludwig, markgraf of Baden, who, in 1691, again beat the Turks at Slankamen, but who was compelled to yield his post to Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony (Peace of Karlowitz, 1699 A.D.). The incapacity of this prince induced the emperor to bestow the command on Eugene, prince of Savoy. In the battle of Zenta, Eugene entirely broke the power of the Turks; he took Belgrade, and, by the Peace of Karlowitz, confirmed Austria in the possession of the whole of Hungary. Rákóczy (1699) again set up the standard of rebellion in Hungary, but was reduced to submission, and the next emperor, Joseph I, sought to conciliate the people by a great show of lenity.

FRENCH DEPREDACTIONS

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, published by Louis XIV in 1685, had driven eight hundred thousand of the Reformed out of France. Servile Switzerland repulsed them from her inhospitable frontiers, and they emigrated to Holland, England, and, more particularly, to Brandenburg, where they were permitted by the great elector to settle at Berlin (1685). Their gradual intermixture with the natives produced the peculiarly boastful and shrewd character

[1685-1686 A.D.]

for which the people of Berlin are proverbial. Louis, at the same time, continued his encroachments, seized Treves, harassed Lorraine and Alsace, and erected the fortress of Hüningen,¹ opposite to Bâle. The Swiss murmured, but, ever mercenary, furnished him with all the contingents he required, and during the subsequent war their number amounted to 28,700 men. Valckenier, the Dutch envoy to Switzerland, at the same time succeeded in raising 8,500 men from the Reformed cantons.

The possession of the Palatinate had long been the principal object of Louis' ambition. The count palatine, Charles Ludwig, who had been deprived of his inheritance by French intrigue, laboured throughout the whole of his life to reconcile the various religious sects. At Friedriehsburg he built a church, named by him the Temple of Concord, in which he had the service successively performed according to the three Christian forms of worship, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic. He also abolished the severe laws against the anabaptists. His toleration drew colonists from every part of Germany, who again cultivated his wasted lands and rapidly restored Mannheim, in particular, to a state of prosperity. The capricious conduct of his consort, Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel, provoked a divorce, and he married Loysa von Degenfeld, by whom he had thirteen children, who, on account of the inequality of their mother's birth, were excluded from the succession. Of his two children by his former wife, the prince died early, and his daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte, he was in 1671 persuaded by Louis XIV to bestow upon Philip of Orleans, as security against all further attacks on the part of France. Louis' insolence was, however, thereby increased, and, under pretext of Charles Ludwig's having aided in again depriving him of Philippsburg, he demanded 150,000 florins by way of reparation and sent troops to Neustadt in order to enforce payment. Germersheim was declared dependent upon France, and the unfortunate elector, unsupported by the empire, died of chagrin (1685).

THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG (1686 A.D.)

Louis instantly claimed the inheritance for Philip, Charlotte's husband, without regard to the right of the house of Wittelsbach. The German princes, who had unscrupulously deserted the imperial free towns and the nobility of the empire in Alsace, and the Dutch Republic were, at length, roused by this insolent attack on their hereditary rights, and, entering into a close confederacy, formed (1686) the great league of Augsburg against France. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, who, under the guidance of Marshal Villars and of his mistresses, imitated all the vices of the French court, saw his family interests endangered by the destruction of the Palatinate, ranged himself on the emperor's side, and dismissed Villars, who, on quitting him, loaded him with abuse. The pope also, terrified at the audacity of the French monarch, once more pronounced in favour of Germany. Each side vied with the other in diplomatic wiles and intrigue. On the demise of Maximilian Henry of Cologne, William von Fürstenberg, who had, by Louis' influence, been presented with a cardinal's hat, had been elected archbishop of Cologne by the bribed chapter and resided at Bonn under the protection of French troops. The citizens of

¹ Over the gateway stood the following inscription: "*Ludovicus Magnus, rex Christianissimus, Belgicus, Sequanicus, Germanicus, pace Europæ concessâ, Hüningen arcem, sociis tutelam, hostibus terrorem, extruxit.*" [Louis the Great the most Christian king, conqueror of Belgium, the Sequani and Germany, having given peace to Europe, erected the citadel of Hüningen as a guardian to his allies, a terror to his foes.] Louis carried his contempt of the Bâlois so far as to have a cannon founded for this fortress, with the inscription, "*Si tu te remues, Bâle, je te tue.*" [Bâle, if thou stirrest, I will slay thee.]

Cologne, however, closed the gates against him and were aided by Brandenburg troops from Cleves and by the Bavarians. The election was abrogated by the emperor, the empire, and the pope, by whom Prince Joseph Clement of Bavaria was installed as archbishop of Cologne instead of the cardinal. The great league was (1688) considerably strengthened by the accession of William of Orange to the throne of England in the place of his Catholic father-in-law, James II, who took refuge in France.

Louis XIV, foreseeing the commencement of a fresh and great struggle, hastened to anticipate the league, and, in the autumn of 1688, sent fifty thousand men, under General Montclar, into the Palatinate, which was left totally unprotected by the empire. The cities were easily taken; Treves, Speier, Worms, Offenburg, Mainz, and the fortress of Philippsburg, which offered but a short resistance, also fell. The electorates of Treves and Mainz were overrun and plundered. Coblenz and the castle of Heidelberg alone withstood the siege. Louis, meanwhile, unsatisfied with occupying and plundering these countries, followed the advice of his minister, Louvois, and as far as was in his power laid waste the Palatinate and the rest of the Rhenish and Swabian frontier provinces, partly to avenge his non-acquisition of these fertile territories, partly with a view of hindering their occupation by a German army. Montclar and Melac, the latter of whom boasted that he would fight for his king against all the powers of heaven and of hell, zealously executed their master's commands. Worms, Speier, Frankenthal, Alzei, Oberwesel, Andernach, Kochheim, and Kreuznach were reduced to ashes, the inhabitants murdered or dragged into France and compelled to recant. In Speier, the imperial vaults were broken open, and the remains of the emperors desecrated. Similar scenes were enacted on the right bank of the Rhine. Mannheim, Oppenheim, Ladenburg, Weinheim, Heppenheim, Durlach, Bruchsal, Rastatt, Gernersheim, Baden, Bretten, Pforzheim, were burned to the ground. Heidelberg greatly suffered; the castle held out.

The French advanced thence up the Neckar, plundered Heilbronn, Esslingen, Swabian Hall, took the Asberg and plundered the arsenal, but were repulsed from Göppingen and Schorndorf, where the women inspired the men by their example. Würzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, etc., were threatened with destruction and heavily mulcted. Frankfort-on-the-Main, Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, the latter of which was surrounded by seventeen villages in flames, made a valiant defence. Feuquières was routed before Ulm, and numbers of the fugitive French were slain by the enraged peasantry. Ehingen was, in retaliation, burned to the ground. Tübingen was taken and sacked by Montclar, who was, in his turn, deprived of his booty before Freudenstadt by the peasants of the Black Forest. The authorities of Stuttgart, struck with terror, opened the gates to the French against the wishes of the people, who loudly demanded arms. Melac attempted to fire the city, but was expelled by the infuriated peasantry and by the Swabian *Landwehr*, under Charles, duke of Baden, and succeeded with difficulty in carrying off his booty and the hostages he had taken as security for the payment of the fine imposed by him upon the city. The French also penetrated into upper Swabia and burned Villingen. They overran the lower Rhine, laid the territories of Liège, Jülich, etc., waste, and burned Siegburg, where they practised every atrocity. A list of twelve hundred cities and villages, that still remained to be burned, was exhibited by these brigand bands. In the spring, the Bohemian cities, Trautenau, Braunau, Klattau, were completely destroyed, and on the 21st of June four hundred houses were burned in Prague. Five of the incendiaries were taken, and before their execution confessed that the authors of the con-

[1689-1690 A.D.]

flagration, one hundred and fifty in number, were accompanied by a Bohemian captain and by a merchant, the secret emissaries of France. With such tools did Louis work. He attempted the life of William of Orange, the newly elected monarch of England (1689).

The phlegmatic emperor was at length roused and hurried the long-delayed levy of imperial troops. The great elector was dead, and his son Frederick, unable to cause his will, by which his possessions were divided among his other children, to be invalidated without the concurrence of the emperor, openly declared against France and ceded the district of Schwiebus to the emperor. The petty princes, alarmed for their ancient privileges, now threatened to be trodden under foot by the despotic French monarch, also followed the general impulse for defence, and hence originated the decree of the Ratisbon diet, which, with unusual energy, expelled (1689) every French agent from Germany and prohibited the reception of French servants and intercourse of any description with France, the emperor adding these words: "Because France is to be regarded not only as the empire's most inveterate foe, but as that of the whole of Christendom, nay, as even worse than the Turk." Leopold, for the sake of promoting the unity of Germany, even laid aside his ancient religious prejudices and bestowed the eighth electoral dignity upon Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick-Hanover, which placed the Protestant electors on an equal footing with their Catholic brethren — Saxony, Brandenburg, Hanover — Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, the new elector of the Palatinate, Philip, belonging to the Catholic branch of Neuburg. Wolfenbüttel, actuated by fraternal jealousy, protested against the elevation of Hanover to the electoral dignity. The emperor also turned to Switzerland and revived the memory of her former connection with the empire; how easily might she not have prevented the devastation of the Rhenish province by falling upon the enemy's flank! But she no longer sympathised with her German kindred and even threatened the emperor in case he refused to draw his troops off her frontiers to the upper Rhine, whilst she continued to furnish the French king with his most valuable soldiery. Dr. Fatio, who (1691) raised a rebellion against the bribed and tyrannical government of Bâle, was arrested, cruelly tortured, and executed with two of his companions.

The war commenced; but the dulness and disunion of the great league threw every advantage on the side of Louis. William of Orange, occupied in confirming his possession of the English crown, neglected Holland with a view of flattering his new subjects. The states-general remained devoted to him both under their president Fagel, who died 1688, and his successor, Heinsius; these men were, however, no military leaders, nor was the princely count of Waldeck, the Dutch commander-in-chief; and the emperor, intent upon following up his success in Hungary, had sent thither his best generals and troops. Caprara, whom he despatched into Holland, fell into a dispute with Schöning, the Brandenburg marshal, and they were, consequently, merely in each other's way. The elector of Bavaria, insincere in his professions, held back, and even when elected governor of the Spanish Netherlands discovered equal indifference. The elector of Saxony regained Mainz but died in camp, and Mainz fell under the command of General Thungen, the greatest patriot of the day, who, in order to strike terror into the French emissaries, condemned the first French incendiaries who fell into his hands to be burned alive. Schöning, in conjunction with Saxony, drove the French out of Heilbronn; and Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, aided by the Dutch, took Bonn (1689), which had been ceded by the archbishop of Cologne to France. Waldeck was, nevertheless, defeated (1690) at Fleurus by a French

force, his superior in number, under Marshal de Luxembourg; and Cornelius Evertsen was also beaten off Bevesier by a superior French fleet under Tourville, who was, in his turn, defeated (1691) by the English under Almonde; notwithstanding which, the French took Namur and bombarded Liège.

In 1692 the Dutch gained a brilliant victory at La Hogue, but William, who had returned from England, was defeated by Marshal de Luxembourg at Steenkerke, and the French under Catinat were at the same time victorious in Savoy and again penetrated into and devastated Swabia, turning their chief rage upon Heidelberg and the splendid castle commanding that city, the residence of the count palatine, whose mighty towers were blown up and converted into the ruin now the delight of the traveller. The incendiary bands then mounted the Neckar. The duke, Charles Frederick, the administrator of Würtemberg, was taken captive; his ransom was fixed at half a million livres. The mother of the infant duke, Eberhard, was threatened in Stuttgart, which mainly owed its preservation to the courage of the peasantry; the whole of the country was plundered; the magnificent monastery of Hirschau, the cities of Kalw, Marbach, Vaihingen, etc., were laid in ashes, and numbers of hostages, taken as security for the payment of the enormous sums levied upon the inhabitants, were starved to death on account of the delay in the payment of the money. These predatory incursions were renewed in the ensuing year, and Winnenden and Baknang were burned. Rheinfels, nobly defended by the Hessians, was long and fruitlessly besieged. Numbers of the French fell. Ludwig, markgraf of Baden, was now sent by the emperor from Hungary to the Rhine, and that general instantly invaded Alsace; but on his attempting to penetrate into the heart of France (1693), the imperial troops, more particularly the Saxons, refused to follow, and he was compelled to return. William of Orange also suffered a second defeat in the Netherlands, near Neerwinden. Villeroi followed in the steps of Luxembourg, who had bombarded Brussels. The allies regained Namur, 1695, but gradually displayed less energy.

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK (1697 A.D.)

The French, on the other hand, made considerable progress in Spain, where, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by George, landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt, they took Barcelona. Savoy was also compelled to sue for peace. Mainz was again attacked, and a popular insurrection, caused by the heavy war-taxes, took place simultaneously at Amsterdam (1696). A disgraceful peace was, consequently, concluded at Ryswick, 1697, by which Louis XIV, besides Lorraine, the Palatinate, Breisach, Freiburg, and Philippsburg, retained all his conquests, among others Strasburg. The French language was, at this period, made use of in transacting all diplomatic affairs, the French ambassadors no longer tolerating the use of Latin.

Philip of the Palatinate instantly enforced the maxim, "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*," throughout his new possessions and emulated Louis XIV in tyranny towards the Protestants, who emigrated in great numbers; and Louis, notwithstanding the peace, marched troops into the Würtemberg county of Montbéliard, where he established the Catholic form of service, (1699). The Jesuits, at the same time, recommenced the persecution of the heretics in the imperial provinces, and numbers of Silesians abandoned their native soil. The complete neglect of the imperial fortresses on the upper Rhine was, after such cruel experience, perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the age.

[1654-1697 A.D.]

GERMAN PRINCES ON FOREIGN THRONES

Whilst Germany was thus a prey to external foes, a number of the reigning families in Europe became extinct, and, by a strange whim of fate, bequeathed their thrones to German princes. This circumstance, however, far from proving beneficial to the German Empire, greatly contributed to estrange her native princes and to render their hereditary provinces dependent upon their new possessions.

The house of Oldenburg had long reigned in Denmark and directed its policy against the empire. Schleswig and Holstein were, as provinces subordinate to Denmark, governed by a prince of this house in the Danish interest similarly with Oldenburg, when, in 1666, the elder branch became extinct. In Sweden, the Palatine dynasty, raised (1654) to the throne, also pursued an anti-German system, that of Oxenstierna, for the aggrandisement of the north. The house of Orange was no sooner seated (1688) on the throne of England, than the interests of Germany were sacrificed to those of Great Britain.

Frederick Augustus, brother to John George IV, elector of Saxony, travelled over the half of Europe during his youth. A giant in size and strength, he took delight in the dangers and pleasures pursued by the French gallants of that period. On his arrival at Madrid, he mingled with the combatants in a bull-fight, seized the most savage of the bulls by the horns, and dashed him to the ground. No woman withstood his seductions, and, after escaping all the dangers with which he was threatened by the jealous Southerners, he returned to Saxony, where (1694) he succeeded his brother on the electoral throne. Louis XIV was his model, and, aided by his favourite, Flemming, on whom he had bestowed the title of count, he began to subvert Saxony. The extravagance of his predecessor was economy when compared with his. One mistress supplanted another; all cost incredible sums. His household was placed upon an immense footing: palaces, churches, retreats (as, for instance, Moritzburg, the Saxon Versailles, notorious for its wanton fêtes) were erected; the most costly chef-d'œuvres were purchased with tons of gold; the "green vaults," a collection of useless treasures, was swelled with fresh valuables and curiosities of every description. And for all this his little territory paid. Not a murmur escaped the people until the elector, instead of raising his numerous army as usual from volunteers, levied recruits by force, and a revolt ensued (1696). The rebellion was quelled, and the recruits were forced by the infliction of torture to swear fealty to the colours.

The ensuing year found the elector at the summit of his ambition. He was elected, by means of bribing the *vaiwodes* and gaining Russia and the emperor of Germany over to his interests, king of Poland. Russia was at that period under the rule of Peter the Great, who raised her power to a height destined at a future period to endanger Europe. Sweden was at that time Russia's most formidable opponent, and Peter, with the view of paralysing the influence of that monarchy over Poland, favoured the elevation of the elector of Saxony. The emperor was won over by the recantation of the new sovereign. The reception of the successor of John Frederick, the sturdy opponent to Catholicism, into the bosom of the ancient church was indeed a triumph. Shortly previous to this event, Augustus had been involved in some intrigues at Vienna, where he is said to have watched unseen the raising of an apparition intended to work upon the imagination of the archduke, afterwards the emperor, Joseph I and to have thrown the priest who personated the ghost out of the window into the palace court. He also gained

over the Jesuits by favouring their establishments in Poland. The elevation of the house of Saxony, on the other hand, deprived it of its station as the head of the Protestant princes and of all the advantages it had thereby gained since the Reformation, and Brandenburg became henceforward the champion of Protestantism and the first Protestant power in Germany.

The frustration of the schemes of Louis XIV upon Poland and the ignominious retreat of the prince of Conti, the French competitor for that throne, after the expulsion of his fleet under Jean Bart from the harbour of Dantzic, were the sole advantages gained on this occasion by Germany. Augustus was (1697) elected king of Poland. Still, notwithstanding his knee being kissed in token of homage by the whole of the Polish nobility, and the magnificence of his state (his royal robes alone cost a million dollars), he was compelled to swear to some extremely humiliating *pacta conventa* and to refrain from bringing his consort, who steadily refused to embrace the Catholic faith, into the country. The privileges of the Poles were secured; Saxony was taxed to meet the expenses incurred by her sovereign and was compelled to furnish Poland with money and troops, whilst the Catholic prince, Egon von Fürstenberg, the governor during the absence of her sovereign, drained the coffers of the Protestants; and, these sources proving insufficient, some of the hereditary domains were sold, among others the ancestral castle of Wettin. Augustus was finally reduced to the necessity of issuing a debased coinage. Alchemists were also had recourse to. One, named Klettenberg, was beheaded for failing in the discovery of gold; another, Böttger, whilst imprisoned at Königstein, invented porcelain, by the fabrication of which the elector realised immense sums.

The loss of the inheritance of Saxe-Lauenburg, whose last duke, Julius Franz, expired 1689, was severely felt by Saxony. The house of Anhalt, a branch of that of Lauenburg, had the first claim, but was too weak to compete for its right. That of Saxony had been confirmed by the emperor Maximilian I, but John George, neglecting to take possession of it, was superseded by George William of Brunswick-Celle, who occupied the duchy with his troops, and Augustus, too much occupied with Poland to assert his claim, consented to receive an indemnity of 1,100,000 florins.

On the death of the great elector of Brandenburg (1688) his will was declared invalid by his son Frederick, who maintained the indivisibility of the territory of Brandenburg against the claims of the children of his step-mother, Dorothea, on whom he bitterly avenged himself. Frederick's mean and misshapen person, the consequence of an accident in his infancy, gained for him the sobriquet of the royal *Æsop*. His government was at first highly popular. Danckelmann, his prime minister, who had formerly saved his life, was severe but just. The elector had, however, a taste for pomp and luxury, in which he was encouraged by his favourite, Von Kolbe, who placed his wife in his master's arms. This notorious person was the daughter of a publican at Emmerich, and, notwithstanding the title of Countess von Wartenberg, bestowed upon her by the elector, often caused him extreme embarrassment by the coarseness of her manners. It was by her means that her husband succeeded in his base machinations. Danckelmann was suddenly arrested and thrown into a dungeon at Spandau, and Kolbe succeeded him as minister, with unlimited authority, under the name of Count von Wartenberg. Ignorant and mean, he solely retained his office by flattering the weak vanity and ambition of the elector. The elevation of William of Orange to the throne of England, and of Augustus of Saxony to that of Poland, roused Frederick's jealousy, of which Kolbe took advantage to inspire him with a desire for the

[1698-1701 A.D.]

possession of a crown; and the transformation of the duchy of Prussia, then no longer a Polish fief, into a kingdom was resolved upon, and its recognition was effected by means of 6,000,000 dollars. The Jesuits in Vienna received 200,000 dollars. They treated the petty kingdom with ridicule, but Prince Eugene, who foresaw that the successors of this new monarch would increase in power and arrogance, said, "Those ministers by whom the king of Prussia has been recognised deserve to be hanged." The pope also strongly protested against the weak concession made by the emperor. A solemn coronation and the creation of the order of the Black Eagle took place (1701) at Königsberg. Frederick placed the crown on his own brow, and then on that of his consort.^c

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Two sovereign families, at that period, had the government of the greater part of Europe — the houses of Austria and Bourbon. The former had separated into two branches, the Austrian proper and the Austro-Spanish branch; but the moment had now arrived when both could again blend together in one. Louis XIV had, it is true, married the eldest sister of the deceased king of Spain, but she had by a solemn covenant renounced her right to the Spanish succession. The second sister was married to the emperor Leopold; she had made no such renunciation; her daughter, however, consort of Maximilian Emmanuel, elector of Bavaria, was obliged before her marriage, like her aunt, to renounce all her hereditary claims to Spain. The emperor Leopold, however, by a second marriage with a princess of the palatine house of Neuburg, had two sons, Joseph and Charles; Leopold demanded the crown of Spain on behalf of the latter, on the ground that Leopold's mother was an aunt of Charles II. France, however, as well as Bavaria refused to allow that the renunciations of these princesses affected their families, because they had given up only their own claims, and had no power to renounce the rights of their posterity. Each of these powers now endeavoured, through their ambassadors, to induce King Charles II of Spain, during his lifetime, to make a will in their favour; and Charles, with the view of maintaining the independence of Spain as much as possible, named Joseph Ferdinand, electoral prince of Bavaria, the son of Maximilian Emmanuel, his successor. This child, however, died of the small-pox, even before the king, in the year 1699, and the contest between the houses of Bourbon and Austria commenced afresh.

Leopold could easily have obtained the victory if he had been represented by a more able envoy at Madrid, and if he himself had possessed more decision of character; for both the Spanish queen and Cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, the most influential man at the court, were favourably disposed towards Austria. But Leopold's ambassador, Count von Harrach, a haughty, avaricious blunderer, left the field quite clear for the adroitness and cunning of the French agent, the marquis d'Harcourt; this man gained over the most considerable of the Spaniards one after another, and, at last, even the cardinal, and through him the king himself. Charles made a secret will, and when he died, on the 1st of November, 1700, it was discovered that he had named therein the grandson of Louis XIV, Philip, duke of Anjou, heir to the whole Spanish monarchy. The emperor was thoroughly confounded by this unexpected blow; but he had to thank himself alone for it, for previously, during the former war with France, when the Spanish court had repeatedly pressed him to let his son, the archduke Charles, come into

Spain with a small army, the emperor, owing to his want of resolution, refused to give his consent.

LOUIS XIV AND PRINCE EUGENE

Louis XIV knew well that, notwithstanding the will of the late king, to take possession of Spain for his grandson without war was not possible; for Austria had been too severely injured, whilst the other states of Europe likewise viewed with great jealousy the excessive power of the house of Bourbon.



MAXIMILIAN (II) EMMANUEL MARIA
(1662-1726)

William III, king of England and stadholder of the Netherlands, an active and very able man, who considered it his province to preserve the due balance of the powers of Europe, and therefore had always been the enemy of Louis, concluded an alliance between both of his dominions and Austria; this was the more important as England and Holland were the wealthiest and most powerful rulers of the sea. Hence Louis considered a while whether he should accept the Spanish king's will; he then called his council together, and as they unanimously concurred, he resolved to do so; accordingly, he proclaimed his grandson king of Spain and of both the Indies, in the presence of a brilliant assembly of his court.

This was the signal for a new and direful struggle in Europe. Germany was, alas! divided in itself; Prussia, Hanover, the Palatinate, and a few

other states were, from the beginning, for the emperor. Maximilian Emmanuel, elector of Bavaria and also governor of the Spanish Netherlands, was on the side of the French, and Louis, in consideration of his claims to the Spanish succession, had already made a secret promise to him of the Netherlands; whether seriously or not is difficult to say. The brother of Maximilian, the elector of Cologne, followed his example and received French troops into his territory, "for the good of the Germanic Empire and the preservation of its peace," as it is expressed in the official declarations.

[1701 A.D.]

The emperor Leopold determined without delay on sending an army into Italy, to take possession of the Spanish territories in that country, Milan and Naples. He placed at its head Francis Eugene, prince of Savoy, one of the first of the warriors and statesmen of his time, as well as of all history. He sprang from a collateral branch of the house of Savoy, and was intended in his youth for the clerical profession; but his genius led him to the study of history and its great examples, and this again impelled him into the rapid current of active life, where the skill of such as aspire to glory is put to the test in sight of waving laurels. When in his twentieth year, he offered his services to Louis XIV. The latter, not deeming him worthy of notice on account of his diminutiveness, treated his offer with ridicule, and advised him to continue in the clerical profession. Eugene immediately turned to Austria, where the Turkish war seemed to favour his wishes, and he soon distinguished himself so greatly that, after the deliverance of Vienna, in 1683, on which occasion he fought gallantly, the emperor gave him the command of a cavalry regiment. Charles, duke of Lorraine, already recognised him as a hero, and predicted what he would one day become in relation to the imperial house; and in 1693 Leopold appointed him field-marshal. Louis would now gladly have gained him over to himself, and for which object he sent to him an offer of the governorship of Champagne, and the dignity of a marshal of France; but Eugene answered the envoy: "Tell your king that I am an imperial field-marshal, which is worth quite as much as the staff of a French marshal."

Eugene was in every respect a great general; his mind embraced at once the most important enterprise, together with all its details, and whilst engaged in forming his plan of battle, and all its accompanying operations, he never neglected to provide for the most minute wants of his army, which consequently placed the greatest confidence in its commander. His eagle eye eagerly seized with the greatest promptitude the advantages of the moment, and the errors of his adversary were speedily caught at and made available for his own object. He was, however, not less distinguished in his private character as a man; for his spirit rose superior to the religious and political prejudices of his day, and he esteemed more highly the arts of peace than the dazzling glories of war: whilst, at the same time, he was so modest and unpretending, and estimated his own qualifications with so much moderation, that he not only regarded the promotion of others without envy, but, on the contrary, he willingly occupied a subordinate post, if by so doing he could promote the general good. In person Prince Eugene was under the middle size, and as he walked amidst the tents of his camp, enveloped in his gray military cloak, it may be supposed that few would recognise in his small figure the renowned leader of armies, except those to whom the brilliant fire of his dark eye betrayed his presence.

In the month of March, 1701, Eugene marched against Italy with the imperial army, together with ten thousand auxiliary troops from Prussia, and a division of Hanoverians. The forces assembled at Roveredo, and ascended the mountain chain; but all the passes on the other side were already occupied by the French, so that it appeared impossible to descend. The imperial general, however, ordered his men, who always obeyed him with enthusiastic ardour and alacrity, to cut a passage over the rocks and precipices to the extent of thirty miles, in which they marched, and thus, before the enemy could be at all aware of it, his army poured forth from the terrific passes of the mountains, and encamped on the plains of Verona. By two victories gained at Carpi and Chiari, Eugene drove the French from a part of upper Italy, and established his winter quarters there.

THE ALLIANCE OF ENGLAND, HOLLAND, AND AUSTRIA (1701 A.D.)

As early as the autumn of 1701, an alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Austria. The maritime powers stipulated that they should retain possession of all the conquests they might make in the Spanish Indies; and in return they promised the emperor to assist him in conquering the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sicily. The English would not have taken so active a part in the war if Louis XIV himself had not foolishly and impudently provoked their exasperation. England had just succeeded in driving from the throne the family of the Stuarts, on account of their zeal for the Catholic religion, and had transferred it to William of Orange. Louis received the exiled family and gave them his protection, and in 1701, on the death of James II (who died at St. Germain), he recognised his son as James III, king of Great Britain; and it was even reported that the prince was about to effect a landing in England at the head of a French army. The English were so incensed that a stranger should thus presume to dispose of their throne, that King William, instead of ten thousand men, now obtained from parliament a vote for forty thousand.

William placed at the head of this army the earl of Marlborough, created afterwards a duke. He had not deceived himself in making this selection of his commander-in-chief; Marlborough had learned the art of war in the school of the great Turenne, and as a general stood second to none of his day. Nature had formed him for a martial leader, he being tall, handsome, energetic, and of such noble deportment and superior genius that the most elevated in rank and distinguished men of every country involuntarily did homage to him. In individual feeling he stood inferior to Eugene; he did not possess that integrity and nobleness of mind which in the contemplation of grand objects loses sight of self, whilst he is also accused of an immoderate thirst for gain.

In March, 1702, Marlborough landed in the Netherlands and placed himself at the head of the Anglo-Dutch army; his immediate object was to drive the French out of the electorate of Cologne. King William III died the same month in consequence of a violent fall from his horse whilst hunting, but his successor, Queen Anne, implicitly adhered to all his plans, and the war was continued.

With this firm determination shown on the part of foreigners, the states of the Germanic Empire resolved upon taking a decisive part in this war of vengeance against their hereditary enemy. The declaration of war followed on the 6th of October, 1702, and it concluded thus: "France has done everything in her power to humble and crush the German nation, in order that she might the more easily effect what she has so long and zealously been aiming at — the establishment of a universal monarchy." The conduct of the elector of Bavaria had likewise provoked the decision of the other members of the empire in favour of the same cause; for, obstinately adhering to France, he had collected a considerable force, with which he suddenly attacked and took possession of the free, imperial city of Ulm, on the 3rd of September — an act severely condemned by the other states.

The dukes of Brunswick also, in consequence of their continued indignation against the elector of Hanover, forgot themselves so far as to raise troops for the service of France; and as they paid no regard to the reiterated warnings given to them, they were forcibly disarmed, in 1702, by the elector of Hanover, and thenceforth compelled to submit to the will of the emperor and the nation.

[1702-1704 A.D.]

The fortress of Landau on the Rhine was also this year besieged and captured by the imperial general, Ludwig of Baden. The Roman king, Joseph, came himself into the camp, and evinced great courage and resolution. In Italy, Eugene was as yet too weak to attempt anything of importance; and it appeared as though the hostile parties had determined to test each other's strength merely in skirmishes. The following year was one more rich in exploits. Marlborough employed it in the conquest of several fortified places on the borders of the Netherlands, and captured Bonn, Tongres, Huy, Limburg, and Gelderland.

In southern Germany affairs were not so prosperous, for the emperor was obliged to withdraw a considerable part of his army from the Rhine, in order to suppress the dangerous insurrection headed by Count Rákóczy, which had been raised in Hungary by French influence. The protracted struggle in that country had the effect generally of greatly hindering the Austrian powers from making anything like a demonstration against France. In the year 1703 the French marshal Villars succeeded in crossing the Rhine and uniting with the elector of Bavaria. The latter now devised the plan of making an incursion into the Tyrol, and possessing himself of that country, situated for him so conveniently. He marched thither with about sixteen thousand of the flower of his army, and the French marshal remained behind to cover Bavaria. Owing to a fire which unfortunately broke out in Kufstein, that strong mountain fortress fell immediately into the hands of the elector, and in their first terror several other places surrendered, and amongst the rest even Innsbruck itself. Thence the Bavarians ascended the Brenner pass to make their way into Italy. Here, however, they were anticipated by the brave Tyrolese, a people ever ready to lay down their lives and their all in the cause of their beloved country, who on the present occasion were strengthened by a large reinforcement of Austrian soldiers, under the leadership of the gallant *Amtmann*, Martin Sterzing. They climbed up the rugged heights on the sides of the passes, and hurled trees and rocks down upon their foes, as they defiled beneath them, who, finding it impossible to continue their march, retreated in all haste. A Tyrolese sharpshooter in a ravine lay in ambush for the elector himself, but deceived by a rich uniform he shot the count of Arco in his stead. The Bavarian army suffered still greater loss on its retreat, and after two months the elector returned to his territory with only half the forces he had taken with him. As a sort of indemnification he succeeded, during the winter of the same year, in taking possession of the opulent town of Augsburg, as well as of that of Passau, the frontier fortress of Austria, and on the Rhine the French had in the meantime conquered the strong fortresses of Breisach and Landau.

BATTLES OF DONAUWÖRTH AND BLENHEIM (1704 A.D.)

To counterbalance these losses, the allies proposed the following year to try with all their forces united for better success, and according to the plan laid down it was determined that the three generals, Marlborough, Eugene, and Ludwig of Baden, should fight in conjunction in southern Germany, and that General Starheimberg should remain in Italy to carry on a defensive war. The three generals met at Heilbronn on the Neckar, and Marlborough, with the markgraf of Baden, directed his course to the Danube and Eugene marched along the Rhine. The Bavarians had stationed a part of their army in an advantageous position on the Schellen mountain, near Donauwörth, to dispute the passage of the imperials over the Danube; but they were attacked

there themselves, and after a brave defence compelled to fly, their entire camp falling into the hands of the enemy.

After this engagement the united powers made overtures of peace to the elector, and promised him considerable advantages if he would withdraw from the alliance of France. He began to waver, and was on the point of signing the articles of peace, when a messenger informed him that Marshal Tallard was advancing with a fresh army to his assistance. On receiving this news, the elector threw the pen out of his hand and refused to sign the treaty. The marshal came, but with him came likewise Prince Eugene, who had followed at his heels and now joined Marlborough. They sent the old, unyielding prince of Baden away to the siege of Ingolstadt, lest he should derange their plans of battle; and the English general cordially fought hand-in-hand with the unpretending Eugene, as the latter was ever ready to sacrifice his own personal renown for the success of the common cause.

On the 12th of October both generals took up their position immediately in front of the French, and the Bavarians near the small town of Höchstädt; and on the 13th they began the battle. The enemy was far superior in numbers, and commanded a highly advantageous situation, whilst they were well defended by morasses. Marlborough led the right wing, composed of the English, Dutch, and Hessians, against the French; Eugene with the left advanced against the Bavarians. The battle was most fierce, and the assailants were several times driven back by a most terrible fire from the enemy's artillery. The contest was most severe on the left wing, where Maximilian fought with the utmost bravery, skilfully availing himself of his covered position in the bog.

Eugene perceived that something extraordinary must be hazarded; careless of his own life, he rushed forward, animating his men, when a Bavarian dragoon close by levelled his piece at him; but one of the prince's orderlies cut him down. At that moment Prince Leopold of Dessau, with a number of Prussian infantry, pressed forward to his aid, and to him Eugene himself ascribes the determination of the contest in favour of this wing. Meanwhile Marlborough likewise had with his wing routed the French, and when the elector saw them flying from the field, he also retreated with his division. Twenty-eight battalions and twelve squadrons of French still sought to defend themselves in the village of Blenheim, but they were surrounded and forced to yield themselves prisoners. Thus a great and decisive victory was gained by the allies; 20,000 French and Bavarians lay on the field of battle, 15,200 were taken prisoners, amongst whom was Marshal Tallard himself with his son and 818 officers. As to booty, the victors had won a rich military chest, 117 cannon, 24 mortars, and 300 stand of colours; and besides this, 5,000 wagons, 3,600 tents, and two pontoon bridges. From this day the name of Marlborough became the theme of heroic song throughout Germany, and the emperor created him a prince of the empire.

The elector of Bavaria saw himself compelled to cross the Rhine with the French, and take up his position in Brussels; his territory was occupied by the imperials, and his consort retained for her support only the town and revenue of Munich. Thus, unhappily for him, terminated the campaign of 1704.

DEATH OF LEOPOLD I; ACCESSION OF JOSEPH I (1705 A.D.)

In the following year, 1705, the emperor Leopold I died of dropsy on the chest, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; few of his subjects mourned for him, for he by no means possessed that affability with which princes so easily win

[1705 A.D.]

the hearts of those who surround them; and what rendered him still more unpopular was that he was too fond of intrenching himself behind the bulwark of the severest Spanish court etiquette, then still in practice. His dress was always black, whilst the colour of his stockings and the plume of his hat were of scarlet, and on his head he wore a peruke with long descending ringlets. His form was insignificant, his deportment serious and frequently gloomy, whilst his countenance was disfigured by a large projecting under lip. The most marked trait in his character was a severe, austere tone of piety, but it was of such a nature that it placed him completely under the direction and sway of the will of his clergy. In other respects he was conscientious, good-natured, and very charitable to the poor, but from want of judgment his liberality was severely imposed upon. Leopold I was not a sovereign equal to the times in which he lived, neither was he at all a match for an antagonist like Louis XIV.

Leopold I was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph, who was in his twenty-seventh year and was endowed with an energetic and aspiring mind. During a short period it was doubtful whether or not the new emperor would continue the war with equal energy in favour of his brother Charles, who had proceeded to Spain in 1704, where he had since continued, and had been actually acknowledged as king in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. Joseph, however, declared his determination to prosecute the war with vigour, and he kept his word.

MARLBOROUGH IN THE NETHERLANDS ; EUGENE IN ITALY

Nevertheless, there was nothing of importance accomplished anywhere during the campaign of 1705. Eugene was sent to Italy, in order to reorganise the army there, which had fallen into great disorder; but more than this he was not able to do this year. Marlborough had returned to the Netherlands, where he was obliged to collect fresh forces. In Bavaria, meantime, a violent tumult broke out, in consequence of the oppressive measures adopted by the Austrian officers and garrisons. They forced the youth of the country into the Austrian service, and this outrage led to a revolt on the part of the sturdy and independent Bavarians. They took up arms, liberated the young men who had been pressed into the service, attacked several bodies of the Austrian troops, and, encouraged by their first success, they collected about twenty-thousand of the bold peasantry under the orders of a young and fiery student named Mainl. They proceeded at once to make an assault upon the fortresses of Braunau and Schärding, and forced the small garrisons to surrender. The Austrians were obliged to negotiate with them and to conclude an armistice not as with rebels, but as with men defending their independence.

They however availed themselves of this circumstance by collecting a small imperial army from the neighbouring districts, and with this assistance they routed the peasants, recovered from them one town after another, and in some measure re-established order. This, however, was attended with many acts of severity, and the feeling of bitter animosity between the two parties increased more and more. The elector himself, being looked upon as the first mover in the insurrection and an enemy of the empire, was, together with his brother, the elector of Cologne, now formally declared an outlaw, and his territory escheated as a fief of the empire. At the urgent request of the elector palatine, the emperor restored to him the upper Palatinate, which his family had lost in the Thirty Years' War, and which had been transferred to Bavaria, together with its ancient seat in the assembly of electors. About this time also the princes, who had hitherto disputed the electoral dignity of

Hanover, at length yielded; it was universally acknowledged, and the elector palatine resigned to the new elector of Hanover the office of grand treasurer.

France had determined to turn her chief force in the succeeding campaign against the Netherlands, in order that she might, if possible, obtain in wealthy Holland the means of continuing the war. Accordingly she sent into the field the finest army that had as yet appeared in this war; but its general, Marshal Villeroi, was no match for the daring Marlborough. Actuated by vain confidence, he left his strong position at Louvain on the 22nd of May, in order to attack the enemy on the plains of Ramillies.¹ This was exactly what Marlborough desired; his position was excellently defended by a morass and some ditches filled with water, so that when the enemy advanced to the attack, it was impossible for them to approach the weaker and more exposed points in his order of battle, protected as they were by a natural defence; whilst he, on the other hand, could turn his whole force upon their separate points and break through them. Before the battle, a French officer declared their army to be so superior that if they did not conquer that day they ought never again to show their faces before the enemy. Nevertheless they were defeated; for no bravery can atone for the faults of a general. More than twenty thousand men were lost, and eighty standards, together with the drums and colours of the royal guard itself; and two months elapsed before the French army was able to repair its losses. The conqueror marched through Brabant and Flanders, took possession of all the towns, made them swear allegiance to Charles III as their rightful sovereign, and a council of state was established at Brussels in the name of the new king.

Prince Eugene on his part would not allow this year to pass without some great action in Italy. He undertook one of the most daring expeditions to be found in the annals of war. With not more than twenty-four thousand German troops he completed a march of more than two hundred miles, ascending mountains and crossing rivers, through a country wholly occupied by the enemy, in order to effect a junction with the duke of Savoy, who was closely pressed, and whose capital city, Turin, was at that moment besieged by the enemy. To the astonishment of everyone the expedition succeeded. Eugene arrived in time to aid the duke, and hastened to the relief of Turin. Although his army was much inferior in strength, and only indifferently equipped, he nevertheless ventured an attack upon the French lines on the 7th of September at four o'clock in the morning. He was received by a terrific cannonade, which, however, did not prevent his men from bravely rushing forward. Prince Leopold of Dessau, subsequently known by the name of the old Dessauer, led the Prussians on the left wing against the intrenchments, followed in the centre by the Würtembergers and the troops of the Palatinate, and those of Gotha on the right wing; at the same time Count Daun made a sally with his men from the citadel. The battle was extremely obstinate; two assaults made by the Germans were repulsed, when at length, after two hours' fighting, the Prussians² succeeded in mounting the ramparts first, and were soon followed by the others.

The confusion of the enemy was greatly increased through their rear line

¹ This field is almost identical with that on which the great battle of La Belle Alliance and Waterloo was fought, and the latter name was employed to designate the engagement above referred to more than a century ago.

² In a letter to Count Singendorf, Prince Eugene himself says: "The prince of Anhalt has once more done wonders with his troops at Turin. I met him twice in the thickest fire, and in the very front of it, and I cannot conceal it that in bravery and especially in discipline his troops have far surpassed mine." The emperor Joseph himself wrote to Prince Leopold, as well as to Prince William of Saxe-Gotha, letters of thanks.

[1706-1707 A.D.]

being attacked by the garrison of Turin, and the loss of both their chief generals, the duke of Orleans and Count Marsin, who were severely wounded and obliged to leave the field of battle. Marsin was taken prisoner and died next day at Turin; 5,000 dead, and a yet greater number of wounded covered the field of battle, and the rest fled in such disorder over the mountains into France that of the whole army, originally 80,000 strong, scarcely 16,000 men escaped. All the immense supplies they had brought with them, 213 pieces of cannon, 80,000 barrels of gunpowder, together with a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. The results of the battle, however, presented still greater advantages than all this booty, for the French lost rapidly one place after another in Italy, and were forced to conclude a general capitulation, according to the terms of which they evacuated Italy entirely, and engaged to send no more troops there during the whole war. The heroic conduct of Prince Eugene during this memorable campaign had produced such glorious results that his fame resounded from one end of Europe to the other, and in token of his high regard for his great and distinguished merits, the emperor presented him with a valuable sword and appointed him governor-general of Milan.

In the year 1707 France lost a third portion of the Spanish inheritance, which fell into the hands of the emperor; Lombardy and the Netherlands had already been secured to him by the two great battles of the preceding year. Naples, where only a small body of Spanish troops was quartered, was taken possession of without any difficulty, and thus France lost its last hold in Italy; whilst in the Netherlands not a single place was now left for Marlborough to take. The only compensation left to Louis XIV was in the upper Rhine, where he availed himself of the slow progress made by the imperials in their operations. The old general, Ludwig of Baden, who died in 1707, was succeeded by the markgraf of Bayreuth, who was as inactive in his movements as his predecessor and who by his irresolution allowed the French to cross the Rhine at Strasburg and to resume their whole system of relentless devastation in Franconia and Swabia. It has been calculated that, in the space of only two months, they levied contributions to the amount of 9,000,000 florins. The markgraf, to the satisfaction of all, did not long delay giving in his resignation as commander-in-chief, and he was replaced by a more active leader, George Ludwig, elector of Hanover. The ill condition of the imperial army, however, prevented him from undertaking anything important; he was obliged to content himself with forcing the French, through want of supplies, to recross the Rhine and with opposing their passage a second time in the following year.

An expedition which Prince Eugene had to make, by desire of the maritime powers, in the same year, 1707, from Italy to the south of France, in order to take possession of Toulon, succeeded no better than those previously undertaken by Charles V in the same quarter, whilst King Louis had the satisfaction to see his grandson Philip V once more master of nearly the whole of Spain. The archduke Charles had been, it is true, extremely fortunate in his operations in Spain the preceding year: his army, which consisted chiefly of Portuguese auxiliaries, had succeeded in taking the capital, Madrid, and he had there been proclaimed king of Spain; but his own natural indolence, the dissension existing amongst his generals, the hatred of the Castilians towards him and the Aragonese, as well as towards the English and Portuguese, together with other causes, assisted gradually to deprive him of his conquests, so that in the year 1707 he retained nothing more beyond Catalonia.

Meantime Louis XIV had already suffered such severe losses in this war.

and his country was so exhausted, that he most anxiously longed for peace, and by controlling his innate feeling of pride, he made attempts to purchase it even at great sacrifices. His adversaries, however, determined to punish him severely this time for all his former arrogance; Eugene and Marlborough especially, being hostily disposed to the vain monarch, used all their influence equally both in Austria and England to prevent any pacificatory measures, being resolved to reduce him to the most humiliating condition, in which object they succeeded.

FURTHER SUCCESSES OF EUGENE AND MARLBOROUGH

These two generals, after Eugene had regulated affairs in Italy, formed a junction once more in the Netherlands; and thus united, they gave battle to and completely defeated the dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme — between whom there was great disunion — on the 11th of June, 1708, at Oudenarde. After this victory, Eugene boldly attacked the citadel of Lille, which was regarded as impregnable, and of which he made himself master.

The ill success experienced by France in this campaign was made still more grievous by its being followed by an unparalleled, severely cold winter, 1708, and the consequently serious injury produced thereby. The cold was so intense that the very animals in the forests and the birds in the air were frozen to death, and the vines and fruit-trees completely destroyed; whilst the inhabitants themselves, already suffering so acutely from the war, were driven completely to despair by this terrible visitation of nature; their lamentations were heartrending, and all resources for the supplies of the army in the next campaign were entirely destroyed. Thence the king, being now completely discouraged and crestfallen, was obliged to humble himself once more, and make overtures of peace; he declared, accordingly, that he was willing to renounce Spain, India, Milan, and the Netherlands, if they would leave to Philip V Naples and Sicily. But the two generals, who appeared at the Hague, in the midst of these negotiations, declared briefly that the house of Austria should not lose even a single village of the Spanish monarchy, and when this severe exaction was at length agreed to, they demanded still further concessions from the territory of France itself: "Alsace," they said, "must be given up, and an entire line of strong places in the Netherlands, as well as in Savoy, must be surrendered, to secure these countries for the future against the crafty proceedings of France." All this the French envoys successively conceded; they only refused their consent to one proposal of their enemies, and which was in truth of a character highly derogatory and dishonourable: that, in case his grandson, Philip, would not resign Spain of his own accord, Louis should himself assist in expelling him therefrom by force of arms. To such an indignity the French monarch would not submit, and the war was commenced again.

Part of the summer of 1709 had already passed away in these negotiations and Eugene and Marlborough hastened to avail themselves of the remaining portion of the season. They took possession of Tournay, and marched against Mons. This place Marshal Villars wished to protect, and had accordingly taken up a strong position at Malplaquet, in front of the city. The two victorious generals, however, attacked him in his intrenchments without delay, on the 11th of September, and after a battle, the most obstinate and sanguinary during the whole war, victory declared in favour of the allies. Eugene himself, at the very outset of the action, was grazed on the head by a shot; but he very calmly folded his handkerchief round his head, and led on his troops into

[1709-1710 A.D.]

the very hottest fire. Mons was now closely besieged, and shortly afterwards taken.

Another campaign was now lost, and Louis XIV was again forced to renew his offers of peace. He agreed to everything that was demanded, excepting that in order not to be obliged to send an army to assist in the expulsion of his grandson from Spain, he promised to furnish the allied powers with a sum of money instead for that purpose. But Louis was now to experience in his own person what others had but too often felt through him — how acutely severely the haughty insolence of the conqueror pierces the heart of him whom misfortune has laid prostrate at his feet. He was now forced to witness what was but too clearly manifested — how by the duplicity he had himself formerly practised in all his negotiations he had alienated from him the confidence of all the other European nations. He was answered that, as long as Philip V remained in Spain, they could put no trust in the promises of his cabinet; and if he seriously desired peace, he must commence by satisfying all the demands made by the allied powers, and fulfil all the conditions of the treaty within the period of two months.

After such a declaration expressed in terms so haughty and overbearing the humbled monarch was forced to recommence war, at whatever sacrifice, and Eugene and Marlborough succeeded without much difficulty in capturing one town after the other on the frontiers of France; whilst in addition to this the news now arrived from Spain that Count Starhemberg, Charles's general, had completely defeated the army of Philip V, and that on the 28th of September, 1710, Charles had made his triumphal entry into Madrid. Louis XIV, already old and feeble, was now reduced to the last extremity, and was left without one resource. After so many wars, and the consequent sacrifice of so many thousands of lives, together with such large sums of money, he was forced to behold the destruction of the whole of the fabric built to perpetuate the grandeur of his name and government, and he was even called upon to offer up a portion of his own ancient patrimonial realm.

RECALL OF MARLBOROUGH; ACCESSION OF CHARLES VI (1711 A.D.)

Never did fate appear to have dealt more hardly with one who felt secure in the conviction that he had elevated himself to the highest pinnacle of monarchical greatness and imperial glory. But his adversaries had themselves now lost sight of moderation in the moment when its influence would have saved them; they had likewise become arrogant through their good fortune, whence they lost a great portion of the fruits of their victories. Three favourable circumstances at once rescued France from the great extremity to which she was reduced, and gained for her more liberal conditions of peace. These fortunate events were the recall and dismissal of the duke of Marlborough, the triumph of the French partisans in Spain, and the death of the emperor Joseph I.

In England, where the friends of Marlborough had hitherto governed the state, an opposite party had, during his absence, gradually and secretly formed itself into a powerful body, and adopted the term *tories* or *royalists*, in contrast to the other, the *Marlborough party*, which represented the *whigs* or friends of the people. The efforts made by Marlborough in the war were now regarded as suspicious by Queen Anne, and his wife, who had hitherto held great sway over her mind, was now supplanted by another influential person, Lady Masham. A new parliament was elected in 1710, of which the *tories* formed the majority, and thence measures for peace were loudly advocated in

substitution for those of war. Marlborough was allowed to hold command for a short time longer, but with such restrictions that he almost immediately afterwards resigned it altogether.

The death of the emperor Joseph I, on the 17th of April 1711, contributed not a little to establish a peace. He died of the smallpox, in his thirty-third year, and is represented in history as a prince of an active and prompt character, and far superior to his father and brother. His mind was capable of entertaining the most noble and enlarged ideas, and thence it was that his penetrating eye selected Eugene, with his extraordinary genius, as worthy of his entire confidence.

As the emperor died without heirs, he was succeeded on the throne by his brother, the archduke Charles. The question now arose respecting the equilibrium of the powers of Europe, as in the time of Charles V: whether or not it were advisable that the present Charles, if elected by the Germans as their emperor, under the title of Charles VI, should be allowed to preside over the half of Europe, and the power of the house of Austria thus become so preponderating? For Charles VI would possess the same domination as Charles V, if he united the whole of Austria to the Spanish monarchy. Such a predominance appeared dangerous to the other states, especially to the maritime powers, and they accordingly promoted the election of Charles as emperor, with the view of afterwards depriving him of a portion of the Spanish succession. He was therefore crowned at Frankfort, on the 22nd of December, 1711. Charles, however, had in the meantime lost all he had gained in Spain. Defeated several times by the able French general, the duke of Vendôme, all his possessions there were reconquered, and Philip V was re-established in his kingdom.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713 A.D.)

During this interval the English ministers had been secretly negotiating with France, and the preliminary conditions of peace were already signed; so that the allies found themselves forced to agree to stipulations by no means advantageous to them — so little honourable had been the conduct of England in her proceedings with regard to her confederates. The conferences for a general peace now commenced, and Utrecht was chosen as the place of assembly. Upon the subject of the main point to be discussed, the Spanish inheritance, they were soon agreed, notwithstanding the protestations of the emperor. Philip V was to have Spain and the Indies, and Charles the remainder; at the same time Philip was to renounce all claim to the throne of France, so that the two crowns of Spain and France could never be placed upon the same head.

France ceded to England Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, and moreover, by desire of that power, she demolished the whole of the fortified works of Dunkirk. To Portugal she gave up likewise various territories in South America; to Prussia the possession of Spanish Gelderland, and the sovereignty of Neuchâtel and Valengin, and she acknowledged its prince as king of Prussia. Savoy obtained important fortresses on the French frontiers, and as that country could also lay claim to the Spanish crown the island of Sicily was resigned to her as an indemnification. Holland, which had adhered to the league more faithfully than all the others, and had always refused the advantages offered by a separate peace with France, received but very poor amends, whilst she was forced to relinquish the strongest fortresses she had conquered, being allowed to retain a few only of the weaker places, to her of little service. Spain eventually surrendered to England the stronghold of Gibraltar and the

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island of Minorca, and thus England reaped the greatest benefit from this treaty of pacification.

The emperor and the imperial states, deserted now by their allies, found themselves obliged either to negotiate a peace or prosecute the war alone. The stipulations made by the French were of the most shameful and humiliating nature; inasmuch as Louis, in order no doubt to prove himself extremely generous towards his ally, the elector of Bavaria, demanded that all the estates of that prince should be restored to him, and that the territories of Burgau and Nollenburg, together with the island of Sardinia, as a kingdom, should likewise be ceded to him — a truly royal recompense for him who had been the faithful ally of the empire's foe. To have agreed to such conditions would have been too dishonourable; accordingly the war was resumed — but with what chances of success? Eugene with his forces, now reduced to a mere handful of imperials, was not in a condition to face the entire French army under the command of Villars, nor even to maintain his ground in defence of the banks of the Rhine; whence the adjacent circles of that territory were again devastated, and the important fortresses of Landau and Freiburg again fell into the hands of the French.

In this state of things, Eugene and Villars, in November, 1713, met in the castle of Rastatt, and recommenced negotiations. These two great generals, who had already more than once confronted each other on the field of battle, were now equally desirous of being distinguished as the promoters of peace, and after overcoming the difficulties thrown in their way they at length signed the treaty of peace, on the 7th of March, 1714.^b

The Treaty of Ryswick was made the basis of the peace. Charles was also guaranteed in the possession of Naples, Milan, Mantua, Sardinia, and the Low Countries, under the condition of ratifying the Barrier Treaty; he obtained the restoration of Breisach, Freiburg, and Kehl; in return he reinstated the electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their dominions and dignities; he agreed to leave the princes of Italy in the peaceable enjoyment of the territories which they actually possessed, and permitted the important fortress of Landau to be retained by France.

"Thus," justly exclaims marshal Villars, "after a war of fourteen years, during which the emperor and the king of France had nearly quitted their respective capitals, Spain had seen two rival kings in Madrid, and almost all the petty states of Italy had changed their sovereigns; a war which had desolated the greater part of Europe was concluded almost on the very terms which might have been procured at the commencement of hostilities."

THE BARRIER TREATY (1715)

Among the most difficult points which remained for future adjustment was the transfer of the Netherlands in the possession of the Dutch to the emperor, and the final ratification of a barrier treaty.

The pretensions of the two parties were so opposite and contradictory, and the mediation of England was so lukewarm, that all compromise seemed impracticable; even the death of Anne during these negotiations, though it changed the conduct of England, did not overcome the reluctance of the emperor, and George I in vain despatched generals Stanhope and Cadogan to Vienna, the first from his personal credit with the emperor, and the other from his friendship with Prince Eugene, who had the greatest preponderance in the Austrian cabinet.

Many motives influenced the conduct of the emperor in declining to ratify

this treaty. Towards the close of the reign of Anne he had entertained an opinion that the party of the pretender was paramount in England, and had affected to listen to overtures for a match between the exiled prince and one of his nieces. Even the accession of George I did not wholly dissipate this illusion; Charles imagined that his establishment on the British throne would be of but temporary duration, and was unwilling to involve himself in an engagement to guarantee the Protestant succession. He therefore dismissed Stanhope with great marks of personal regard, but without gratifying him in the object of his mission.

Both the emperor and his ministers treated Lord Cobham, who succeeded General Stanhope, with studied neglect; and Prince Eugene testified the utmost reserve and indifference to his friend and fellow soldier, General Cadogan, who repaired to Vienna in the character of ambassador. In various conferences he bitterly inveighed against the harsh and degrading conditions which the maritime powers attempted to impose on his imperial master, and declared that the revenues of the Netherlands would be inadequate to the support of the civil establishment, after the payment of the subsidies to the Dutch.

Charles, aware of the weakness of the Dutch government, and of the embarrassments of England by the rebellion of 1715, which was magnified almost into a new revolution, and encouraged by the secret overtures of France, delivered an ultimatum by his minister, Count Königsegg, to the congress at Antwerp, and threatened to march his troops into the Netherlands, unless in six weeks his demands were complied with. These disputes delayed the conclusion of the treaty until the total defeat of the rebels in England, the death of Louis XIV, and the dread of a Turkish war changed the politics of the emperor; while Prince Eugene suddenly promoted the ratification, from a jealousy of the Spanish council, who obstructed the treaty, and from resentment against the deputies of the Netherlands, who desired an archduchess for their governess. The treaty was accordingly concluded on the 15th of November, 1715. Prince Eugene was appointed governor, and the Dutch, on the 4th of February, 1716, delivered the Netherlands to Count Königsegg, as plenipotentiary of the emperor.

By the Barrier Treaty the States agreed to yield to the emperor the provinces possessed by Charles II, as well as those ceded by France at the Peace of Utrecht. A corps of from thirty thousand to thirty-five thousand men was to be maintained in those countries, of which the emperor agreed to furnish three fifths, the states the remainder; and in case of war a further augmentation was to be arranged by the two parties. The emperor allowed the states the sole right of garrison in Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, and the fort of Knocque; but the garrison of Dendermonde was to be furnished jointly, the governor to be nominated by the emperor, and to take an oath that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the states. In like manner, in the garrisons belonging to the states, their officers were to preserve to the house of Austria the sovereignty of the places committed to their care, and not to intermeddle in civil affairs. The Dutch troops were also allowed the free exercise of their religion in the different garrisons; but were to establish no churches, nor annex any exterior distinctions to their places of worship.

The states were permitted to repair the fortifications of the different towns, but not to erect new works without previous notice to the governor-general, nor to charge the emperor with the expenses without his consent. Different cessions also were made to the states for the security of their fron-

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tiers; and the emperor engaged to pay the annual sum of 500,000 crowns for the maintenance of the Dutch troops, and charged himself with the debts of Charles II to the United Provinces. Their rights and privileges of commerce were to remain on the same footing as established by the Treaty of Münster, in 1648, and the ships, commodities, and merchandise from Great Britain to the Netherlands, or from the Netherlands to Great Britain, were to pay the same duties of export and import as were established at the conclusion of the treaty, till new regulations should be made by the three powers in a treaty of commerce which was to be arranged as early as possible. The emperor also engaged that these provinces should never be transferred to a prince of the house of Bourbon by marriage, sale, or otherwise. England guaranteed this treaty, and engaged, should the Netherlands be attacked, to furnish ten thousand men, with twenty ships of war, if necessary, or to act with her whole force.

But notwithstanding the signature of the treaty, the mutual jealousy of the emperor and the Dutch did not subside; the emperor deemed the conditions on his part too severe, and exhibited evident signs of a resolution not to fulfil the articles; while the Dutch, on theirs, retained possession of the districts which were restored by France.

A general consternation also prevailed among the natives of the Netherlands, who complained that the Dutch, jealous of their prosperity, wished to exclude them from all commerce. The states of Brabant and Flanders made strong remonstrances by deputies sent to Vienna; they represented the treaty as derogatory to the emperor's dignity, and fatal to the dearest interests of his subjects. They stated the impossibility of executing the treaty without annihilating their immunities, because subsidies were granted to the Dutch as a fixed revenue, whereas, according to their constitution, no subsidies could be granted without the consent of the states.

Hence the scruples of the emperor returned, and he opened new conferences with the states-general, in the hope of obtaining a modification of the conditions; but the negotiation was protracted by the discussions relating to the appointment of the magistracy in several of the towns garrisoned by the Dutch troops, the toleration of religion, the extension of the limits, the arrears of the subsidies; and the convention which finally settled these and a few other contested points was not concluded till the 22nd of December, 1718, by the imperial and Dutch plenipotentiaries at the Hague.

EUGENE'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TURKS (1715-1718 A.D.)

During the negotiations for the Barrier Treaty, several events occurred of great importance to the house of Austria. Among those the most remarkable was the Peace of Passarowitz, which terminated the war with the Porte, and by the acquisition of Belgrade secured the frontiers of Hungary from Turkish invasion.

The good effects of the fortunate change which had taken place in the minds of the Hungarians, from the pacification of Szatmár, were displayed in this war; when the native troops had no inconsiderable share in driving the Turks beyond the Danube, and in conquering the Banat of Temesvár and the territory of Belgrade.

In 1715 the Turks broke the Peace of Karlowitz, declared war against the Venetians, conquered the Morea, and laid siege to Corfu. These rapid successes, which recalled to recollection the former preponderance of the Ottoman power, spread general alarm among the princes of Europe; and the

king of Sardinia projected a confederacy of the Italian states under the protection and guidance of France. But Charles, jealous lest this confederacy should give pre-eminence to the house of Bourbon and Savoy, counteracted the league; and when the Venetians appealed to him as a guarantee of the Treaty of Karlowitz, made preparations for immediate hostilities. After an offer of mediation, which the Porte rejected with disdain, he despatched Prince Eugene into Hungary at the head of a small, but well-disciplined army, flushed with victories in the Netherlands and on the banks of the Rhine. Eugene passed the Danube in sight of the Ottoman army of 150,000 men, and encamped near Peterwardein behind the very intrenchments which he had occupied in his former campaign, and which, by an unaccountable negligence, the Turks had not destroyed. Without delay he led his troops against the enemy, routed their numerous and undisciplined forces, who could only oppose to the military skill of Eugene, and the deliberate courage of the imperial army, a blind and impotent valour, killed the grand vizir and 30,000 Turks, took 50 standards, 250 pieces of heavy artillery, and an immense booty. This action was fought on the 5th of August, 1716, near Karlowitz, in the very camp wherein, seventeen years before, the Turks had signed the truce of twenty years, which, by attacking the Venetians, they now broke. The capture of Temesvár, the last of the ancient dependencies of Hungary retained by the Turks, secured the possession of the Banat and the conquest of Wallachia.

These conquests, which distinguished the campaign of 1716, were followed by still greater successes in the ensuing year. In the month of June, 1717, Eugene invested Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman dominions on the side of Hungary. The place, which contained a garrison of 30,000 men, was vigorously defended, and supported a blockade of two months, till the arrival of an immense army under the command of a new grand vizir, gave hopes to the besieged, and alarmed the besiegers. The Turkish troops advancing, intrenched themselves in the form of a semicircle, stretching from the Danube to the Save, and thus confined the imperial army in the marshy grounds between those two rivers.

In this exposed and unwholesome situation, numbers of the imperials daily perished from the fire of the enemy, and more fell victims to the ravages of a contagious disorder. Yet the troops supported these accumulated evils with the most exemplary patience, anxiously expecting that the Turks would be compelled, for want of provisions and forage, to break up their camp; but these hopes were frustrated by the perseverance of the enemy, who pushed their lines and batteries to an eminence commanding the bridge over the Save. Eugene now found himself in a critical situation; the enemy by destroying the bridge might prevent his retreat, or might send a corps across the Save to surprise the detachments intrenched at Semlin, and cut off the parties employed in bombarding the lower town of Belgrade. The imperial troops also, daily diminishing in number, would be soon unable to guard the lines; and the emperor and empire, exhausted by the war which they had just concluded with France, could not support the enormous expense of another campaign. The danger was still further increased as the enemy had advanced their trenches and raised batteries within musket-shot, and were even preparing to storm the lines. Eugene was therefore aware that a decisive victory alone could relieve the army from their dangerous situation, and preserve Hungary and Transylvania.

Under these circumstances Eugene summoned a council of war, and being unanimously supported in his opinion, issued orders for a general engagement.

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During the anxious night preceding this action he visited the posts, instructed the officers, exhorted the soldiers, and distributed with his own hands refreshments to fortify them against the fatigues of the ensuing fight, and as he passed from post to post, cries of exultation resounded from every quarter. "Lead us," they exclaimed, "against the enemy! Eugene commands! the safety of our country and the interests of our religion are at stake; we will conquer or die!"

Capture of Belgrade; Peace of Passarowitz

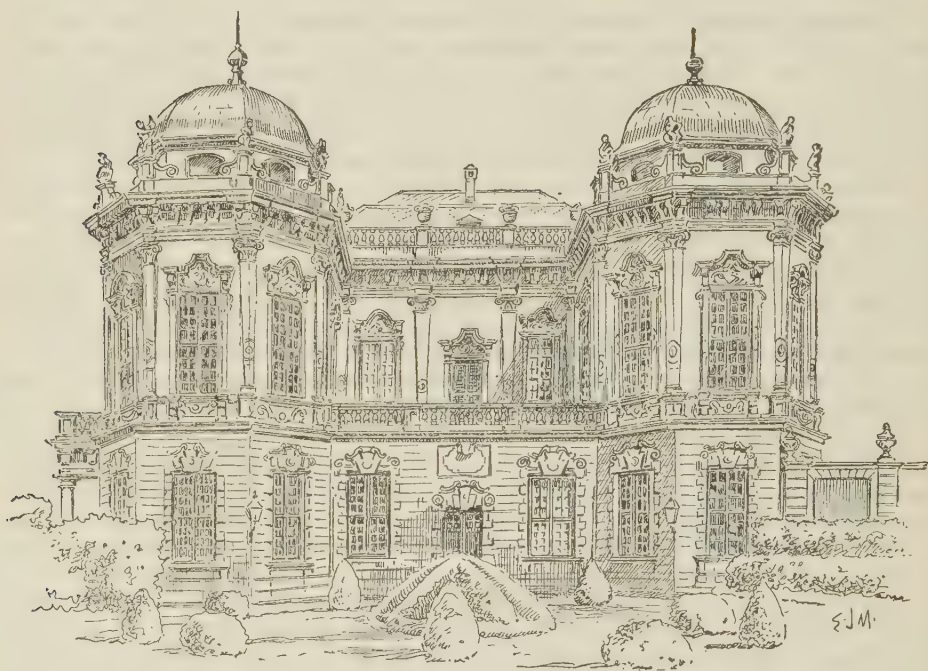
The imperial army consisted of 60,000 men; but as 20,000 were stationed to keep in check the garrison of Belgrade; and as several detachments were posted on the opposite bank of the Save, not 40,000 could be brought into action, to storm intrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery, and defended by not less than 200,000 men, the most complete army which the Porte had ever sent into the field since the siege of Vienna.

Before midnight Eugene was on horseback; three bombs were discharged as a signal, and the whole army was instantly in motion. About two, the right wing, advancing in order and silence under cover of the darkness, burst upon the enemy's works, and surprised the guard, who were reposing in negligent security. But the same darkness which had at first favoured their attack, was so much increased by a thick fog, that part of the right wing fell by mistake upon some intrenchments which the enemy had raised that night, and meeting with a desperate resistance were thrown into confusion. As long as the fog lasted this confusion was irreparable, and the imperials, ignorant of the ground, and harassed by the impetuous assaults of the enemy, suffered extremely. At length the sun rose and dispelled the mist; Eugene discovered part of the right wing separated from the centre, taken in flank and rear, and exposed to imminent danger. To see and remove the danger was the effort of a moment. Placing himself at the head of the second line, and followed by a corps of volunteers, he charged the enemy sword in hand, and though wounded, forced his way through their ranks, mowing down all before him. The troops, alarmed for the safety of their intrepid leader, pressed forward, redoubled their efforts, and drove the Turks back to their intrenchments. At this moment, Eugene surveyed the lines with awful apprehension. Aware that the spirit of the army had led them to be too precipitate in the attack, he endeavoured to curb their impetuosity, and to give a more certain and solid direction to their force. But his own example overbore a deference even to his orders. The impulse was given, and nothing could restrain the ardour of the troops. The infantry made the attack with irresistible violence, forced the intrenchments, carried the batteries, and turned the Turkish cannon against the banners of the crescent. From that moment all was rout and dismay; before midday the imperialists were in possession of the intrenchments artillery, and camp; and the enemy fled with such disorder and precipitation that those who were in the rear killed those who impeded their flight.

The immediate consequence of this defeat was the surrender of Belgrade, which was followed the next year by the Peace of Passarowitz, so called from a small town in Servia, where Eugene and the grand vizir opened the conferences, and signed the preliminaries, on the 21st of July, 1718, under the mediation of Great Britain and the United Provinces. This treaty established a truce of twenty-five years, and secured to the house of Austria the Banat of Temesvár, and the Banat or western part of Wallachia and Servia, together with the town and territory of Belgrade and part of Bosnia.^g

CHARLES VI AND THE NEW POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM

In the important war concluded by the Peace of Utrecht, France lost her ascendancy; whilst for Austria and Germany in general it produced that favourable moment by which they were enabled to occupy, once more, their ancient honourable position in the world's history. As it was to be feared since Louis XIV had manifested such desire for conquest, that if left to itself a single state must be too weak to resist the preponderating power of France, King William III of England strenuously laboured, single-handed to oppose



THE BELVEDERE, VIENNA, ERECTED BY PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY

by means of a convention of several states a barrier to that ambition, so that in future the laws of justice and equity should alone govern nations among themselves. Thence he was the founder of the new system of political equilibrium, and merits the appreciation due to a great man; for he effected great things with small means, and was, in truth, the shield of Europe. Beyond everything else, however, he founded his hopes for the maintenance of lasting peace and security upon the union of England with Austria — an alliance, to use the expression of that period, of the most independent Protestantism with the most legitimate Catholicism. This union, in fact, produced an entire new form in the development of all the relations of the different European states. But one of its most important results has been to render the principles of tolerance, reciprocal esteem, and moral dignity more prevalent among nations; and it is in this respect especially that the first moiety of the eighteenth century distinguished itself, in spite of its many imperfections. Thence, by this means, Austria was placed once again in the centre of Europe, as the power destined to establish relationship among all other nations, and to maintain

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amongst them order and union; whilst with respect to Germany itself she was called upon to defend, with still greater power, the pristine dignity and the ancient constitution of that empire. The glory and the acquisitions that had fallen to her share through the late war appeared indeed as an indication of the favour of divine providence, and as a ratification of the rank she was to hold in order to bring into operation the objects she was destined to realise. She was, in fact, more powerful now than even if she had succeeded in uniting the Spanish crown with that of Austria; for the reign of Charles V himself had already shown that such an extension of dominion is anything but real augmentation of power. Austria was chiefly indebted for her present state of elevation to the great genius of Prince Eugene, and to the sovereign she lost too soon, the emperor Joseph I, who entered completely into the exalted ideas of that distinguished man.

Had the emperor Charles VI possessed sufficient penetration of mind to perceive the position he was called upon to secure to Austria and Germany in the history of European policy, and of which he might have made himself master forthwith, he would have been enabled to establish the greatness and renown not only of his own portion of the empire, but of the whole of Germany, and have laid the foundation for a long and glorious peace throughout Europe. But Charles' genius, as well as that of the age he lived in, was not capable of comprehending, much less executing such an important plan. The idea of the equilibrium of the states became more and more materialised into a careful estimation of the physical powers, a measurement of the produce of countries, and an exact census of their subjects and soldiers. Thence one of the greatest evils originating in the reign of Louis XIV became now more universally adopted, inasmuch as sovereigns sought for the security of their independence not in the love of their subjects, where alone it rests, but in the great number of their soldiers, ever ready to strike the blow. Whenever one state augmented its mercenaries, its neighbour followed the example, and this was almost the only scale of proportion between nations; whilst, at the same time, all moral and intellectual power was accounted as nothing, because it could not be reduced to measurement. Such a state of things must bring with it a heavy judgment; intellect thus misprised abandoned altogether the structure, the formation of which had cost so much labour and pain, and which it alone could uphold, and hence this system of equipoise, after a short duration of splendour in the time of Eugene and William, and an extended period of doubtful existence, finally fell a victim to itself at the end of the same century in which it took its rise.

In consequence of this system, and the position therein occupied by the house of Austria, Germany found itself implicated in the wars of that dominion; besides which, it was forced to share in all the commotions of Europe, without reaping any advantage by them, until the venerable and tottering fabric of the empire, completely overcome by continual concussion, fell to pieces. For in the existence of nations, as in that of individuals, there is no pause; if they do not press onwards they retrograde incessantly, and Germany had just shown itself frigidly indifferent and unwilling to embrace a favourable opportunity for its elevation.

Meantime, the last twenty years of the reign of Charles VI were, with trifling exceptions, a period of peace. He more especially devoted himself to the internal administration of his extensive and beautiful provinces; and this, after an epoch of so much suffering and calamity, operated gratefully and beneficially. As he had no male issue he had drawn up a solemn law, called the Pragmatic Sanction, according to which he transferred to his daughter.

Maria Theresa, the peaceful possession of his hereditary lands. This he was extremely anxious to have confirmed by the leading states of Europe, and in this object, after many abortive endeavours, he succeeded; but this sanction, nevertheless, did not serve to secure his daughter, after his death, from the attacks of a host of enemies, who hoped to make good their pretensions by force of arms.

The emperor himself carried on a war from the year 1733 to 1735, on behalf of Augustus III of Saxony, who had been elected king of Poland, against the French, who were desirous of dethroning him, and substituting in his place Stanislaus Leszczyński, father-in-law to the French monarch, Louis XV. This war, however, was not favourable to Austria and Germany; Augustus III continued, indeed, by the subsequent treaty of peace, king of Poland, but in return for this Germany was obliged to sacrifice to its rapacious neighbour a new province — Lorraine being ceded to Stanislaus, and through him it came into the hands of France; Francis Stephen, then duke of Lorraine, being made grand duke of Tuscany, whilst the Spanish infante, Don Charles, was indemnified for Tuscany by the cession of Naples and Sicily. The Austrian army was equally unsuccessful against the Turks, and at the conclusion of peace in 1739 the government was forced to give back the important fortress of Belgrade, which Prince Eugene had conquered, and which had served as a frontier stronghold in that quarter.

DEATH OF CHARLES VI; ACCESSION OF MARIA THERESA (1740 A.D.)

The emperor Charles VI died October 26, 1740, and his daughter, Maria Theresa, by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, took possession of the government in all his dominions. But immediately after the decease of the emperor an envoy of the elector of Bavaria arrived, furnished with a declaration from his master, in which he said he could not acknowledge the young queen as the inheritress and successor of her father, because the house of Bavaria had legitimate claims to the hereditary Austrian provinces. These pretensions the elector founded upon his descent from the eldest daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I, whose posterity ought to insist upon their title to those possessions, seeing that the male line of the house of Austria was now extinct. This claim, however, it was evident could only be made valid in case the late emperor had not left a daughter; but, as he had done so, she must take precedence of all collateral female relations. The law advisers of the elector attempted to justify the claims of their sovereign, upon several grounds; but what, however, influenced the elector in his proceedings beyond everything else was the encouragement he received from France, who secretly promised him her aid in the dismemberment of the Austrian inheritance.^b

Basing herself on the above-mentioned law, which had been accepted by all Austrian realms and states, sanctioned by the German Empire, and guaranteed by the European powers in special treaties bought at considerable sacrifice, Maria Theresa, as rightful heiress to her imperial father, immediately after his death took possession of all the Austrian lands with the title of queen of Hungary and Bohemia. The rich heritage consisted of the kingdom of Hungary and the lands united to it, namely Transylvania, the banat of Temesvár, Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia; the kingdom of Bohemia with the markgrafschaft of Moravia and all the Silesian duchies; the grand duchy of Upper and Lower Austria; the inner Austrian lands, namely the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, the countship of Görz and Gradiska, and the lands on the coast; the Tyrol and the anterior Austrian provinces; the

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Italian duchies of Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Piacenza; finally the Austrian Netherlands.

After Maria Theresa had been proclaimed sole ruler of all these lands, on the 28th of October, 1740, the usual succession ceremony followed in Vienna on November 22nd, accompanied by the same solemnities which had been usually observed at the succession of a male ruler, except that the queen was carried in a litter, whereas the former as a rule appeared on horseback or in a carriage. Her beauty, her youthful grace (she was then in her twenty-fourth year), and her fascinating affability drew all hearts to her, and from all the states and provinces whose ruler she now was there reached her, through deputations, one voice of love and devotion. Within the next four years Maria Theresa received the homage of the remaining states and provinces, according as the affairs of state permitted. On the 25th of June, 1741, the coronation in Hungary took place; on the 12th of May, 1743, that in Bohemia; on the 20th of April, 1744, the homage of the Austrian Netherlands was solemnised. On the 21st of November, 1740, the queen conferred upon her husband, the grand duke Francis Stephen of Tuscany, the electoral vote of Bohemia and appointed him co-ruler in all her states, thereby preparing for him the way to the imperial throne; she did not, however, thereby place a limit on her own plenitude of power, nor did she abrogate any of the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction.

THE ATTACK ON MARIA THERESA'S HERITAGE

The young princess, in spite of her great determination and strength, required a male protector; for on all sides covetous demands were raised against her, with menacing hints on the arbitrament of the sword. Her good right alone could give the queen courage to repel these unjust claims, and only courage could save her. The demands of Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, aimed at nothing less than the whole of the inheritance, although on his marriage with the daughter of the emperor Joseph I, the archduchess Maria Amalia, he had expressly renounced all claims. He based his claims on a will of Ferdinand I of the 1st of June, 1543, by which the latter, in the event of the extinction of all male heirs, reserved the succession for his daughters, and especially for the eldest. (Ferdinand's daughter, Anna, in 1546, married Albert V, duke of Bavaria, one of Charles Albert's forefathers.) His second claim he derived from his wife, and the third from the alleged former connection of Austria with Bavaria, which in fact had only existed with regard to the lands above the Enns and had been put an end to by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa whose Golden Bull of 1156 excluded female successors, excepting the daughter of the last possessor.

The Bavarian ambassador in Vienna, Count Törring-Seefeld, had the audacity immediately after Charles VI's burial to issue decrees calling upon all the heads of the court officers to report to him, and to demand obedience from them as the representative of his master, who was now the ruler of Austria. But his letters were returned to him unopened, and he was advised to leave Vienna within six hours, which he did all the more willingly as the opinion of the people, who were enthusiastic for their new ruler, began to express itself in menacing form against him.

France, believing that the moment had now come for carrying out her old plan, perseveringly fostered for the destruction of Austria, showed herself extremely active in encouraging the other powers to lay claim to Maria Theresa's inheritance, and spared neither eloquence nor promises. Assuming

the mien of a mediator or arbitrator, Louis XV of France hoped to divide the inheritance between Spain and Bavaria, out of which business he himself would not come empty-handed, as the marriages of his predecessors Louis XIII and XIV with Spanish and Habsburg princesses easily offered a pretext on this side. Influenced by France, King Philip V — as representative of the extinct Spanish-Austrian line from which he descended on the maternal side from Anna, Philip II's wife and Emperor Maximilian II's daughter — also raised a claim to the entire Austrian inheritance; for his ministry had planned to obtain the remaining Spanish-Austrian heritage in Italy, namely Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Piacenza, for the second infante (the eldest Charles was already king of the Two Sicilies).

Count Henry von Brühl, the all-powerful minister of Augustus III, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, seemed disposed at first to maintain his promise inviolate, and even brought about an alliance with Russia for the support of the Pragmatic Sanction. But as Maria Theresa's affairs became more and more troubled, Brühl also changed his policy, and the claims which Augustus' wife, Queen Maria Josepha, the emperor Joseph I's eldest daughter, had renounced at her marriage were suddenly brought to the fore; although Augustus had not only acknowledged the renunciation of his wife, but had also, for the sake of the Polish crown, which he had obtained by the assistance of the emperor Charles VI, given up all the claims of his wife, in the most formal and solemn manner, and without reservation. Finally Charles Emmanuel III of Sardinia also demanded the duchy of Milan, because he was descended from a daughter of King Philip II of Spain, the infanta Catherine, who had married Charles Emmanuel I, duke of Savoy, in 1585.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (1740-1748 A.D.)

But the greatest danger was threatening from quite another side. After King Frederick William's death (March 31st, 1740) Frederick II — whose life, when he was yet crown prince, Austria's intercession had once saved from his infuriated father — ascended the throne of Prussia. Unexpectedly Frederick again took up the ancient claims of the house of Brandenburg to the Silesian principalities of Liegnitz, Wohlau, Brieg, and Jägerndorf, which his predecessors had expressly renounced in 1688 and 1694. Well aware that such an unjust claim must be supported by the force of arms and that he could only win his case by the sword, Frederick began at once to make military preparations. These armaments were effected with all possible precaution and secrecy, but were not hidden from the observant eye of the Austrian ambassador, Damrath, at Berlin. But trusting in the guarantee which Prussia had assumed, they would not for a long time believe in Vienna in the hostile intentions of the king, until all doubt was dispelled by the proposal which he made in Vienna, through his ambassador Gotter, and the invasion of the Prussian army into Silesia, which took place two days before Gotter's arrival in Vienna.

In his king's name Gotter promised a close alliance with Austria, Prussia, England, and Holland to ensure Maria Theresa in the possession of her inherited lands; further, the payment of 2,000,000 gulden, to facilitate and hasten the Austrian armaments, and the employment of the whole weight of his authority and army to help place the archduke Francis Stephen on the imperial throne of Germany. In return for this Frederick demanded lower Silesia, on account of the alleged rights of Brandenburg, and, in addition, the remainder of Silesia as compensation for the expense of his armaments.

[1741 A.D.]

The queen was advised on many sides to enter into this proposal and thus to assure herself the support of a brave and influential prince against the enemies of the Pragmatic Sanction, especially since Frederick subsequently declared himself satisfied with lower Silesia. But, however threatening the moment may have seemed, Maria Theresa considered her father's legacy too sacred to allow any of it to be torn away without a struggle. The substance of Maria Theresa's earnest and dignified reply was to the effect that the king of Prussia's invasion of Silesia with an armed force was not the way to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, but rather to destroy it. The king's friendship was valuable to her, and she had done nothing to lose it; his offer of help was already stipulated for in the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had assumed together with all Europe. The alliance with Russia, England, and Holland had already existed before the invasion of Silesia, and certainly it had never occurred to those powers to expect the queen to lose part of her states in order to fortify the alliance, which ought rather to contribute towards keeping these states undivided. War had never yet been undertaken in order to compel a power to accept proffered money; the sums which Frederick had already drawn from Silesia far exceeded the two millions, to the payment of which he offered to bind himself. The queen acknowledged with gratitude the good opinion the king had of her husband; but the choice of an emperor must take place freely and without compulsion, and nothing could hinder it more than these agitations caused in the midst of the empire. On no account would she begin her reign with the dividing up of her states; therefore she could not consent to the cession of all of Silesia or a part of it, and before a settlement could be arrived at, the army of the king must evacuate Silesia.

Frederick made the same declaration to the marquis of Botta that Gotter had to make in Vienna. The marquis entreated him to desist from this plan, and when Frederick would not hear of it, he concluded with the words, "I grant that your majesty's troops are fine; but the Austrians have seen the wolf [the Turks]." Gotter was ordered to leave Vienna within twenty-four hours, and war was declared.^d

THE FIRST SILESIAN WAR (1740-1742 A.D.)

Austria was not ready for war, but preparations were hurriedly carried forward, and the following spring the army under Marshal Neipperg entered the field against the Prussian forces. The troops came in contact on the 10th of April, 1741, at Mollwitz, and a memorable and decisive battle was fought — a battle which was fraught with important consequences to Austria, and which served also to introduce into the arena of war the great captain who was to be known in future as Frederick the Great of Prussia. We shall have occasion to treat the incidents of this battle in detail in our history of Frederick the Great;¹ here we shall be concerned chiefly with the internal consequences to Austria of the war now under consideration and of the so-called Second Silesian War that followed it a little later. These two wars served as stepping stones by which Frederick II rose to power, and their history forms an integral part of the story of his life. In the course of that story we shall learn how the Prussian king succeeded, soon after the battle of Mollwitz, in effecting an alliance with France. We are told that there was consternation in Austria when the news of this alliance reached that capital. We must now learn how Maria Theresa rose to the occasion; we must witness the heroic but futile efforts by which she strove to resist the Prussian encroachments.^a

¹ See volume XV.

Maria Theresa Calls the Hungarians to Arms

It had long been one of the fundamental principles of the domestic policy of the house of Austria not to put into the hands of the Hungarians weapons which they might sooner or later be induced to turn against the crown; a very real danger in view of their national tendency to tumult. The many insurrections which had taken place in the course of centuries might have stood for a warning example, the fierce and intemperate speeches heard at Pressburg only a few weeks before proved clearly that the old refractory temper was still alive and ready to break out in revolutionary movements on the slightest provocation. Many therefore shrank from the hazardous experiment of calling the Hungarians to arms *en masse*; one person only had no fear, and that was the queen.

On the morning of the 7th of September, 1741, Maria Theresa summoned the chief magnates of Hungary to a consultation in the imperial castle. She herself explained to them the perilous situation, lamenting her subjects' misfortunes, not her own. She told them that the defence of the crown, of the empire — nay, possibly of all the dominions of the house of Austria rested with the Hungarians alone. With incomparable eloquence she called upon them to take up arms. Carried away by the flood of the queen's emotion, they all declared unanimously that they would devote themselves, their sons, and their revenues to the service of Maria Theresa. It was determined to enrol an army of forty thousand Hungarians, and the necessary orders were issued to the *comitat* [administrative districts] that same day. They entreated the queen to go to Raab, and to trust herself and her son to the Hungarians without reserve.

Without refusing this offer, Maria Theresa postponed the acceptance of it till she should be constrained by necessity. For she realised how essential it was to oppose a bold front to danger and to buoy up the courage of others by her own. It was also necessary to give to the movement to which the leaders of the nation had so joyfully pledged themselves the impetus and scope by which alone a decisive result could be achieved. The whole of Hungary was to be called upon for the *insurrectio* (general levy of the militia) decreed by the laws of the land in the last extremity. The queen's German counsellors still raised a thousand objections to this course, but the queen set them all boldly aside; she felt in herself a spirit capable of electrifying and inspiring a whole people.

She did indeed act upon the happy inspiration of her own heart when she summoned the members of both tables¹ to meet her on the 11th of September. At eleven o'clock in the morning they streamed towards the royal castle, full of eager expectation. When they were assembled in the hall of audience Maria Theresa entered, robed in mourning garments and wearing the crown of St. Stephen. Her mien was grave and melancholy as she slowly and majestically passed through the ranks of the Hungarians, ascended the steps of the throne, and took her place there. In accordance with the legal procedure observed in laying royal propositions before the diet, the Hungarian chancellor, Count Louis Batthyányi, first addressed the members assembled. He described the unlawful attacks of foreign princes, their invasion of the queen's hereditary dominions, the danger of the capital, the menace to Hungary itself. He proclaimed Maria Theresa's intention of confiding her person, her house, and her crown, to the care of the Hungarians. He expressed the queen's con-

[¹ The tables are the two divisions of the Hungarian diet, the magnates and the deputies.]

[1741 A.D.]

fidest hope that the members of the diet would without delay address their energies to setting up a strong barrier against the unjust attempts of greedy foes, in order that by such a deed the fame of the Hungarian nation should shine forth with its ancient lustre before the eyes of the world. When the chancellor had finished Maria Theresa herself spoke from the throne.

"The distress of our situation," she said in a voice full of feeling, "has moved us to lay before the loyal estates of our well-beloved kingdom of Hungary written information concerning the invasion of our hereditary dominions of Austria by the enemy, the danger which menaces Hungary itself, and the measures to be taken to meet it. The matter concerns the kingdom of Hungary, our person, our children, the crown itself. Deserted by all, we rely wholly and solely upon the loyalty of the Hungarians and the valour for which they are famed of old. We entreat the estates, in this extremity of peril, to care zealously for our person, our children, the crown, and the empire. We ourselves will do all that in us lies to restore the former happy state of Hungary and its people and the glory of its name. In all things the loyal estates shall feel the effects of our favour."

Towards the end of this speech, and especially when she referred to her children, Maria Theresa, overcome by profound emotion, burst into tears. Weeping she held her kerchief to her eyes; but quickly regaining self-control she listened to the words in which the primas (primate) answered her in the name of the assembly. He assured the queen of the joyful support of the whole nation and of their firm determination to devote their lives and property to her cause. An indescribable emotion took possession of the Hungarians, whose pride was not a little flattered by the thought that Maria Theresa should take refuge with them. Compassion for the queen's grief and the charm of her presence filled all who were there with enthusiasm, and from many hundred throats the unanimous acclaim thundered through the hall — "*Vitam nostram et sanguinem consecramus*" (we dedicate our lives and our blood).

The whole proceeding strikingly illustrates the extraordinary ease with which the Hungarians can be excited to love or hate. For while some, their utterance choked by tears, exhausted themselves in outcries of devotion and homage to Maria Theresa, others broke out into loud maledictions upon her German counsellors. The members of the diet listened in joint session to the royal declaration, which set forth first of all the danger which menaced not the queen alone but Hungary itself from the seizure of Silesia by the king of Prussia and the advance of a Franco-Bavarian army upon Vienna. The bulk of the Austrian army being in Silesia, in the field against King Frederick, there was no adequate force to oppose the French and Bavarians. Therefore it was that Maria Theresa had recourse to the valorous spirit of which the Hungarian nation had for centuries given proof. That nation, Maria Theresa as their lawfully crowned sovereign was convinced, would reject by force of arms the claim upon Hungary set up by the elector of Bavaria, and would repel his threatened invasion of the realm. Therefore, in accordance with the law to that effect, she summoned them to the *insurrectio* in their own defence. Mindful of the nation's ancient fame, the diet should determine without delay the number of troops to be levied, and should take such other measures as were necessary to prevent an invasion of Hungary by the enemy. Till this had been done Maria Theresa would remain in Hungary and contribute to the fullest extent of her powers towards the desired end.

When the prothonotary, Pecsý, had finished reading the declaration, the primas, and after him the palatine, took up the word. They produced the

letters which the elector of Bavaria had addressed to them and in which he laid claim to the crown of Hungary. The *iudex curiæ*, the personal (deputy) Grassalkovics, and the two Erdödy's spoke to their countrymen, all supporting the queen's request in vehement terms. Not a single dissentient voice was raised, and the diet unanimously determined to appoint a deputation, which should forthwith propose the measures to be taken to save the country and the queen.

Another sitting was held in the afternoon of the 11th of September, and the answer of the diet to the royal declaration (which had been drawn up in the interval) was unanimously adopted. It expressed unqualified acquiescence, and flatly rejected any claim upon Hungary on the part of the elector of Bavaria. Unanimous, too, was the acceptance of the proposals submitted to the diet by the deputation on the 13th of September, by the mouth of its president, the palatine. It was decided to levy thirty thousand foot, to be divided into thirteen regiments. Every member of the nobility who was under the obligation of taking part in the *insurrectio* was either to take horse in person or to send a substitute. It was estimated that by this means 15,000 horsemen could be put in the field by Hungary alone, 14,000 by Croatia and Slavonia, and 6,000 by Transylvania. Counting the troops expected from the banat of Temesvár and from the Jazygian, Cumanian, and Haiduk districts, they could reckon upon 100,000 men.

With regard to the resolution of the diet of the 11th of September, the extraordinary expectations of success which had been indulged in were very imperfectly realised. In various quarters the plea was raised that the number originally fixed was too large. The infantry sank from 30,000 to 21,600, the number of regiments from 13 to 6. Tedious negotiations on the subject of the levy of troops ensued, not only with the diet but with the separate *comitatus*, and frequently led to no result. To such an extent were they carried that up to the end of the year 1741 — that is, nearly three months later — only a few hundreds of the soldiers promised by the diet had been sent from Hungary to join the Austrians who were fighting the enemy. And (with the exception of the hussars) those who were finally got together left much to be desired in the way of efficiency, as the Hungarian troops who took the field before the resolution of the diet had done. The bodies of volunteers from the southern Slavonic provinces, in particular, were alike a terror to the neighbourhood they approached and a torment to their officers. Towards the inhabitants of the former they allowed themselves the most unbridled license, towards the latter they showed neither discipline nor subordination. Cruel to the defenceless country-folk even in Maria Theresa's own states, they were of small service in the open field, and the reports of the Austrian generals are full of complaints of the sort of reinforcements with which their commands had been supplemented. Only by degrees did exceptionally gifted leaders, like Trenck and Menzel, succeed in bringing some order into these undisciplined hordes, and thus making them more efficient; though Trenck himself was once put under arrest by Neipperg for insubordination and tried by court-martial.

If, in addition to this, we bear in mind that the levy of even small sums of money for the equipment of the forces was accompanied by far greater difficulties than the levy of the troops themselves, no one will venture to deny that the material result of the resolution which seemed so satisfactory must be confessed to be trifling. The more sagacious Austrian statesmen were by no means blind to the fact, nor can we say that from this time forward they looked to the future with less anxious eyes. Even Maria Theresa could not

[1742-1743 A.D.]

steel herself for long against the recognition of the fact, and the subsequent transactions of the diet were of a character to fill her with the most melancholy anticipations for the time to come.^e

The Peace of Breslau (1742 A.D.)

Early in 1742 the Bavarian elector was chosen emperor, under the title of Charles VII. On the very day of his election the Austrian troops, under Charles of Lorraine, suffered defeat at Chotusitz, near Czaslau, at the hands of Frederick; and nothing remained to Maria Theresa but to negotiate terms of peace. The resulting Peace of Breslau (ratified later at Berlin) gave to Prussia Upper Silesia and Lower Silesia and the principality of Glatz — “jewels from the crown” of Maria Theresa, to the loss of which she was never fully reconciled.^a

THE GENERAL WAR CONTINUES

The Austrians had so long been accustomed to consider the imperial crown an appanage of the house of Austria, that they looked upon the election of Charles VII as a species of rebellion on the part of the German Empire, and turned with all the more energy to their warlike preparations. The sympathies of England had been greatly stirred on behalf of the heroic and hard-pressed Maria Theresa. Enormous sums were subscribed for her, the ladies of London alone contributing 1,500,000 gulden. But with a spirit truly royal Maria Theresa declared that she would accept no subsidies except from parliament. The movement in her favour was so strong that for the second time George II determined to defend the Pragmatic Sanction by force of arms. Parliament granted the distressed princess a subsidy of £300,000, and King George collected an army in the Netherlands and another in Germany to go to the succour of Maria Theresa. The states-general of Holland contributed money, and presently themselves took up arms. The Hungarians had kept their word. Two new imperial armies had taken the field; one was led into Bohemia by Maria Theresa's husband, and with the other General Bärenklau reconquered Upper Austria, invaded Bavaria, and occupied Munich, where only a few days before the elector had been solemnly chosen emperor. In Bavaria Trenck's pandours and other bodies of freebooters wrought frightful havoc.^f

The next step was the expulsion of the French from Prague. Belle-Isle was closely shut up. A fresh French army under Harcourt approached to his relief and drove the Austrians out of Bavaria, but fell a prey to cold and famine. A third army under Maillebois penetrated as far as Bohemia, but retraced its steps, being forbidden by the miserable petticoat-government under Louis XV to hazard an engagement. Belle-Isle, driven desperate by famine, at length made a vigorous sally and fought his way through the Austrians, but almost all his men fell victims during the retreat to the severity of the winter. The Bavarians under Seckendorf and twenty thousand French under Broglio, who attempted to come to his relief, were defeated by Khevenhüller at Braunau.

Fortune declared still more decidedly during the campaign of 1743 in Maria Theresa's favour, George II, king of England (who, not long before, through fear of losing Hanover, had yielded to the counsels of France and Prussia and had voted in favour of Charles VII), actuated by a double jealousy, on account of England against France and on account of Hanover

against Prussia, bringing a pragmatic army levied in northern Germany to her aid. Notwithstanding his bad generalship, he was victorious at Dettingen not far from Aschaffenburg, over the French, who were still worse commanded by Noailles. In the ensuing year, Charles of Lorraine crossed the Rhine at the head of the whole Austrian army and laid waste Alsace and Lorraine.

THE SECOND SILESIAN WAR

These successes were beheld with impatience by Frederick, who plainly foresaw the inevitable loss of Silesia, should fortune continue to favour Maria Theresa. In Austria, public opinion was decidedly opposed to the cession of that province. In order to obviate the danger with which he was threatened, he once more unexpectedly took up arms.^c

Frederick exerted his genius for command to the full and successfully. The Prussians won the battles of Habelschwerdt and Hohenfriedberg, and then once more invaded Bohemia. They gained victories at Soor, Hennersdorf, and Kesselsdorf; but all these battles, the protests of Brandenburg and the Palatinate, and the victory of the French over the duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy did not suffice to keep the duke of Lorraine from being elected and crowned emperor of Germany. It was one of the happiest moments of Maria Theresa's life when she watched the coronation procession from a balcony in Frankfort and was the first to greet with plaudits the beloved husband whom her enemy had raised to the imperial throne.

After the battle of Kesselsdorf the Austrian, Prussian, and Saxon ambassadors met at Dresden and peace was quickly concluded. The conditions were the same as those of the Peace of Breslau and Berlin. In a special document the king of Prussia expressed his concurrence in the election of Francis I to the imperial purple.

THE ALLIES IN ITALY

Both in Germany and Italy the war with France lasted for three years longer; but the most important engagements were fought at sea, where the English were generally victorious. But the issue was finally decided in the Netherlands, and a brief summary of the events of the Italian campaign will therefore be sufficient.

The pope and the republic of Venice remained unconcerned spectators of the struggle, though it was frequently waged on papal or Venetian soil; the grand duchy of Tuscany was declared neutral ground by both belligerents. The king of Sardinia seemed at first disposed to join Maria Theresa's enemies, but presently became apprehensive lest the victory of the French and Spaniards should give these two powers a supremacy dangerous to himself; and upon Maria Theresa's promise to give him certain Milanese districts and to resign her claims upon Finale (then held by the Genoese) in his favour, he came over to her side and was subsidised by the English. The cession of Finale, however, flung Genoa into the arms of the opposite party. The king of Naples, being a Spanish Bourbon, was also opposed to Maria Theresa.

The Italian campaign was opened by the Spaniards, who had sent Montemar, the victor of Bitonto, to Italy with an army; but its results were not worthy of his previous reputation. The king of Naples would willingly have joined the Spaniards, but an English fleet appeared off Naples and coerced him into neutrality by threatening to bombard the town. Montemar was recalled, and Gages, his successor, was defeated at Montesanto in Modena by Marshal Traun. Then Don Philip crossed the Alps, took Savoy, and pressed

[1743-1747 A.D.]

forward into the heart of Piedmont. The Austro-Sardinian army tried in vain to relieve Coni; Prince Lobkowitz was defeated by Gages at Rimini; at Alessandria the Sardinians suffered serious losses at the hands of the French, and a great part of Piedmont, Milan, Parma, Piacenza, and Montferrat fell into the hands of the French and Spaniards.

The fortune of war changed when Austria made peace with Prussia and was thereby enabled to send reinforcements to the army in Italy. Maillebois was routed at Piacenza by Prince Wenzel Lichtenstein; Browne, master of the ordnance, repulsed the marquis of Castelar at Guastalla; Don Philip was defeated at Rottofrede by generals Botta and Birenklau. The French and Spaniards were forced to evacuate the whole of Italy. Browne occupied the Bocchetta; the republic of Genoa paid the penalty of the support it had given to Maria Theresa's enemies. Beset by the English at sea and the imperials on land, it was forced to capitulate; all the artillery and munitions of war fell a prey to the imperials, four senators were given as hostages for the execution of the terms of surrender, and the doge and six senators went to Vienna to implore mercy of Maria Theresa.

After these brilliant successes, however, dissensions arose among the allies. The Austrians wished to attack Naples, which had allied itself with Spain, but this project was opposed by the king of Sardinia, who dreaded lest Austrian supremacy in Italy should be assured by victories in Neapolitan territory. The English propounded their favourite scheme of an invasion of the south of France; and after protracted negotiations this proposal was adopted. An attack was made upon Provence, but in this, as in the earlier instance during the war of the Spanish Succession, the attempt on the meridional provinces of France led to no good result.

The revolt of the Genoese contributed not a little to the unfavourable issue of the enterprise. Maria Theresa sent orders to General Browne, who was before Antibes, in Provence, with twenty-five thousand men, to return at once and recapture Genoa; but the united forces of Austria and Sardinia besieged the city in vain, and were forced to retire when the French and Spaniards advanced to its relief. Marshal Belle-Isle held Nice, Montauban, Villafraña, and Ventimiglia. The most brilliant action of the Austrians during this campaign was the battle between Fenestrelle and Exilles, where, under General Colloredo, they successfully held their intrenchments against the French and Piedmontese. The sieur de Belle-Isle, one of the firebrands of the war, was left dead on the field. This was the last engagement of any importance in Italy, for Ferdinand VI, the new king of Spain, had not expressed his sentiments concerning the continuance of the war; his generals did not know how far he was prepared to sacrifice himself on behalf of his half-brother Don Philip, but they did know that he was averse to the French and that both his wife and his favourite, Farinelli, were favourably inclined towards Austria and England.

THE FRENCH IN GERMANY AND BELGIUM

In Germany and Belgium the issue of the campaign was, on the whole, favourable to the French. Louis XV joined the army; he was present at the taking of Freiburg in the Breisgau and when Marshal Saxe defeated the English at Fontenoy and conquered Flanders and Brabant. The French forces spread farther and farther over Belgium, Brussels fell into their hands, they took Mons and Namur, and Charles of Lorraine lost the battle of Rocoux in Liège to them. Count Löwendahl, a Swede in the French service, within a very short time took Sluys, Sas van Gent, and Hulst. These losses occasioned

a revolt in Holland, by which the existing government was overthrown, and Prince William of Orange was made stadholder. But the stadholder, general and admiral, was not able to hold the French in check, and (1747) the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, which had been thought impregnable, fell into Löwendahl's hands. In the same year the duke of Cumberland was defeated at Lawfeld by Marshal Saxe. Louis XV was present at the battle, but he was eager to be gone from the army; he longed for peace, as did the empress also. Negotiations were therefore set on foot that same winter, but before they could be concluded hostilities recommenced. "The peace is in Maestricht," said Marshal Saxe, and commenced the siege of that city. The empress Maria Theresa, for her part, had concluded an alliance with Russia; forty thousand Russians were on the march through Germany to the Netherlands, and Maestricht was reduced to the last extremity, when the preliminaries of peace were signed at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle).

THE PEACE OF AACHEN; CHANGES WROUGHT BY THE WAR

Maria Theresa ceded some districts in Milan to Sardinia; Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla fell to the share of Don Philip, but with remainder to heirs male only, Austria retained the reversion of Parma and Sardinia, stipulating for that of Piacenza if Don Philip's male descendants should die out or if the crown of Naples should devolve on him or his heirs.

Such was the end of the war of the Austrian Succession. It had been begun by Maria Theresa's enemies in the hope of dividing the Austrian monarchy among themselves, but Maria Theresa had defended it successfully and their object had not been attained. The loss of Silesia was serious, but it bore no proportion whatever to the disasters which had menaced Maria Theresa at the beginning of the war. In these tempestuous times the Austrian monarchy had once more given proof of its power of resistance.^f

With the exception of Austria, none of the states which took part in the war of the Austrian Succession had to lament loss of territory or subjects, while to some of them it brought important gains. Foremost among these was Prussia. By the acquisition of the greater part of Silesia and the countship of Glatz she obtained an accession so considerable that, in the place of one of the smallest of European kingdoms, there arose a mighty state whose decision henceforth frequently determined the turn of the scale.

Next to Prussia, the kingdom of Sardinia gained the most important increase of territory, by the districts ceded to it under the Treaty of Worms. Spain was enabled to realise, in part at least, the idea for which she had taken up arms, the creation of a new Bourbon state in Italy; England did actually obtain the commercial advantages for the sake of which she had allowed herself to be dragged into a naval war. As for the rest, they withdrew from the struggle without any loss of territory, although in other respects the war had entailed many evil consequences upon them.

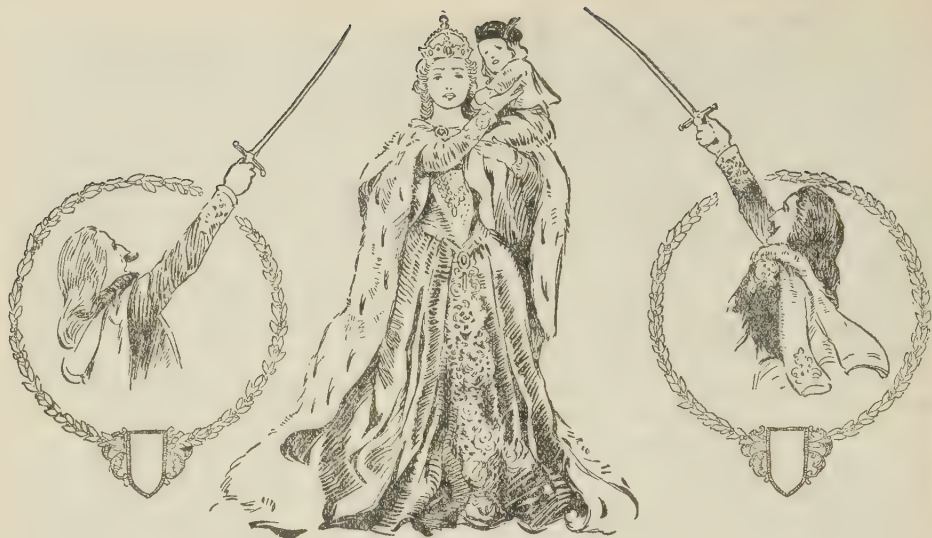
Austria alone emerged from the struggle with considerable loss. To Prussia she had forfeited the great part of Silesia and the countship of Glatz; to Sardinia, the whole region west of the Ticino; to the infante, Don Philip, Parma and Piacenza. Hence her power was impaired to what we must admit to be a very considerable extent, by loss of territory and subjects as well as of revenue; and yet, compared with the programme which the enemies of Austria had begun the war to accomplish, these losses appear almost insignificant.

The truth of this assertion will hardly be contested if we recall the far-reaching projects for the realisation of which a whole congeries of European

States waged war upon the daughter of Charles VI. The Austrian Netherlands and Luxemburg were destined for France. Lombardy, Parma, and Piacenza were to fall to the lot of the infante of Spain; the Tyrol, the "Vorlande" (Austrian provinces in Swabia), the archduchy of Austria and Bohemia, to that of the elector of Bavaria. Saxony was to be extended by the addition of Moravia, Prussia by that of Silesia. Indeed, it is by no means certain that Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were not already, in imagination, annexed to Bavaria. Nothing was to be left to Maria Theresa except the Hungarian provinces, and it was held as a matter of course that the imperial crown had passed away from the house of Austria forever. In fact, there was no longer to be any house of Austria, and the word all too prematurely spoken by Cardinal Fleury, the aged director of French policy, "The house of Austria has already ceased to be," was to be fulfilled.

If we further take into consideration the advantage given to the enemies of Maria Theresa by the immense numerical superiority of the forces at their disposal for the furtherance of their schemes, we can understand that the wreck of these schemes was looked upon almost as a miracle. This consideration also helps to explain the attitude of Maria Theresa's allies. For while the empress could hardly bring herself to brook the loss of such considerable portions of her dominions as Silesia and the parts of Italy she had been compelled to cede, such losses did not seem to the maritime powers hard to endure, when compared with the ruin that had threatened Maria Theresa in the first two years of the war.^e





CHAPTER XI

THE LATER YEARS OF MARIA THERESA

[1748-1780 A.D.]

Few periods in European history have been so variously judged as that which preceded the Seven Years' War. To the initial difficulty of finding a path through the chaos of diplomatic activity, the diverse attitudes of Prussian and Austrian historians have added the confusion of national prejudices. Certain it is that the new idea in Austrian policy developed slowly, and that the alliance with France, which was definitely concluded at Versailles in 1756 (May 11th), had been recommended as early as March, 1749, by Count von Kaunitz, the youngest member of the council summoned by the empress to consider Austria's policy. The Peace of Aachen had provided Austria with more than one occasion for displeasure with her traditional ally England, and the rapprochement between Austria and France began in earnest when Kaunitz became ambassador at Versailles (1751). He was recalled to Vienna to carry through the new policy upon which the empress was determined alike in home and in foreign affairs, and became chancellor in May, 1753. In 1754 England, preparing to go to war with France on the question of Acadia and the Ohio Valley, pressed Austria for a more effective maintenance of the Barrier (against France) in the Low Countries, and expected to find in her a willing ally. Kaunitz replied with a note demanding whether Austria might rely on English support in the event of an attack from Prussia.^a

If Kaunitz were, as a matter of fact, already weighing the chances of an appeal to France in the event of England refusing the Austrian proposals, his project was not yet ripe; and at that time the idea of regaining Silesia and

[1754-1756 A.D.]

Glatz through an alliance with England seemed far more within the range of practical politics than the doubtful experiment of substituting an entirely new policy from that hitherto pursued.^b The idea that Austria might look upon her alliance with England as directed against Prussia no less than against France roused much astonishment in England, and an answer was returned refusing to consider the question of Prussia at all, and reminding Austria of her duty of defending the Belgian provinces and Hanover if attacked by France. Kaunitz, in reply, openly told the English ambassador, Keith, that hostility to Prussia was a necessary factor in the alliance. To his note which suggested, without actually expressing, the same opinion, England returned no answer. Yet at this time Austria had made no definite treaty with France; indeed, as late as the autumn of this year (1755) Kaunitz had to recognise that France still clung to her Prussian alliance, although the Austrian ambassador, Starhemberg, had been graciously received by that influential politician and great enemy of Frederick, Madame Pompadour.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES (1756 A.D.)

It was not until England's Westminster Treaty with Prussia (concluded January 16th, 1756) was known, that France eagerly welcomed the Austrian advances. The treaty between the two countries was signed at Versailles in the May of 1756, and by the first of its two secret articles the empress-queen was guaranteed French help against an attack from Prussia.^c The treaty has many points of resemblance with the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, in the sixteenth century, and with the intimate understanding between Maria de' Medici and the Spanish house of Austria in the seventeenth century.

People in a position to know the facts assert confidently that Louis XV intended to do the Catholic church a service by overpowering the king of Prussia; the feeling of their common Catholic faith contributed to remove the antipathy which had grown up between Versailles and the court of Vienna in the course of a struggle more than a century old. To aid this, the idea once more sprang up of a union between the Bourbons and the Austrian house. Princess Isabella of Parma, granddaughter of Louis XV and daughter of that marriage which had already exercised great political influence, had just reached her fifteenth year, and was now destined to become the wife of the archduke Joseph, the future emperor. The king, who was not wanting in fatherly tenderness for his daughter, was flattered at the notion of her becoming empress. The marchioness was encouraged and favoured this plan, thereby strengthening her position in the king's favour; she was the intermediary for both sides of these alliances, the religious and the dynastic. But thereby a way was cleared for a turn of events which filled the world with astonishment, and appeared to be of the utmost importance.

All the great events of the last historical epoch depended on the antagonism between Bourbon and Austria; the most important relations in Europe had sprung from it, the policy of both cardinals, of Louis XIV, the war of the Spanish Succession, and the establishment of the house of Bourbon in southern Europe; that this world-embracing antagonism should now be followed by an alliance between these two mighty houses was bound to alter all other existing relations.

The decision of April 19th, 1756, in which the French government recognised and accepted in principle the pending negotiations, still enveloped in deep mystery, must be reckoned one of the great turning points of modern history. In the two treaties which were now concluded and are known in

history as the Alliance of Versailles, there is still no complete agreement between the two persons; nevertheless their contents have great significance, and we have the less right to abstain from discussing them since we have before us an authentic discussion from the Austrian chancery of state concerning them. They were concluded on May 1st, not actually in Versailles, whence they are dated, but in Jouy, the neighbouring villa of the minister Rouillé, with whom the other two plenipotentiaries, Starhemberg and Bernis, were quartered, for the negotiations still bore the character of a private discussion.

The first treaty was a convention of neutrality, the second a defensive alliance. In the first, the court of Vienna promises to take no share, direct or indirect, in the struggle between France and England, which further means that the imperial power was not to be employed for the advantage of the king of England as elector of Hanover; otherwise the German Empire would have been excepted from the operations of the treaty. In return, the king of France agreed not to attack the empress-queen either in the Netherlands or in any other of her dominions—an imitation of the Treaty of Westminster, and, at the same time, its direct contradiction; for whilst that shielded Germany from the attacks of France, this left it open to them. Every word was weighed with the utmost care. When the king declared therein that he would involve no other government in his war with England, it was by the request of Vienna, so that it should not appear as if Austria desired to rid herself of other obligations.

So also in the second treaty, a deed of union and friendship for mutual defence, it was expressly stated that this had no offensive purpose against any power whatever; and a very moderate number of troops was named to be furnished on either side for this purpose—only twenty-four thousand men. Austria further expressly stipulated that she should not be expected on her side to furnish this help in the present war, because that would not be in accordance with her obligations of neutrality. But France was not only without such an exception to her responsibilities—they were so all-embracing that they even held good in the event of attack by the Turks. The French statesmen had long striven against this, but Count Starhemberg insisted on his point and knew how to carry it.

So far the treaty was divulged to the public. Understood literally, it could give no offence. Far less innocent is the tenor of the secret articles which were added to the defensive treaty. The true purpose of the alliance did not appear even here, but nevertheless some of the stipulations involved point to it.

Austria had demanded an especial guarantee, in case she should be attacked by Prussia during the war between the two western states. The French ministers did not see fit to specify the king by name, but were ready for a clause in which he was included. According to the reciprocal nature of the arrangement, however, it could not be constructed without tending also to the further advantage of France. In consideration of this, an article was added in which Austria finally promised that if, in consequence of the present war, France should be assailed by another power, Austria would aid her, and France undertook the same if Austria should be assailed in a similar way. The expressions are general, but the meaning is especially to insure for Austria the help of France in case of attack from Prussia.

In the second article, it is noticeable that among the powers which were to be invited to join this agreement only the Bourbons in Spain and Italy and the emperor, as archduke of Tuscany, are named. The Austrians would

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have wished that the empress of Russia, their closest ally in this affair, should be included, but on the French side it was argued that then the allies of France, that is, Sweden, Denmark, and even the king of Prussia, would have to be named. This was the reason why only the very nearest blood relations on both sides were mentioned by name; and when it was further agreed that wider invitations should be extended only after mutual agreement, one to the Russian empress was at once decided upon. Another clause of the articles had reference to the privileges reserved in the cession of Parma.

We are aware of the reluctance with which Maria Theresa accepted the confirmation by the Treaty of Aachen of her territorial concessions, particularly the renewed guarantee of the surrender of Silesia; she must therefore have felt all the greater satisfaction at the third secret article of this treaty, in which the prospect was held out of a revision of the Treaty of Aachen in respect to the question of territory. She hoped by French aid to free herself from the onerous conditions imposed upon her by England. In a fourth secret article the two parties promised not only to undertake no new responsibilities towards other powers, but also not to renew old understandings, without first consulting with each other and coming to an agreement thereon. The court of Vienna had proposed a similar arrangement, in order to do away with the suspicion that its alliance with England had not yet been completely severed; but an even more important reason was that by this means all apprehension lest the understanding between Prussia and France should be renewed on any fresh basis was removed.

In the communication to the Russian court in which these articles were elucidated, there was even expressed the hope that the king of Prussia might be led by this treaty to take steps which would finally embroil him with the crown of France. As before shown, even here the final aims of the alliance were not expressed; even this understanding was only to be the precursor of one still more comprehensive.

The treaty was laid before a conference of the privy council in Vienna by Kaunitz. The emperor and the empress as well as the council of ministers took part in it. Kaunitz remarked that he did not expect the court of France to accept it so readily; there was now good ground for hoping that the secret convention would be brought about before long. Already France was compelled by the existing agreement to stand by Austria, which need not on that account be thrown into dependence upon her, as had admittedly been the case with Spain, though for all that France must be the first consideration in imperial policy. There was also no ground for objecting to the fact that mention was made in this treaty of the French guarantee of the Peace of Westphalia, for as far as the German Empire was concerned this guarantee was far more necessary for the Catholics than for the Protestants. Kaunitz pointed out as the greatest advantage to Austria that the aid of France against the Porte had been secured.

If we recollect that at the first council after the Treaty of Aachen it was agreed on all sides that Austria had three dangerous enemies — Prussia, the Porte, and France — it will now be seen that by this defensive alliance with France Austria had neutralised all three. What had, at that time, appeared desirable, but scarcely to be hoped for, had now, at the right moment, been accomplished by the chancellor. There were some among the Austrian statesmen who inclined to the contrary views as long as there seemed any chance of upholding the old alliance; but now they gave way before the accomplished fact, and there was not one dissentient voice. The empress expressed herself to the effect that she had never in the course of her reign signed any

convention with so much pleasure; she was congratulated on the conclusion of a transaction which would redound to the welfare of her country and also of her faith. Ratifications were exchanged on the 28th of May, and the two conventions were then communicated to all courts where there were French and Austrian ambassadors, the two ambassadors, in most cases, acting simultaneously.

The Alliance of Versailles gave to France this advantage: that all opposition from the Netherlands and from Spain, from Italy and Russia was ended by it, and the far-reaching influence of the Catholic church was bound up with her political interest. The concessions granted to the house of Austria were the price of the dissolution of her old bond of alliance with England. Whilst seeking to hold fast all the threads of the old alliance and to interweave them with the new understanding, Austria was forced, by the reaction

of the later agreement, out of the existing system into dependency on the new ally, in whom confidence could hardly yet be placed with certainty. But, on the other hand, France lost by the Treaty of Versailles the federal position for which she had formerly striven—a change which was to lead to the gravest results.

What was asserted in reference to Germany was not less true in regard to the north and the east. There the opposition against Russia, in which France was united with Prussia and Sweden, had to be given up; the relations to Poland, so long at least as Austria and Russia were united, were completely deranged; it might well be declared that, without this alliance, France could not have assented to the passive part she played during the first partition of Poland. And whereas,



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since the time of King Francis I, it had been a leading feature of French policy to support the Turks against Austria, this was now quite at an end. France did not actually connect herself with the principal tendency which bound the two imperial courts, but she connived at it, and allowed for it.

The political relations of the powers were in this way completely changed. The balance of European power had to seek another basis. Although in itself this bond between France and Austria was not against the natural order of things, seeing that it held, to the great advantage of Austria, more than a generation, still with regard to universal relations there lay in it even for Austria a new departure of the most questionable kind. It had been found necessary for a long time to form defensive alliances against the greed of new conquests which France was always manifesting. Even the transactions of that time showed that these were by no means given up; Austria decided not only to let them run their course, but even to support them. And how was this to be accomplished if France were once more to be actuated by this greed against Austria herself? The outbreak of the revolutionary wars begins with a popular reaction against the Treaty of Versailles, and coincides with its abrogation. But the powers of reaction were then divided among them-

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selves. From this point of view, the Treaty of Versailles appeared pregnant with consequences for Europe.^c

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-1761 A.D.)

The rupture of peace between Austria and Prussia towards which events had been trending, came about in 1756. The war that ensued was the famous Seven Years' War, through which Frederick II of Prussia won a place among the great captains of all time. The details of this war will of course be given in the history of Frederick (in Vol. XV); it will suffice here to give the barest synopsis of events, after which we shall deal more at length with the consequences to Austria of the great conflict.^a

The Campaign of 1756

The war commenced with the sudden invasion of Saxony by Frederick. The Saxon army, too weak for resistance, withdrew to the fortified camp at Pirna in September. The king decided to starve out the Saxons. General Browne of the imperial army advanced to their relief. The king met him with thirty thousand men, and a battle was fought at Lobositz on the Saxon frontier (October 1st). Frederick asserted his position, and therefore won the battle. He could not follow up the Austrians, as he required his troops to subdue the Saxon camp. Browne made yet another attempt to support a sortie of the Saxons; but this also failed, and the Saxons, seventeen thousand strong, had to surrender (October 14th). Thus ended the first campaign. The Prussians took up winter quarters in Saxony.

In the winter the king made preparations for the next campaign. He dealt with Saxony as conquered land; he placed the common soldiers taken at Pirna in the Prussian regiments: this was small gain, for they deserted wholesale. His strongest ally was the king of England; he raised a considerable army in Hanover, and the duke of Cumberland was to be at its head.

Austria extended its alliance with France. Louis XV promised to place 100,000 men in the field, to take 10,000 Bavarians and Würtembergers into his pay and place them at the disposal of Austria, to contribute 2,000,000 gulden as subsidy to the war, and finally not to lay down arms before the conquest of Silesia and Glatz. Sweden promised to place 20,000 men in the field. The German Empire declared the invasion of Saxony to be a breach of the imperial peace, and declared war with Prussia. Of these allies, the Würtembergers were reluctant, for they thought it wrong to fight against the Protestant king for the Catholic empress; they thought the entire war was directed against Protestantism. They felt that the imperial army was incomplete and badly put together, as many imperial princes preferred to hire out their troops to the English than to place them at the disposal of the empress at their own cost. The Russians furnished 60,000 and the Austrians 150,000 men. These masses were to fight in the next campaign.

The Campaign of 1757

King Frederick came before the enemy. He advanced from Silesia and Saxony with four army corps, and on the appointed day the main forces took their stand not far from Prague (May 4th). To save Prague, Prince Charles of Lorraine had to give battle. He lost it, and with 50,000 men fell back on Prague, which the king immediately besieged. General Daun, who

with 29,000 men was only at the distance of a day's march from Prague, took up the defeated right wing of the main army, 14,000 strong, and retired to Moravia. Reinforcements advanced from all sides, whilst Prague was hard pressed by the king. Five hundred houses had already been destroyed in the bombardment, horse flesh was consumed, tin money was coined, the powder ran out. To save the town a battle had to be fought. With 50,000 men, Daun advanced to Kolin. He had thought of everything and even made previous arrangements for retreat, whence the erroneous tradition has arisen that he gave up the battle as lost and wished to withdraw.

The king had advanced to meet and attack him with 34,000 combatants (June 18th). For the first time Frederick was beaten; he lost 13,000 men, 45 cannon, and 22 banners. The imperial losses amounted to 8,000 men. Daun himself had two horses shot under him, received two wounds, but did not desert the battle-field.

The king immediately raised the siege of Prague and retired to Dresden. Luck seemed to have deserted him. The duke of Cumberland—who with an army consisting of troops from Hanover, Brandenburg, Hesse, Gotha, Lippe, Bükeburg, and a small Prussian force, was to cover north Germany—was beaten at Hastenback by Marshal d'Estrées (July 26th), and had to sign a convention at Closter-Seven in accordance with which the auxiliaries were dismissed to their homes, but the Hanoverians removed to the other side of the Elbe. Hereupon, the French occupied Hanover and threatened Magdeburg. The Swedes had invaded Prussian Pomerania. The Russians had conquered Memel, and beaten General Lehwald at Jägerndorf. The imperial general, Hadik, had successfully led an expedition to Berlin, and exacted 350,000 reichsthalers in war taxes and 25,000 thalers for the troops from the town.

The king rose up, marched against the French, and defeated them at Rossbach (November 5th). Then he turned to Silesia, which had been invaded by the Austrians under Prince Charles and Daun. Nadasti conquered Schweidnitz (November 11th). The prince of Bavaria, who was against the Austrians, was beaten and taken, and Breslau surrendered to the imperials (November 24th).

The king restored his fortunes by the battle of Leuthen. The Austrians, about 66,000 strong, were totally defeated (December 5th). They lost 20,000 men and 66 cannon. The result of this victory for the Prussians was the conquest of Liegnitz and of Breslau. Two other circumstances were favourable to the king. The king of England did not ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven: he recalled the duke of Cumberland, who was replaced by the able Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The Russians suddenly withdrew, for the empress was very ill; General Apraxin was awaiting her end, and as her successor was in favour of the king of Prussia, Apraxin hoped to win approbation by withdrawal. The empress Elizabeth recovered, and Apraxin was cashiered, but the king was exempted by the Russians from blame in this campaign.

The Campaign of 1758

The fight between the French and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick led to no important results. The Russians had conquered Königsberg and almost all Prussia, and besieged Küstrin. The king defeated them at Zorndorf; they lost 20,000 men, and retired to the Polish frontier (August 25th).

The king had opened the campaign against the Austrians by the invasion of Moravia. He invested Olmütz. The maintenance of the Prussian army

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by Moravia itself, which the king had intended, was impossible; as the imperials easily cut off all communications, provisions had to be brought from Silesia. The king sent for a large convoy of 4,000 wagons from Silesia: 10,000 men formed the escort, but Daun, receiving intelligence of this, sent generals Laudon and Ziskovitz to break it up. They completely succeeded. The convoy was attacked in the pass of Domstadt (July 30th); all wagons were seized. The Prussians lost 3,000 men. The king now raised the siege of Olmütz. The town had bravely defended itself for six weeks. As already stated, the king beat the Russians at Zorndorf and returned to Silesia.

The king encamped at Hochkirchen with 40,000 men. It was an unfavourable position. Before day-break Daun surprised him (October 14th). The Prussians resisted heroically, but succumbed to the well-ordered attack of the Austrians. They lost 10,000 men, 100 guns, 70 ammunition wagons, and 28 banners. Among the dead were the king's brother-in-law, Prince Francis of Brunswick, and Field-marshal Keith. The Austrian loss amounted to 7,000 men. The victory did not lead to the results which it might have had, for Daun did not attack the king again in the day-time. This was the greatest feat of arms in this campaign.

The Campaign of 1759

The French successfully opened the campaign. They repulsed the attack of Prince Ferdinand on Bergen near Frankfort, occupied the see of Münster, and conquered Hesse; but on the same day were beaten at Minden by Prince Ferdinand (August 1st), and at Gohfeld by the hereditary prince Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick, and thus all advantages were lost.

The Russians advanced in the field with 70,000 men. When General Wedel was beaten by them at Züllichau (July 23rd), they marched to Frankfort on the Oder, where they were joined by the imperial general, Laudon, with 18,000 men. Meanwhile the king had arrived. He fought the Russians near Kunersdorf (August 12th). He had thrown the right wing of the Russians into confusion, had already taken over 100 cannon, had already written to the queen, "Before two hours elapse, we shall have gained a complete victory." Meanwhile Laudon had advanced; the Prussians could not break through his ranks, the Russians rallied; the Prussians were defeated: it was their greatest defeat throughout the whole war; 20,000 men and all the artillery were lost. If the Russians, as Laudon advised, had followed the king, Prussia would have been lost; but Soltikov replied, "I have received no order to destroy the king of Prussia."

Soltikov had the same motive in this as had Apraxin when he suddenly withdrew from the first campaign — namely, the failing health of the empress and the preference of her heir for the king of Prussia.

The Austrian and imperial armies took Dresden, after a siege of twenty-seven days. As the king drew near, Daun dealt a vigorous blow. General Finck was at Maxen with 15,000 men. Daun unexpectedly burst upon him, surrounded him, and Finck was obliged to surrender with the whole force (November 21st).

The Campaign of 1760

In this campaign the Austrians were the aggressors. Laudon, who now commanded an independent force of 36,000 men, fell upon General Fouqué at Landshut, stormed the fortified camp, and took Fouqué and two other generals prisoners (June 23rd). The Prussians lost 8,000 men, 67 cannon. 38

ammunition wagons. Laudon just as eagerly attacked the fortress of Glatz (July) and took it by storm. A combined attack on the king by Daun, Laudon, and Soltikov was now to take place, but the king frustrated this by suddenly attacking Laudon and defeating him at Liegnitz. The imperials lost 10,000 men, 80 cannon, 23 banners.

In this campaign, the capital of Prussia was invested by the Austrians under Lacy and the Russians under Chernichev. When the king hastened to deliver Berlin, they drew back. A decisive battle was fought at Torgau in Saxony (November 3rd). At first the advantage was with the Austrians, but when in the evening Daun left the field wounded, the Prussians triumphed. The Austrians withdrew to Dresden. They had lost 20,000 men, and the Prussians 13,000. The king himself was slightly wounded.

The Last Campaign (1761-1762)

This campaign was less rich in deeds than the preceding. On the 1st of October Laudon surprised the stronghold of Schweidnitz and took it by storm; this was the only great feat of the Austrians in the campaign. The king of Prussia was so exhausted that he could no longer take the aggressive, but had to limit himself to the defensive. He would certainly have been defeated, except for the death of Elizabeth, the empress of Russia (5th of January, 1762). Her successor, Peter III, was an active admirer of Frederick's. He immediately concluded peace with him, returned all conquests, and allowed Chernichev to join the Prussian army with 20,000 men. The Austrians now felt how mistaken they had acted in dismissing 20,000 worthy soldiers, and among them 500 officers, in the expectancy that the king would suffer defeat through want of means and men.

Suddenly affairs took an unexpected turn. Peter III was overthrown by his wife Catherine, and the new empress recalled her troops. The king attempted to call them out. The Austrians, who were as yet unaware of the order received by Chernichev, had to oppose the Russian troops, and thus the king succeeded in displacing the Austrians from their entrenchments at Burkersdorf. Thereupon, he besieged Schweidnitz and conquered it after sixty-nine days. This was the last exploit of the war. At Fontainebleau peace was concluded between France, England, Spain, and Portugal.^d

THE RESULT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

France renounced her intention of standing in the way of Anglo-American development beyond the ocean; and although England undoubtedly gained the maritime ascendancy in North America, she nevertheless refrained from accomplishing what she could certainly have achieved at that time—the simultaneous ruin of the French and the Spanish colonial power. Austria also relinquished her purpose of freeing her ancient authority in Germany from the restrictions which Prussian power had imposed upon it. She decided to grant to the king of Prussia that security the imperilment of which had caused him to take up arms. Although there might have been moments in which Frederick thought he could dictate laws to the Austrian power or overthrow it, he nevertheless seems never to have adopted such a plan, which certainly could not have been realised. During the years of the war Austria had developed its own fighting forces and remained intact. The provinces of the monarchy were still more closely united by the dangers and the strain of the war.

[1763 A.D.]

It is a notable fact that the independence of North America from France and the undiminished existence of the Prussian state were not only achieved at the same time but stood in very close relations to each other. The former opened out an immense future; the eyes of contemporaries were directed mainly to the latter. It was a success of eminent historical significance. All life must prove itself in strife and struggle. The Prussian state, based on ancient foundations which corresponded to those of the other states, although they were not exactly similar, had obtained a position of actual independence which represented a characteristic principle. But it had been attacked by overwhelmingly powerful opponents, and threatened with an amputation which would have destroyed it. For its power was its existence. This immense danger was now victoriously overcome by Frederick; the possession of that province by the acquisition of which the rank of a European power had been attained could now be considered to be maintained in perpetuity.

Such was the general state of affairs; but there were still questions of detail of a certain importance which awaited a decision. One of these concerned the Westphalian-Rhenish provinces of the house of Brandenburg, which had so often been the subject of general differences. In consequence of former transactions the intention of France was to concede them temporarily to the emperor, in his capacity as head of the empire. The Austrians only lacked troops which they could employ for seizing these provinces. To provide for all cases Starhemberg took care that in the preliminary articles which concerned the evacuation of the provinces, the restrictive clause "as soon as possible" should be admitted. The English consented to this eventual delay, but at the same time they intended to bring about a definite pacification between Prussia and Austria. The point in dispute, which might otherwise have caused new difficulties and complications, was finally settled by an independent declaration of the two leading powers. In order to protect these provinces and also the Austrian Netherlands against attack, the plan had been entertained of declaring them neutral territory. But in a conference of the 15th of January, 1763, the powers flatly ordained that the provinces were to be given back to Prussia.

Maria Theresa showed some displeasure at this, for it seemed as if an effort were being made to conclude the peace over her head, but she raised no serious objections, for she herself was determined to have peace. Her chief motive for this lay in her relations with the Ottomans. Although they had not entered into the proposals of the king of Prussia, they brought to mind that the Peace of Belgrade would shortly expire, and seemed ready to renew the war. The uncertainty of peace with the Turks made peace with Prussia doubly necessary.

France had already given her consent to direct negotiations between Austria and Prussia. The Viennese court, nevertheless, had some misgivings in opening them, as the king was not to be strengthened in the opinion that peace was indispensable to Austria; it was first desirable to find out whether he was disposed for it. Just at the right time an old Saxon councillor to the legation, of the name of Saul, well known from a former mission, arrived at Vienna; he came from Paris and was going to Warsaw. In conferences with him and the Saxon ambassador Flemming, Kaunitz requested the Saxons to ascertain whether the king of Prussia was in favour of peace. Kaunitz made use of the mediation of the Saxons in preference to any other, as they could not then put forward special demands on their own part, and also because their position made the speedy conclusion of peace an absolute necessity for them.

The king of Poland, Augustus III, who was still in Warsaw, consented to the proposal, and by the intervention of the crown prince the councillor Fritsch, a high Saxon official for whom Frederick had a certain esteem, was delegated to him. The king was then at Meissen; after a short interview he declared that he was ready to offer his hand to all that could lead to a lasting and fair peace. But he demanded that the Viennese court should make a declaration as to his claims.

The first overture on both sides gave little hope for an understanding. Maria Theresa demanded the cession of Glatz and the indemnification of Saxony. The king declared that, if he did not receive back all his states, there could be no peace, nor would he contribute a penny or a village towards the indemnification of Saxony. But these differences of opinion did not put an end to the conferences, which now almost by chance were transferred to Hubertusburg. We learn that the Austrian plenipotentiary Collenbach had some misgiving at seeking peace at the headquarters of the king, and while on the road to Leipsic, where these were, revealed his scruples to the Saxon ambassador, and caused the negotiations to be transferred to that hunting-seat. In Leipsic he would have to negotiate with Finckenstein; at Hubertusburg the king sent to him one of the ministry, the privy councillor of legation Hertzberg, who first gained some renown by this mission. In Hubertusburg there was again some talk of the cession of Glatz; Hertzberg urged, as Daun himself allowed, that in the hands of Austria it had some importance for the offensive, while for Prussia it had only a defensive value. The Austrians demanded the demolition of the fortress, but this was opposed by the same argument. On the 2nd of February, 1763, the court of Vienna consented to the restoration of Glatz.

The Austrians, with a view to the approaching settlement of the Franconian markgrafschafts, proposed the establishment of a Brandenburg secundogeniture, but this was quite contrary to the dynastical ideas of Frederick. He replied that this concerned his house exclusively and could not be made the subject of a treaty. On the other hand he interposed no objections to Austria's requests with regard to Modena; and as to the main point, the raising of the archduke Joseph to the Roman kingship, he had no further objections. The negotiations also concerned the demanded indemnification of Saxony. But the Saxon statesmen did not formulate their demands clearly and precisely; and it was observed that they were not on good terms with the Austrians. The crown prince let the matter drop.

The other states and estates of the German Empire which had held to the court of Vienna also longed for settlement. In his repeated invasions of the autonomous states of the empire, Frederick declared that his proceedings only concerned those whose contingents were still amongst the troops of the empress and that they would cease as soon as they withdrew their troops. The estates of the realm now found protection neither with France in consequence of the preliminaries, nor with Austria; and the emperor and empress released the estates from the promise given by them in 1757. After some individual treaties had been made, then followed the neutral declaration at the diet of Ratisbon on the 11th of February.

After manifold disputes, which however never compromised the main point, it finally came to the act of signing the articles agreed upon, which were no longer to constitute the preliminaries, as was the intention in the beginning, but a definitive treaty. Collenbach was again seized with anxiety, which arose as much from his subordinate position as from his personal characteristics; he went from the Prussian plenipotentiary to the Saxon, from one to the

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other; he even asked his secretary what he would do in his place; at last he signed.

In Vienna itself no doubt prevailed. In consequence of the decision of the Anglo-French conference, Maria Theresa was still more decided to urge on the peace. Deserted by Russia, threatened by the Turks, in the face of the impending superiority of Frederick, which might assert itself at any moment, she had no alternative. She had prepared for war, caused its outbreak, and with almost passionate energy directed the military operations and the negotiations. It was from her that the system of alliances proceeded, from which it was expected with certainty that Silesia would be reconquered. She had rejected all proposals of settlement and of peace, but her two great allies had been compelled by their own positions to conclude peace independently. The most important moment of her political life, considered as a whole, was that in which she had to consent and agree to the peace.

The events on both sides are at the same time personal and the greatest affairs of state: in Maria Theresa are represented the politics of Austria, which dominated Germany and occasionally the world; in Frederick II the independence and power of the Prussian state, to the acquisition of which he was the chief contributor.

To sum up, the peace amounted to this: the empress restored the Peace of Breslau, which in taking up arms it had been her purpose to destroy; she evacuated the provinces which at the outbreak of the war had belonged to Prussia; and the king in return withdrew his troops from Saxony.^e

JOSEPH II AS CO-REGENT

Joseph, the eldest son, and the fourth child, of Maria Theresa, born March 13th, 1741, married in October, 1760, Isabella of Parma; to Joseph's great grief she died shortly after the birth of her second daughter (November, 1763), and he made, for state reasons, a second, and unfortunate marriage with Josepha, daughter of the emperor Charles VII (January, 1765). In the interval between the two events he was elected king of the Romans (March 27th, 1764), and crowned in Frankfort (April 3rd). His father, the emperor Francis I, died in August of the next year, a husband to whom Maria Theresa was deeply attached (her first words to her rival, Countess Auersperg, after his death were, "How much have both of us lost!"), a passionate huntsman and gambler, not without some qualities as a collector and a financier; a man whose extreme good nature did not always save him from the discomforts of his position—as husband of Maria Theresa—as he showed especially in his jealousy of the all-powerful and trusted Kaunitz.^a

These family affairs, as is the case in all monarchical states, had a many-sided effect on the public life of the country; but the most important and most telling event was the co-regency of Joseph. Immediately after his father's death he styled himself German emperor, and assumed the government of the German Empire, so far as there was any government at all. Maria Theresa transferred to him all personal dignities and privileges to which, as the heir and male head of the dynasty, he could be entitled. On December 8th, 1765, only a few months after the death of her husband, she named him co-regent of Austria, without, as she expressed herself, relinquishing any portion of the rule which she possessed "over the perpetually inseparable Austrian states." She left him the arrangement of the imperial household, the direction of the military and finance departments; but she remained the reigning sovereign, and prescribed from time to time wider or

narrower limits to his activity as co-regent according to her own judgment and the advice of her ministers. A relation of this kind can subsist only when one or the other of the two parties possesses a wholly passive, acquiescent disposition; and this was the case neither with Maria Theresa nor her son. Conflicts between them were, therefore, unavoidable; all the more so since their views on religious and political matters differed widely.

First of all, the emperor broke through the bounds of the old stiff court ceremonial. He struck out of the court calendar all the gala days, the pilgrimages and processions, the Eastertide custom of washing the feet of the poor, and all ceremonious audiences. He dismissed the pages and the Swiss guards employed since 1745. He united his court household with that of the empress, and he did away with the old Spanish court dress. It is said that, the first time Joseph appeared at court in his military uniform, he remarked to those standing near him, "What will my lord steward say to this?" He drew tighter the strings of the "court purse," setting a limit to the distribution of gifts and pensions. He struck the item of hunting expenses out of his household budget. It was at his suggestion that in 1766 the Prater in Vienna, which up to that time had been reserved as a hunting ground for the court, was thrown open for the free use of the entire public; likewise the Augarten in 1765.

A new spirit was also noticeable in political and social life. Joseph's ideas of monarchical rule were quite different from his mother's. Maria Theresa, notwithstanding all reforms, represented the old Austrian governmental system with its provincial and feudal tendencies. Joseph longed to sweep away completely the remains of the Middle Ages which still lay like a rubbish heap on Austria. Maria Theresa dispensed favours to an extravagant degree; Joseph sought to accord honour only to merit. Maria Theresa set a great value upon ancient families and inherited privileges; Joseph estimated the value of a man by his work. Maria Theresa disliked to disturb the existing order of things; Joseph wanted to see the forces of the state refreshed and infused with new vigour.

The courtiers who dreaded his innovations accused him of violence, harshness, and rapid changes in his reforms; but those of his letters and opinions about his period in our possession prove how deeply the young emperor had thought on matters of state and government. He did not regard the state as a patrimony, but as *Rechtsstaat*—that is, a state where all administration is based on law. His whole being was penetrated by a consciousness of his responsibilities and by thoughts making for the good and the honour of Austria. The private fortune, amounting to about 8,000,000 florins, which he inherited from his father, over which he had a little disagreement with his brother Leopold, he surrendered to the state for the reduction of the public debt. In 1768 he wrote to his brother: "Love of the fatherland, the good of the monarchy, this is the only passion which I feel—it guides my every action. I am so penetrated by it that my soul is at peace only when I am convinced of the usefulness of our course of action. Nothing appears too trivial to me, everything interests me." His youthful spirit demanded work and activity, but he was early compelled to recognise the force that habit and inertia lend to existing institutions. His co-regency resolved itself into a consulting rather than an active office; so that he was often compelled to give his sanction to what he disapproved. He found himself often in contention even with Kaunitz, and as a rule the empress sided with the latter. In the first years Joseph was completely under his mother's rule; he carried submission to a degree of self-obliviation and personal humiliation; but as

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time went on he could not bring himself to continue playing the part his father had played. As early as 1769 he desired that his signature might have an independent significance, and in 1773 and 1775 he openly requested to be permitted to withdraw from participation in the government.

As his mother was against both alternatives, he went more and more his own way; he expressed his real opinions with more decision in the council chamber, but was always inclined to yield. In 1773 and 1775 he wrote to his mother, "I love nothing on earth but you and the state. I have the will and strength to be obedient, but not to change my convictions and principles." The antagonism of principles continued to exist, but this did not prevent Maria Theresa from arriving at an understanding with her son and agreeing to "good and useful" innovations. From the retarding and accelerating movements, as represented respectively by Maria Theresa and Joseph, there issued the reform period of 1770-1780, which laid the foundation of the Josephinian system. This system discarded feudalism and the hierarchy in favour of the power of the state, remoulded the legal and military administration, created a new code, established the public school, freed the peasants from the crushing burden laid upon them by their landowners, and transformed not only the political structure but also the nation itself in its social organisation, its customs, and its habits of thought.

The portrait of Joseph II is well known — that open face with the blue eyes, now so mild and again so determined, the high forehead, the little mouth and soft lips, the full, rather sensuous chin, the powdered hair rolled into curls on the temples and worn in a bag behind. At that time, between 1770 and 1780, he was in the prime of life, strong and healthy, no work being too hard for him, no effort too great. He walked quickly, his gestures and action were rapid. On his journeys he always pressed forward with the speed of the wind, through night and mist, across torrents and over wild mountain passes. He was always ready to learn and delighted to enter into the minutest details. He paid far too little attention to the advice given him by the great Frederick at Neisse, not to let himself be oppressed by trifles, which wearied the spirit and hindered it from considering great matters. His household and his way of life were quite simple. He liked to affect independence of anyone's service. He was accustomed to command — strict, unsparing, often violent and crushing; and then again gentle and kindly, full of pity and sympathy for every kind of suffering, particularly for the sighs of the poor and oppressed. He was the first prince of his race in centuries who stepped forth into the common life, the first prince who spoke and wrote intelligible German. Wherever he appeared he charmed everyone, high and low, with his frank, friendly manner; he was during those years the most popular prince in all Germany, the joy and the hope of the new generation.

JOSEPH II ATTEMPTS REFORMS

As German emperor, Joseph II attempted to shake at least the highest functionaries of the administration out of their rigidity; but how was it possible to introduce the germs of progress into the dead mass of imperial federation? The German king had long been denuded of all actual rights, and real influence he possessed only through the aulic council of the empire, and even here it was difficult to accomplish anything actually affecting the power and the rights of the territorial sovereignties. The imperial law court was moreover overladen with business, and the members had little inclination for any continuous activity. They looked upon their position, as a state

councillor once expressed it, as on a farm, upon which time and labour are spent only in proportion to the yield.

Joseph had the honest intention to get rid of the glaring abuses. After he had assumed the direction of affairs in 1776, he plainly expressed to the members of the council his dissatisfaction with their manner of working. A decree dated October 21st, 1767, ordered four weekly meetings of the council and the settlement of all disputes within, at most, two years; in particular he denounced the evil of receiving and demanding presents.

"The slightest evasion or violation of my earnest command," ran the imperial decree, "I will punish — for the benefit of the honest and the terror of the selfish — in the severest way, even by dismissal, and this without regard to services rendered with no matter how great ability." In the same way Joseph endeavoured to check the corruption of the imperial supreme court in Wetzlar. In this court of highest instance, however, the administration of justice was not possible; the small numbers of the workers could not compass the amount of business, and those suits which were settled were not always decided according to equity. There had been no inspection of its work since 1588. Under Joseph I, one was planned but never carried out. Joseph II attacked the question once more, in order to make an end of the selling of justice and of general corruption. On the 11th of May, 1767, a commission of inquiry began its work. Prince Fürstenberg acted as principal, the old chancellor of Treves, Spangenberg, was commissioner, Baron Erthal, canon of Mainz, afterwards taking the latter's place.

The commission was active, but nothing was accomplished. In the imperial supreme court, as in the aulic council, everything remained in its former condition. The number of lawsuits in arrear in 1772 was not less than 61,233; one lawsuit, concerning the property of an imperial count, lasted 188 years.

Joseph II experienced here in matters of detail what he was to encounter later in his policy as a whole. The mass of stagnation was too enormous for him to be able to infuse the breath of life into it. The decay of the chief offices of the empire, of the military, financial, and law departments, was not to be attributed only to individual negligent councillors and corrupt agents; it lay deeper, in the complete collapse of the federation of the empire and in the utter absence of municipal character. In earlier generations there had still existed a communion of outward interests through the disposition of the German princes. At the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in particular, the combined action of Austria and Prussia had led to a new development of strength, and had revived the importance of the empire in the eyes of Europe. This union was destroyed by the enmity of Frederick II to Austria and by the new position which he had won for Prussia; and it was not evident how the federal arrangement of the empire could evolve a new order of things from its native strength.

In domestic matters the co-regent's reforming activity was directed, in the first place, to the affairs that were admitted to be his province — the military and the financial. After the death of Daun (1765) Joseph for a moment contemplated taking over the supreme direction of military affairs, but that the German emperor should at the same time appear as Austrian minister of war was impossible.

Laudon, in the opinion of Frederick II the only really capable Austrian general, was not elected as president of the council of war, but instead Count Maurice Lacy, a foreigner of low birth, who at the beginning of the Seven Years' War was one of the youngest colonels in the army, and who was now

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raised over the heads of thirty generals into the foremost position. Daun had recommended him and the choice appeared, in fact, a fortunate one, for Lacy was a magnificent organiser. He provided a better dress, better weapons, and an improved equipment for the army; introduced improved exercises for the cavalry; united the commissariat administration to the ministry of war; founded the general staff; caused the fortresses of the empire to be restored, etc. His administration brought new life into the army, but caused great opposition in the civil administration. Lacy even got into slight differences with the emperor, and resigned in 1774. His successor was, again, not Laudon, but the cavalry general, Count Andrew Hadik.

Joseph had taken the liveliest interest in the military reforms, but seemed nevertheless dissatisfied. He complained to his mother that the army budget was only 17,500,000 and that scarcely half the men were fit for war. When the army took the field, in 1778, it was neither so large nor so well equipped, nor so prepared for war as Maria Theresa and Joseph had expected. Neither was Joseph II satisfied with the financial-economic condition of the state. He condemned with sharp words the short-sightedness of the state officials, who had no grip on the situation as a whole, and who could not draw their conclusions as to what was necessary for the state from their own private household and business experience.

Joseph II was an extreme protectionist, with physiocratic leanings. In a memorial written in 1765 he had already pronounced against the importation of all foreign goods, with the exception of spices and groceries. It is known that he once had many thousand gulden worth of foreign watches destroyed, and the foreign wines in his house were sent away to the hospital. "Agriculture and industry are of more importance than commerce," he wrote. Austria, he considered, having so little sea-frontage, would never drive a very brisk foreign trade, and the balance of trade would always remain a passive one, as in former times.

From year to year he laid before his mother comprehensive schemes of reform which he had drawn up, and which showed great keenness of insight and knowledge of details. In these he always laid stress on the general good and the necessity of thoroughgoing measures. "My ardour," he wrote to Maria Theresa, "for our fatherland and for your majesty will never cool; but to succeed in great things one must examine thoroughly and act in a determined manner, penetrating into the heart of things, else it will be, as we see, all patchwork that yields no results; consideration for too many special interests renders unavailing the efforts of the best intentioned."

But bold measures were not to the taste of the empress, especially in her later years. Joseph's reforms appeared rash to such an unheard-of degree that the courtiers who belonged to the good old times shook their heads doubtfully, and the empress herself shrank from them. One of the courtiers said to her that an effort was being made to disgust her with the government, to draw her away still further from business of state, and to wrest the sceptre wholly from her grasp; she should rouse herself to defend her rights with Christian strength.

Maria Theresa had no real intention of abdicating, and when the first mood had passed she took the reins of government into her hands again; but the old liveliness and inner cheerfulness did not return. From this time the complaint comes to us — "am no longer *en vigueur*, am alone and forsaken, my courage begins to fail me," etc.

Those whose strength had served her of old gradually died out, and she could not understand the new men. In the ideas and personalities of the

day, the contrast between the old time and the new mirrored itself; and this contrast made itself felt in the state council, in the ministerial bureaux, and in the relations of the provinces and the different classes of people. The peculiar relations existing between the royal mistress and the co-regent did not, indeed, bring divided councils into the centre of government, but certain essential reforms halted and foreign policy became uncertain and hesitating.

Although the empress often sanctioned the proposals made by Joseph, in all those where tolerance and the relation of church and state were in question, an understanding between them was impossible. Maria Theresa not only regarded the Catholic church as the only one which brought salvation with it, but also as the only one that had a right to exist. She hated tolerance, enlightenment, philosophy, and indifferentism. She lamented the corruption of manners, the spread of irreligion, the striving after universal freedom, and most of all the scholars and philosophers of the enlightenment, who in her opinion were immoral and made bad fathers, bad sons and husbands, bad ministers and citizens.

When Joseph II was travelling through Switzerland, and in one of his letters made use of the word "tolerance," she answered him: "Nothing is so wholesome or so necessary as religion. Would you have everyone form a religion after his own fancy — no prescribed cult, no submission? Peace and contentment would be at end, the right of might and other terrible effects would once more be among us. I desire no spirit of persecution, but still less one of indifference and tolerance. I wish to be gathered to my fathers with the knowledge to comfort me that my son thinks in religious matters as his ancestors did, that he has given up his false logic and his bad books; that he is not as those who sacrifice all that is holy and venerable so that their mere intellect may shine, and who desire an imaginary freedom which could only lead to unbridled license and confusion." But in these respects Joseph could not bring himself to alter his views.

When in Inner Austria in 1773, and in Moravia in 1777, many burghers and peasants confessed themselves Protestants, Joseph demanded freedom for all religions, and condemned in severe terms the proceedings of the government, which desired to take the harshest steps provided by the existing law for the punishment of the recalcitrants. "The orders of the government," he wrote to his mother, "against the Protestants in Moravia are against the principles of our religion and of good government — even against common sense. In order to convert the people the government would make soldiers of them, send them to the mines and to the public works. That was not done even when the Lutherans were first persecuted. I declare positively that whoever has written this order is unworthy to serve the government, and has, as a man, my contempt." As Kaunitz also advised moderation, Maria Theresa in 1779 and 1780 let herself be persuaded to milder measures; the leaders of the apostasy were to be exiled to Hungary or Transylvania; public worship was to be forbidden them, but the government was to endeavour to correct the people only by mild teaching and persuasion.⁹

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND (1772 A.D.)

On October 5th, 1763, Augustus III king of Poland died, and on the succession of the Russian candidate, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (September 6th, 1764), a civil war broke out between the Russian and the national parties, in which Catherine participated by sending troops into Poland to defend the Greek Christians (1767). The situation was further complicated

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in the following year by a declaration of war from Turkey, whose territory had been invaded by Russian troops. In order to secure the strict observance of her neutrality, Austria marked out the Polish border, and in doing so (June, 1769) included the Zips district (which had once belonged to Hungary), and a little more of Polish territory. As early as 1771 Frederick had persuaded Catherine to favour his plan for enlarging their territories from Poland, rather than from Turkey, and desired Austria to participate. Maria Theresa, hostile to Frederick, resisted the idea. Joseph, who had met Frederick twice in 1769, was from the first for a forward policy in Poland and the East, and Kaunitz came round to his opinion. The situation which presented itself to Maria Theresa was indeed difficult. Her neighbours, Frederick and Catherine, were about to enlarge their borders at the expense of Poland, and self-interest, championed by her chancellor and her son, suggested that she should claim a corresponding increase of territory from one quarter or another — from Prussia, if Frederick would permit it — from Poland, which she shrank from robbing, or from Turkey, which trusted in Austria, and whose cause Joseph had taken up against Russia.^a

Complaisant as Kaunitz usually proved when it was a question of acting upon the clearly expressed wishes of the empress, he could not make up his mind to yield in this instance. As Maria Theresa herself not merely acknowledged but averred with mournful insistence, for more than a year it had not been her opinion but Joseph's that decided the foreign policy of Austria. Joseph alone was answerable for the occupation of districts on the Polish border, for the levy of forces in Hungary, and for the convention with the Porte. Maria Theresa had strenuously opposed and strongly disapproved of all these measures; but Joseph had nevertheless carried his point. This being so, it was difficult, if not impossible, to take a diametrically opposite course at this stage of the proceedings. Kaunitz was glad that Joseph had at least desisted from his demand that the Porte should be forced to continue the war, and had assented to the proposal that Thugut should exert himself at Constantinople to gain acceptance for an armistice and permission to convene a peace congress. Maria Theresa, whose most earnest desire from beginning to end had been a speedy conclusion of peace, was of the same mind, and Kaunitz hastened to issue a commission to Thugut to that effect.

It was otherwise with the instructions which were to be sent to Van Swieten in Berlin; and the negotiations with the court of St. Petersburg were continued through the agency of Galitzin. At Potsdam, on February 4th, 1772, the audience took place in which Van Swieten discharged his mission to the king of Prussia. Frederick readily agreed in principle to the idea that Austria ought to gain an accession of territory proportionate to the acquisitions of Russia and Prussia. But he gave a start when Van Swieten remarked that the equality must not be confined to the extent and inherent value of the districts to be annexed, but must extend to their political importance, and that there was hardly any part of Poland that would be of the same importance to Austria as Polish Prussia was to Frederick. And when at length Van Swieten came to the point and proposed that the king should take all Polish territory that fell to Austria and indemnify the imperial house by the cession of Glatz and Silesia, Frederick rejected the idea with vigour.

Belgrade, Bosnia, and Servia

So decided and unmistakable was the king's determination, that Van Swieten was soon convinced that there was not the slightest prospect of indu-

cing him to change his mind on the point. He therefore brought forward the second proposal, that which referred to the acquisition of Belgrade and part of Bosnia and Servia by Austria. In the chancellor's opinion, the way to make the Porte accede to this was by the return of Russia — secure in her acquisitions in Poland — to the conditions of peace first proposed between her and Turkey, and by the evacuation of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia to induce the Porte to make the concessions desired by Austria. Frederick received this proposal very favourably. He declared that he was ready to give it his warmest support at the Russian court; and Van Swieten, naturally, refrained from proceeding to the other alternatives.

The king of Prussia's letters to his brother show the duplicity of his conduct towards Austria. At the very time that he promised Van Swieten to employ all his influence at St. Petersburg in favour of the demands of the imperial court, he was writing to Prince Henry to the opposite effect. He called it a breach of trust on the part of Austria that she should propose to take from the Porte (a power which had confided in her and begged her mediation) a district the loss of which would weaken it on the Hungarian frontier to the same extent that it had already been weakened by the Russian occupation of the Crimea. He was convinced, he said, that Austria was afraid of war and would accept anything that was offered in order to avoid it.

Reprehensible as this proceeding on the part of the king of Prussia may be from the point of view of political honesty, it cannot be denied that the reflections in which he indulged and the accusations which he launched against Austria were not wholly without warrant. The opinion, which had always been professed by Maria Theresa, that it was impossible to take the course desired by Joseph and Kaunitz without being guilty of a breach of trust, steadily gained ground in Vienna. The chief credit for this must doubtless be attributed to the empress. In vigorous terms she once more repudiated the notion that Austria should enrich herself at the expense of the Porte, which had trusted her and with which she had just entered into a convention. Maria Theresa even went further and contested the justice of the principle which had been laid down — that if two states were in the act of enriching themselves by dishonest means a third must necessarily be driven, for weighty political reasons, to do the same. For this cause she declared afresh that she would take no part of the Polish dominions. If, however, this was not to be avoided, she could only assent on condition that Poland should receive Moldavia and Wallachia as compensation for the loss thus inflicted.

"I confess," she says, "that it costs me something to come to a decision in a matter of the justice of which I am by no means convinced, even if it were advantageous. But in all the three alternatives amongst which we have to choose I cannot discover the advantage. The easiest way would be to agree to the proposed partition of Poland. But what right have we to rob the innocent, whom we have always prided ourselves upon protecting and defending? To what end all these great and costly preparations, to what end so many blustering threats to maintain the balance in the north of Europe? The only motive — the advantage of not being left alone between the other two powers without gaining any advantage for ourselves — does not seem to me sufficient, does not seem even an honourable pretext for associating ourselves with two unjust usurpers in the design of still further injuring a third party without the slightest legal right."^h

Since it was clear that Prussia and Russia would carry out their partition treaty whatever Austria might do, Maria Theresa submitted, though always with misgivings, and Austria chose as her share of the spoil Galicia and various

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other districts in Poland which had once belonged to the Hungarian crown. The announcement of Austria's occupation of the country was not published till September 26th, 1772, by which time she was already in possession. No protests were raised anywhere either at home or abroad. Poland lost to the three powers 3,925 square miles of her best land out of a total of 13,500. Russia, having waged a successful war against Turkey (1768-1774), refused all intervention, and in spite of Austrian threats made her own peace at Kutchuk-Kainardji (July 16th, 1774). Austria, however, succeeded in getting from the Porte a little territory of 181 square miles, Bukowina, which she had occupied on Turkey's behalf against Russia while the preliminaries to peace were being settled.^a

Provisions Made by the Treaty of Partition

According to the letter of this treaty, Austria should have taken possession of all the Polish territory that fell within the new boundary line, which was to run from Silesia along the right bank of the Vistula as far as Sandomir and the junction of the river San, thence in a straight line to Zamoste, and on through Hubieszow to the Bug, then along the course of that river and the frontier of Borussia to the environs of Strysh and from thence to the Dniester. Finally, Pocutia as far as the border of Moldavia was to fall to Austria.

The fifth article provided that the three powers should proceed in complete accord to bring about an agreement with the kingdom of Poland concerning the territories severally acquired by them, and to restore tranquillity and order in the interior of the kingdom. For the attainment of this end it appeared necessary to agree upon both the date and method of taking possession.

The question of issuing a manifesto now came into the foreground. Panin had sent the rough draft of such a manifesto to Vienna with his first proposals for a treaty of partition, but the idea had been vehemently opposed, especially by the empress. In spite of Kaunitz' advice to waive what was after all a minor consideration, she could not bring herself to do so. Kaunitz was therefore obliged to draw up a counter-project, in which Maria Theresa ultimately acquiesced, subject to certain alterations. At a later period she herself speaks of it as "very successful." It was also sanctioned by Russia and Prussia.

We are probably right in assuming that the great political triumph he had gained by getting his scheme accepted as it stood, both in Berlin and St. Petersburg, gave the chancellor the most lively satisfaction. But in the brief reports in which he announces to the emperor and empress the conclusion of the Treaty of Partition there is not a word of the impression it made upon himself. And while Joseph acknowledges the information in the words, "I am much obliged for this agreeable news," the empress, who was wont to be so communicative, refrains from any observation. On the report which Kaunitz sent her with the deeds of ratification for signature she only put the laconic words, "Have signed."

But we should be wrong in assuming that, in her grief for what she conceived the injustice done by the partition of Poland, Maria Theresa was blind to the advantages which would accrue to her own country from it. A short but remarkable note from the empress to Lacy bears testimony to this ambiguous mood, if we may so call it. And her words are of great interest also as proving that it was Lacy who had incited Joseph to such ambitious desires. "The courier from St. Petersburg," Maria Theresa writes to the field-marshal with her own hand, "has brought the wretched partition signed. I have you

to thank for this great advantage, if such it really is. One thing is certain — that it was you who sketched the plan of it, who dared to demand so much, and thus did the state this service, without entering upon the question of whether it were just or not.” In such wise did the treaty for the partition of Poland become an accomplished fact.^h

MARIA THERESA AND RELIGION

The spirit of monarchical absolutism guided Maria Theresa in the measures in which she dealt with the ecclesiastical affairs of her subjects. In the first years of her reign she was anxious to banish all Jews from the kingdom at six months' notice, and nothing but the intercession of the elector of Mainz, the kings of Poland and England, and the pope, who himself spoke on behalf of the unfortunate race, diverted her from this intention. She was not tolerant by nature, and she could not rise to the idea that tolerance is not a religious but a political measure, which becomes indispensable when a state includes professors of different creeds. Protestantism was kept in subjection; she ignored many private misdemeanours committed against Protestants, and often herself interfered in domestic concerns when it was a question of religion.

Although a strict Catholic, she maintained towards the pope the principle of absolute sovereign authority, and the last time the Roman curia was applied to for an indulgence to allow the clergy to be taxed was during the Seven Years' War. She prohibited the visitations of the apostolic nuncios in her dominions, and the publication of any papal bull without the royal warrant; many holy days were abolished as detrimental to agriculture and trade, the abuse of exorcism was strictly forbidden, trial for witchcraft might not be so much as mentioned, a limit was fixed to the fortunes which might be taken into monasteries and nunneries, binding vows were not to be taken before the age of twenty-four. She revived the old amortisation laws for religious committees; a special edict was issued on the subject of the absorption of money by the monasteries, their prodigality, and their investment of capital in foreign countries; restrictions were placed upon the use of prisons by the superiors of monastic establishments; a special edict dealt with the influence of the clergy upon wills and final dispositions, the right of sanctuary was abolished, and all correspondence with the Roman curia had to be conducted through the bureau for foreign affairs. With the pope's consent she revived the ancient title of “apostolic” which had been conferred on St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary, by Pope Silvester II, but which had fallen into desuetude by the lapse of time. In virtue of this title and the rights derived therefrom, she divided the large dioceses into smaller ones, and erected new bishoprics; she took from the Hungarian bishops the privilege of appointing prebendaries and vested it in the Crown.

The Dissolution of the Jesuits

The most important action of the empress in matters ecclesiastical was the dissolution of the Jesuits. The order had been gradually introduced into Austria under the emperors Rudolf II and Ferdinand, to maintain there, as everywhere in Europe, the struggle against the spread of Protestantism. The Protestants rightly recognised in the society their most serious and strongest opponent, and tried by every means in their power to check its prosperity. The Jesuits were repeatedly driven out of their colleges by the victorious

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Protestants, but they always came back again, sometimes in singular fashion. Thus, when the archduke Charles, father of Ferdinand II, wished to introduce them into Gratz they could only get into the town in disguise; the day fixed for their coming was known, the Protestants sounded the alarm, the cry, "The Black Sow is coming!" rang through the streets; the carriage suspected of containing the Jesuits was stopped, and the Protestants were not a little surprised to see only two men in knightly garb inside. Somewhat out of countenance, they let the carriage pass — with the Jesuits in it. A life-and-death struggle was maintained between them and the Protestants, and the fact that Austria is in the main Catholic to this day must be largely ascribed to the activity of the Jesuits. Their influence upon the empire was due in great measure to the schools, which they gradually monopolised until not only the grammar schools (*Gymnasien*) but most of the higher educational institutions were in their hands. The universities of Prague, Vienna, and Tirnova were under their direction. They tried to enlist the ablest on their side and to inspire all their pupils with a strong affection for the order, and they usually succeeded in both objects.

The first traces of a spirit of opposition to the Jesuits are to be found in the reign of Joseph I. It sprang from many causes, first and foremost the jealousy of other religious orders, who either vied with them in learning, like the Benedictines, in proselytising zeal, like the Dominicans, or envied them their wealth and consequence. An antipathy also arose against them among the secular clergy on account of the lax morality they taught and allowed to the laity, for the Jesuits were only strict with themselves, not with others. Rummel, the emperor's religious instructor and afterwards bishop of Neustadt, was their avowed antagonist, and the emperor's confessor was no longer a Jesuit; which made a great difference in the position occupied by the order. Their Protestant adversaries were no longer dangerous; more formidable enemies had arisen among Catholics.

Thus matters stood when Maria Theresa came to the throne. By that time a glimmer of the philosophical principles of England and France had begun to penetrate to the Austrian empire; men began to find fault with the Jesuit system of education, and not without just cause, for in the grammar schools Latin was taught well, Greek hardly at all, and of other subjects there was practically nothing: religious instruction was directed rather to external form than to spiritual religion, and in the higher branches of study the Jesuits were biased. They had among them countless scholars in every department of knowledge, but they were unable to rise to the perception that no knowledge can be hurtful to the Catholic faith, but every fresh discovery must redound to its glory. They thought to serve religion by suppressing science, they had enlarged the bounds of knowledge up to a certain point, and suffered under the delusion that they could confine the spirit of inquiry within these limits. Thus they had ranged against them their old enemies the Protestants, the aversion of a section of the Catholic clergy, and the estrangement of the ruling powers; and were exposed to the attacks of unbelief on the one hand and of science on the other. One of the most eminent members of the order reproached it with having met the new demands of science with nothing but defiance and rigid adherence to old traditions; and he was right.

It is impossible to judge how subsequent circumstances might have shaped themselves for the Jesuits in the Austrian Empire under these conditions, if only they had stood alone. This they could not do, and they were consequently involved in the ruin which overwhelmed the society in other countries. In Spain, Portugal, and France it was compulsorily dissolved; the pope

continued to protect it, and inquired of Maria Theresa how she was disposed towards the Jesuits. She answered that she was not called upon to criticise the proceedings of other courts, but that she could give nothing but praise to the Jesuits in her dominions for their conduct, their zeal, and their labours, and was determined to maintain the existence of the order as serviceable to religion and the welfare of her people. But the Bourbon courts to which she was bound by ties of friendship, and where she had married two of her daughters, pressed her to consent to the dissolution of the Jesuit order; her son Joseph, as Roman emperor, and her minister Kaunitz were both in favour of the dissolution, and she yielded, though reluctantly. Thereupon Pope Clement issued the brief of abrogation, and the Jesuit order in the Austrian Empire was dissolved, its members were pensioned, and its property was formed into a fund for the endowment of learning.

The dissolution of the Jesuits made an entirely new system of education necessary. The details of the new scheme were arranged by Van Swieten, physician in ordinary to Maria Theresa; but learning had been so completely in their hands that the authorities found themselves constrained to fill up many professorial appointments with ex-Jesuits.ⁱ



MAXIMILIAN JOSEPH III

(1745-1777)

AUSTRIA AND THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION

As we turn back into the strictly political channel of events, only one important chapter of the history of Maria Theresa remains to be told. This has to do with the Bavarian Succession.^a As we know, England and Prussia (the latter especially) were on no friendly footing with Austria. Prussia, suspiciously on the watch

ever since the second war she had waged with Austria, regarded every acquisition of territory by that country as an injury inflicted upon herself. This feeling was most conspicuous in connection with the relations between Austria and Bavaria which led to the last Austro-Prussian War.

Maximilian Joseph, the elector of Bavaria, was childless, and had neither brothers nor collateral descendants. His next heir was the elector Charles Theodore of the Palatinate, by right of descent from Rudolf, eldest son of Ludwig the Stern, who had taken the Palatinate for his own share in the division with his brother Ludwig, leaving the dukedom of Bavaria to the latter. But Charles Theodore himself had no lawful issue, and the imperial court therefore entered into negotiations with a view to inducing him, after the death of Maximilian Joseph, to concede part of Bavaria to the house of Austria in compliance with ancient claims. Austria's claim was as follows:

When, in the reign of the emperor Sigismund, the duke of Bavaria died without issue, the emperor gave his son-in-law, Duke Albert of Austria, a deed of enfeoffment upon lower Bavaria for himself and his heirs in the male and female line. This mortgage was never carried into effect; on the contrary, the emperor himself withdrew it in favour of the dukes of upper Bavaria.

[1777 A.D.]

Austria nevertheless argued that it was valid, for the reason that the withdrawal was made out of special favour to the dukes of Bavaria, and so did not hold good for the Palatinate line. She also laid claim to the principality of Mindelheim in Swabia, in virtue of a reversion bestowed upon the house of Austria by the emperor Matthias. Finally she demanded that all Bohemian fiefs in the Palatinate should be restored to the crown of Bohemia, the family of the fiefholder being extinct. In these various ways Austria laid claim to nearly half of Bavaria.

Against these pretensions it might be argued that on the same day on which he conferred the fief of lower Bavaria on Duke Albert, the emperor also conferred it on three Bavarian dukes of the other line; that by a formal sentence he refuted the legal objections and defects of title advanced against the Bavarian dukes, and confirmed the partition of lower Bavaria made by them; and, finally, that Duke Albert himself executed a deed of renunciation in favour of these dukes, in which he resigned for himself and his heirs all claims that might be raised on the ground either of his maternal relationship to the house of Bavaria or of the aforesaid enfeoffment of the emperor.

The elector palatine, Charles Theodore, either felt the arguments of Austria unanswerable, or was afraid of being involved in tedious disputes by a refusal, or found sufficient temptation in the prospect which was held out of providing for his numerous illegitimate offspring by peaceful settlement; in any case, he agreed to the partition proposals.

Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, was much incensed by these negotiations, but he could do nothing to stop them, for he suddenly died of smallpox. Four days later the compact respecting the cession of lower Bavaria and Mindelheim and the lapse of the Bohemian fiefs in the Palatinate, with a clause providing for the exchange of the latter as suited the convenience of both contracting parties, was signed at Vienna by Prince Kaunitz and Freiherr von Ritter. The palatine ambassador at Munich, in ignorance of this compact, had the elector Charles Theodore proclaimed sovereign throughout the whole of Bavaria. But Charles Theodore himself, on his arrival at Munich, declared this proclamation premature, and confirmed the aforesaid agreement. The districts named in the compact were promptly occupied by Austrian troops, some in the name of Maria Theresa, and some in the name of the emperor Joseph. Whereupon antagonistic forces arose in various quarters.

The first of these was the Bavarian nation, which desired loyally to adhere to its ancient dynasty. This feeling was fanned by the courageous and gifted Duchess Maria Anna; she felt, however, that Bavaria alone was too weak for resistance, and therefore called upon the duke of Zweibrücken, heir-at-law if Charles Theodore died without lawful issue, to defend his rights and to appeal for protection to the king of Prussia.

The Potato War

The king of Prussia promised assistance and prepared for war. He was joined by Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony. For this last proceeding Austria had herself to thank; for when Frederick Augustus also put in a claim upon Bavaria, Maria Theresa had vouchsafed him no answer. The emperor Joseph had suggested that the matter should be referred to the law courts and to amicable composition, and, when Frederick Augustus declared his wish to remain neutral, had coupled his consent with the condition that the fortress of Königstein should be occupied by Austrian troops for two years, that the imperial army should have free passage through Saxony and free navigation

of the Elbe, and that the Saxon army should be reduced to four thousand men. The Austrians had set two armies in the field: one hundred thousand men under the emperor Joseph and Lacy were encamped in a strong position at Königgrätz; the second army, on the borders of Saxony, was commanded by Laudon. All Europe was in expectation of great military developments, but the event proved otherwise. Maria Theresa, who had never believed that it would actually come to fighting, exerted herself to prevent bloodshed. Without informing her son the emperor, or her chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, she sent Freiherr Thugut, in the guise of a Russian secretary, to the king of Prussia with an autograph letter, to set on foot peace negotiations. She told the king that she was filled with dismay to see the two of them in act to tear out each other's grey hairs.

The king returned a friendly answer, but the negotiations came to nothing, frustrated by the emperor's opposition. On hearing of them he wrote to his mother that if she made peace he would never come back to Vienna, but would set up his capital at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) or some other place. But the result of the empress' attempt at pacification was that the war was very languidly conducted. No decisive blow was ever struck. The most important occurrences were that the Prussians pressed forward to Brück and Braunau and captured large quantities of military stores, and that the imperial general Wurmser surprised the prince of Hesse-Philippsthal at Habelschwerdt, in the countship of Glatz, and took him and all his little force prisoners. In Austria and Prussia men mocked at this method of making war; the Austrians dubbed it the *Zwetschenrummel* (a game played for points of no value), the Prussians the *Kartoffelkrieg* (potato war).

The Peace of Teschen

Both belligerents had deceived themselves in their hopes of being supported by their allies. The French made every kind of pretext to refuse Austria the substantial assistance to which they were pledged by treaty, and offered to mediate. The empress of Russia demanded an enormous sum of money from the king of Prussia in return for the prospect of slight assistance. Maria Theresa made use of the czarina's mood to bring about peace through her mediation. She wrote her an autograph letter ending with the assurance that, apart from any consideration but the pleasure she had in complying with the wishes of her imperial majesty, she left to her the sole choice of the measures of pacification which she, in concert with his most Christian majesty, thought fittest for the restoration of peace, being convinced that she could place her welfare and dignity in no better hands.

At Teschen the Russian prince Repnin and the French ambassador Breteuil met to treat of conditions of peace, and their terms were accepted by the Austrian ambassador Cobenzl, the Prussian ambassador Riedesel, the Saxon ambassador Zinzendorf, Töringsfeld representing the elector palatine, and Hohenfeld the duke of Zweibrücken. Austria received a small part of Bavaria, the present Innviertel, renounced all designs against the lapse of the two Franconian principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth to Prussia, and the claims of Saxony were settled with six millions. The emperor Joseph wrote to one of his intimates that he had assented to the peace in order not to distress the empress, that, like Charles V after his disastrous campaign in Africa, he was the last to go on board, and that he felt like a Venetian general, who was pensioned off after a campaign.

Frederick was annoyed too; the war had cost him 29,000,000 thalers and

[1780 A.D.]

twenty thousand men, and had jeopardised his military reputation. Maria Theresa alone was overjoyed. She thus expresses herself: "I have no liking for Frederick, but I must do him the justice to say that he has acted nobly. He promised to make peace on reasonable terms, and he has kept his word. It is an unspeakable pleasure to me to think that I have prevented further bloodshed."²

THE CLOSE OF MARIA THERESA'S REIGN.

To the end of her reign the old opposition between Maria Theresa and Frederick continued to show itself. Desiring an establishment for her youngest son, and feeling the necessity also, perhaps, of strengthening Austria's vote in the empire, she put forward the archduke Maximilian, who was then only twenty-four years old, for election as coadjutor to the archbishop of Cologne and bishop of Münster, and consequently as successor to the electoral dignity. He was elected in preference to Frederick's candidate, Prince Joseph Hohenlohe, in August, 1780. The wish to compete with Frederick for Catherine's favour was also among the motives of Joseph's visit to Russia (June and July). Although politics were scarcely mentioned, the visit was the beginning of a Russian alliance which came about next year, in spite of Frederick's efforts to keep the first place in Catherine's sympathies for Prussia.

On the 29th of November Maria Theresa died, in the forty-first year of her reign and the sixty-fourth of her life. During the first twenty-five years of her reign she acted on her own judgment in all important decisions. A change came with the death of her husband — not that he had influenced her policy, but because Joseph won power immediately as co-regent. Thenceforward Maria Theresa was always wavering between her great love for this son — whom she ever valued above his brothers and sisters, for all the anxiety he caused her — between her deep-seated admiration for the extraordinary qualities he certainly possessed, and her no less lively disapproval of his point of view, a point of view which he championed to success often with a complete neglect of the feelings of those who thought differently. For the establishment of Austria as a great power she worked chiefly in two directions — centralisation of the very various lands over which she ruled, and increased effectiveness of the army. By her personality, as well as by her measures, she gave her subjects the feeling of belonging together in a common cause. In the first year of her reign Neipperg brought a force of 15,000 men into the field against Frederick: within two years of her death Austria could meet the same foe with an army of 170,000.

One of Joseph's first preoccupations after his mother's death was to pay out of his private fortune her legacy to the army, a very great expense which she obviously had intended should be defrayed not from her personal estate, which was far too small, but from state moneys.^a

ESTIMATES OF MARIA THERESA

Very few sovereign women [says Wolf] have awakened so much devotion, love, and trust as Maria Theresa. The foreign ambassadors, Venetian, Prussian, and Dutch, soon began to carry reports of her mind and character, of her courage, and swift, sure judgment in public affairs. At the beginning of her reign she was looked upon as a weak young woman, but she soon taught the world its mistake. She grasped the helm of state with the strength of a man, and guided it firmly through times of weal and woe. She had not coveted her empire. "With joy," she wrote in a pamphlet, "had I been

insignificant and had remained simply grand duchess of Tuscany, if I could have believed that God so willed it; but as he has chosen me to bear the great burden of government, I hold it on principle and consider it my duty to apply all my resources to the task."

This sense of duty, the power of pious belief, proud self-consciousness, and reliance on the strength of their dynasty, are traits of the Habsburgs; and Maria Theresa excelled most of her predecessors in her power of endurance, her open mind, and her skill in dealing with mankind. She never succumbed to unnerving and fruitless discouragement, even when the cast of fate was most heavily against her. The tears she shed in the Presburg parliament were tears of emotion and excitement, not of meek despair. In her first war she inclined, even when forsaken by her allies, to continue the contest. Her great wish at that time was that she could take the field herself. Those sad years taught her to hate and to love, as well as the difficult task of dissimulation and negotiation. In foreign policy, when all treaties and guarantees failed, she took her stand upon "her good right." She then lost all confidence in the Arcopagus of European powers, and her faith in the good of united action was only restored by her alliance with France and Russia, which gave her a renewed sense of confidence and security.

Her conception of royalty and monarchical power was formed from the blended ideas of two periods. She had inherited the sense of absolute power from her forefathers, but this absolutism was neither the capricious despotism of Louis XV, nor the military despotism of an autocrat like Frederick II. She combined her domestic interests with the interests of the state. "Dearly as I love my family and my children," she wrote, "so dearly that I grudge them no labour, care, grief, or anxiety, yet I preferred the good of my lands to theirs whenever my conscience told me that the welfare of the country demanded this; for of all these lands I am the common mother."

She herself had no liking for reforms, but did not disguise from herself the necessity of many alterations and improvements. She was the first of the Habsburgs to consider the empire before the provinces, the state before the estates, the whole before its parts. She centralised the administration rather than the constitution, and this only in order to strengthen the military and economic power of the state. It was she that made it possible to regard Austria as a monarchy which had the common interest of all the Austrian peoples at heart. The provinces gave their adherence to the authority of the new state. The new government, which had been at first considered a burdensome innovation, was looked upon as an achievement working for the public weal and for universal freedom. Even in Hungary, where Maria Theresa had acted since 1765 as a queen with absolute power, the feeling prevailed of a common interest and willing submission to authority. In German Austria, particularly, the estates and the nobility submitted unconditionally to the will of the sovereign. Her known love for military affairs made her popular with the army, the clergy appreciated her piety and reverence for the power of the church, the people were full of enthusiasm, love, and awe. Her reign was attended externally and internally with success. In 1775 the Prussian chancellor Fürst wrote: "When Maria Theresa ascended the throne she found everything in complete disorder, and the exchequer was embarrassed with an eight years' war. What other sovereign would have been able to bring the affairs of the realm to their present condition? Far into posterity mankind will recognise Maria Theresa as one of the greatest sovereigns the world has ever seen: the Austrian house has not produced her equal."

A great part of this success was due to the charm of her essentially human

personality. The portraits which Möller, Meytens, and Matthäus Donner have painted of her are still regarded with interest and admiration. The finest are by Meytens and his school of the period between 1747 and 1760. They show a round face with charming expression, light grey eyes, a finely chiselled mouth, a smooth forehead, and a rounded chin. A veil is thrown back over the wavy, slightly-powdered hair. The skin of the throat shows rosy-white. In one picture she wears a blue dress with gold embroideries and lace sleeves; one hand is extended in a gesture of command, the other rests on a table near the Hungarian crown. Her pose is full of a noble dignity, and the liveliness of earlier years is subdued. The later pictures, after 1765, represent her as a widow in black dress, with a gauze cap on her smoothly brushed hair. She has become stouter, the features are almost masculine, the eye cold and penetrating. Age and illness, many childbirths, the disappointments and experiences of life have obliterated the charm of youth, but up to her last days she could be irresistibly amiable.

In her early years she had very lively manners and used much gesture; when she was angry, irritated, or scornful her words came like a torrent in broken sentences. Her temper rose, if her ideas were not quickly carried out, or at the sight of injustice; but she was easily pacified. Whilst her father and grandfather withdrew from all publicity and surrounded themselves with a cloud of etiquette and ceremonial, Maria Theresa often broke through all forms and behaved according to her natural disposition; in Presburg, for instance, in 1741, when she took off the heavy Hungarian crown and put it on the table by her; and in Frankfort, in 1745, when she called out to the people, "Long live Emperor Francis!"; or in 1768, when she came into her box at the Burg theatre and called to the people in the pit: "Leopold has a boy." This hearty candour, this homely, wholesome tone is also to be found in her letters. Ideality, everything that tended to abstract thought, found no mercy at her hands. The delights of deep research were utterly unknown to her, to science and art she gave only a condescending attention. The homage paid to her by the poets of her own country was graciously received by her, but the poetry of the ideal was not to her taste. Philosophy and free-thought was disgusting to her; she would have nothing to do with it; in a letter written in 1779 she displays the temper of quite another century. Her religion was a genuine, firm, inward faith; it had supported her through many a heavy hour, and on this account she believed herself under the especial protection of the Almighty. "When the strong arm of God began to make itself felt on my side," she once wrote in reminiscence of the year 1742. All religious duties she fulfilled with the most scrupulous care. She even took part in the toilsome processions and pilgrimages introduced by her predecessors. She submitted to papal control in most cases, and assumed the title, "apostolic queen of Hungary." She supported monks and Jesuits; but she no longer had a Jesuit for her confessor, and did not allow them access to her children. The Catholic faith was for her the only one which brought salvation with it, and the true state religion for Austria.

From this conviction sprang her churchly zeal and her intolerance towards Protestants and Jews. In 1744 she ordered all Jews to be driven out of Prague and Bohemia, and only with great difficulty was she persuaded to withdraw this order. In 1754 a former ordinance of Charles VI was renewed, which ordained that renegades from the church should be rigorously punished. The transigrations, that is to say the enforced removal of Protestants to Hungary and Transylvania, were continued. The religious committee in

Inner Austria took from the Protestants their books and put hinderances in the way of Protestant worship. It was only in the last years of her reign that she abated this spirit of persecution, and ordered milder measures.

With all this there was in her disposition a fine sympathy with everything moral and refined. She guarded the peace and honour of the home and demanded discipline and decency in all families. She even went too far in this direction. Her commissions of purity were ill spoken of and the innumerable marriages which they brought about were not always a success. Books she did not read, but hundreds of political documents which were often quite as voluminous. She found time for everything, great and small. The foreign ambassadors were often astounded at this. She wrote an enormous amount — letters, notes, short orders to her ministers and to her children, even to men and women not personally known to her. Many have been printed; they fill whole volumes. Their contents are the mirror of her soul, the account of her mental life. The orders to her ministers she generally wrote on little, insignificant pieces of paper; upon a proposal by a minister she would write her "*placet*" with some remarks on the method of carrying it out. Her sentences were half French, half German, badly spelled out, but always clear, decided, and to the point. Most of her letters are in French, but the thought is German. In her younger years she was very fond of fine toilettes, vivacious company, cards, and the theatre. She was a connoisseur in music and in her own domestic circle sang little Italian songs, especially after 1743, when the first dangers of the war were over. Until 1756 and even 1760 there were many festivities at court: balls and skating parties, merry-go-rounds, mythological plays, operas, and little comedies played by the children of the house. Metastasio composed the words, Gluck the music; and it was considered an extraordinary mark of favour to be bidden to one of these festivities.

The Vienna court was still the pre-eminent German court: the aristocracy was rich; much that had been irksome in the etiquette had been modified, and the style of the whole was magnificent and luxurious in the extreme. The court household was still organised and modelled after the traditional manner, a combination of Old-German and Austrian styles. Every archduke and archduchess received, on attaining majority, a separate retinue for exclusive service. From 1755 each one was given the title of *Königliche Hoheit* (royal highness). The crowd of courtiers, court officials, and court servants was very numerous. After the death of the emperor, the great festivals only took place on very special occasions, as at the New Year, at Carnival time, at the weddings of the imperial children, or on the reception of a prince.

The empress liked giving presents; swindlers and traitors took advantage of this. She never went anywhere without a handful of gold coins to give away among beggars and soldiers. The consequence was that the empress yearly spent about 6,000,000 florins, while the economical king of Prussia was satisfied with 340,000 thalers.^g

That in which Maria Theresa stood alone [says Arneth], and in which she perhaps never had her equal, is the rich emotional life of this wonderful woman. Nor was this displayed, as has often been the case in princely families, only in her intercourse with her own kindred; it extended to her subjects, rich and poor, of high and low degree. There had been kindly men among her forefathers, and none of the race could be called cruel or tyrannical. But to none of them had it occurred to step beyond the family and social circle, beyond the nobles and courtiers, and to go down, in thought if not in person, to the people, and out of pure human pity to sympathise with their sufferings and distresses, and to strive without intermission to improve

their lot and their surroundings as far as was possible under existing circumstances. Of Maria Theresa it must be said that she did this to the utmost of her power, and hardly ever, in Austria or elsewhere, have such friendly and natural relations been seen to subsist between the head of the state and the people.

We will bring this retrospect of Maria Theresa's rule to a close with a brief summary of what she did for her army. And it may well be said that the immeasurable difference between things as she found them and as she left them is nowhere more conspicuous than in military affairs. The little force of about 15,000 men, in itself hardly worthy to rank as a single corps, with which Neipperg opposed the Prussians at Mollwitz, bears no proportion to the army of 170,000 men which met the same foes thirty-seven years later. Nor is this difference confined to its numerical strength; it is equally manifest in its equipment and efficiency. It was under and through her that a corps of officers in the modern sense of the term came into existence, and we know how zealously and successfully she laboured to arouse and elevate the professional spirit among them. But she was affable to the soldiers as well as the officers, and was most careful of their welfare. We need only recall that conversation with an old soldier about Lacy, of which she boasts to the field-marshal himself; and she was indefatigable in thinking and doing all that was practicable to ameliorate the soldier's lot.

Such was the work that Maria Theresa, the sovereign, did for her people. The high place which is her right as woman and mother is known to all men. In her solicitude for her children she was without peer, and the wise counsels she gave them in her letters when they left her sheltering care are, in their ripe wisdom and homely simplicity, among the most beautiful things that have ever been written in such a case and from such a station. And from her correspondence with the queen of France we know that Maria Theresa's watchfulness over her children did not cease with the moment of parting, but followed them through life with an unchangeable devotion.^h





CHAPTER XII

JOSEPH THE ENLIGHTENED

[1780-1790 A.D.]

Although there have formerly been Neros and a Dionysius, although there have been tyrants who abused the power delivered to them by fate, is it on that account just, under pretence of guarding a nation's rights for the future, to place every imaginable obstacle in the way of a prince, the measures of whose government solely aim at the welfare of his subjects? I know my own heart; I am convinced of the sincerity of my intentions, of the uprightness of my motives, and I trust that, when I shall no longer exist, posterity will judge more justly and more impartially of my exertions for the welfare of my people. — JOSEPH II.

THE TOLERANCE EDICT (1781 A.D.)

THE moderating influence of Maria Theresa being removed, Joseph plunged into the full tide of reform. The ten years during which he reigned alone witnessed the most sweeping changes in every department of the administration, and the unfortunate consequences of their precipitate introduction were fully manifested during his lifetime.^a

Joseph's clerical reforms were an outcome of increased government activity, but they were more comprehensive and thoroughgoing than those in Maria Theresa's time. They gave to his reign a stamp and to Austria a policy a basis, which remained unchanged till the middle of the nineteenth century. Not all these reforms were directly of the emperor's ordering; most of them were set in motion by the council of state, and, after 1782, by the clerical court commission; and others, but only a few, by the ministers.

The two persons actually concerned in working out the details of the laws altering clerical matters were Freiherr (or Baron) von Kressel, president

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of the clerical court commission, and the court councillor Heinke, the first referendary of the commission. They were supported by Kaunitz, by the vice-chancellor Greiner, by Gebler, by the abbot Rautenstrauch, by the younger Van Swieten, and by the free-thinking professors of the Vienna University, particularly by Sonnenfels. Among the princes of the church, the following showed themselves friendly to the reforms — the cardinal Count Herzan, the bishops of Laibach, Gratz, and Königgrätz, the counts Herberstein, Ario, and Leopold Hay; besides the archbishop of Salzburg, Count Hieronymus Colloredo, with many abbots and prelates.

In opposition to these were the archbishops of Vienna, Olmütz, and Gran, Count Migazzi, Rudolf Colloredo, Joseph Batthyanyi, and particularly the papal nuncios in Brussels and in Vienna; all these declared themselves openly opposed to Joseph's policy. The nuncio in Vienna, Monseigneur Garampi, in 1781 complained of the renovations in the church and added: "Till now no regent of Austria has laid a finger on the laws of the church or interfered with rights which concerned the pope only; but we received a short and sharp answer from the chancellor of state that the sovereign of the country alone had the right to command the state; that the emperor had no intention of depriving the holy chair and the church of their lawgiving rights, so far as dogma and the soul were concerned, but that he would not permit foreign interposition in matters which belonged to the imperial power, and that these embraced all questions which, although of the church, proceeded from man and not from God, as for instance the direction of the outward discipline of the clergy, particularly the spiritual orders, and others."

It must be remembered that at this time the movement against the old state of the church was in force throughout Europe, and was part of the effort of humanity in the direction of enlightenment, characteristic of the time. Even in Rome the clergy, who feared nothing so much as schism, seemed inclined to concessions. The pope, Pius VI, yielded every point if it was put to him earnestly and with confidence. The state secretary was timid and half deaf, the cardinals Borromeo and Zelada were on the Austrian side. It was only after 1786 that the Romish opposition became more definite and energetic.

The introduction of religious tolerance is the crowning point of these clerical reforms, because it conquered the old Catholic Austria and because through it Austria took the lead of most of the German states, of England, and of France. In Maria Theresa's time, recognition of Protestants and Jews was not yet possible; the first were subjects "liable to notice," for, according to the laws passed in 1752, 1758, and 1778, they could at any moment be expelled; and Jews appear to have been completely without rights or claim for protection.

On Von Kressel's instigation, at the end of 1781, Joseph forbade missions and the whole pursuit of heresy; and when the court chancery advocated merely mitigating the severity of the old laws, the emperor insisted that the senseless "religious patent" of 1778 should be abolished, and that from this time, with the exception of public practice of religion, no difference should exist between Catholics and Protestants. The court chancery and the majority of the state council expressed doubts, whilst Kaunitz and Gebler defended the abolition of all difference between Catholics and Protestants without reserve, on the score of humanity and justice. The emperor joined them and informed his ministers that his intention was to insist upon religious tolerance throughout his dominions.

The editing of the law and the form of the proclamation gave the state

council occupation for some time longer, until on the 20th of October the "patent" or Edict of Tolerance was established; and on the 23rd of October it was imparted to the court chancery "for observance in future." The same edict guaranteed to the Augsburg and Helvetian religions, and to the unattached Greeks, the right of privately practising their religious observances; the Catholic religion retained the prerogative of public forms of worship; the non-Catholic subjects might, wherever one hundred families were together in a community, build a school and a house of prayer, but without a tower, a bell, or public entrance on the street — "that the building might not be mistaken for a church." They might install their own schoolmasters and pastors, the right of wearing a surplice being reserved for the orthodox priest.

In mixed marriages all children of a Catholic father were to be Catholic, but, should the father be Protestant and the mother Catholic, the children followed then according to sex. The old bond to educate all children as Catholics was annulled. The non-Catholics received the right of admission to the rights of citizenship and to become masters, admission to academical honours and to civil and military service.

All statutes, charters of guilds, or paragraphs of general ordinances, which conflicted with these preceding, were annulled. The non-Catholics could be summoned to take an oath only if it were consonant with their professed religion, and they could not be compelled to take part in any procession or function of the "dominating religion." Special points were provided for by special conditions; as, for instance, in the case of the Protestants in Asch and in Silesia, who kept their ancient privileges, in the case of the question of surplices and with regard to the actions of clerical officials.

These efforts made by the emperor in the cause of tolerance met with much misunderstanding and opposition. The court chancellor entreated the emperor not to make the edict public in Bohemia: emissaries from Saxony and Russia would pervert the people to Protestantism and a religious war would ensue. Count Hatzfeld, too, president of the state council, expressed his misgivings; but Kaunitz and Gebler did not consider them cogent. The emperor was obliged to visit the excesses of the clerics in Bohemia with especial severity.

Protestantism in Bohemia

In Bohemia there were a few disturbances here and there; the peasants declared they would not be Catholic any longer, they wanted to belong to the faith the emperor held or prescribed. Because reports were spread that the emperor favoured recantation, an open letter was issued on the advice of the state council (April 16th, 1782), to the effect that his majesty held fast to the Catholic faith, but that, on grounds of humanity, and with the soundest intentions for the good of the subjects, he conceded to those of them who were not yet incorporated with the holy church the right to follow their own religion.

The authorities, who had to register the Protestants, were not a little astonished at their great number, and at the continued recantation of Catholicism. In 1781, in German Austria, they numbered 73,722 Protestants, and 28 houses of prayer; in 1785, already 107,454 Protestants; and in 1787, 156,865 Protestants with 154 houses of prayer. In Carinthia heresies had already commenced in 1782. The bishop of Gurk attributed the blame to a few fanatical priests, and recommended good schools, less severe fasts, the distribution of the communion in both kinds, and a term to be set for recantations. In Bohemia, Bishop Hay adopted educational means and mild per-

[1782-1783 A.D.]

suasion. The court chancery blamed him; the emperor and the state council praised him.

In Moravia the recantations lasted till 1784; 8,553 new Protestants were enumerated, mostly newly arrived citizens and peasants. To prevent the spread of heresy, the government forbade the acceptance of any names after January 1st, 1783. Whoever should avow heresy after that date would not indeed be considered guilty of crime, but would be compelled to submit to six weeks' instruction in the Catholic faith; if after that he still persisted, he would be entered in the non-Catholic lists as "admitted after date." The Protestant clergy were charged not to proselytise, and the Catholics were enjoined to use only tenderness and loving persuasion in their care of souls.

The government sought also to adjust the internal affairs of the church, and the entire evangelical methods; but they met with much opposition. In 1789 first appeared a general mandate, which was ratified by Leopold in 1792. Under Joseph it was forbidden to confiscate Protestant books; the old hymn books and hymns were still used; in mixed marriages the parties must also be blessed by a Catholic priest according to the observance of the "dominant religion." The cemeteries remained open to all, if the communities did not desire a special piece of ground. The emperor desired also a common liturgy and that the Protestants should have the right to build churches. He had done everything to make his system of tolerance a practised reality, but his intentions were not properly recognised by the government. The court chancery, as well as the state council, haggled over every ordinance which dealt with tolerance. The Protestant population received them with joy and thanksgiving, and Catholics of penetration, lay as well as clerical, hastened to exhort all the members of their church to brotherly love and patience. Whilst the archbishops of Vienna, Olmütz, Görz, and Gran neglected and postponed the publication of the edict, the bishops of Laibach, Gurk, and of the metropolis of Salzburg eagerly welcomed it. In the Tyrol, too, the edict was published in an unassailable manner.

The pastoral letter from the bishop of Laibach not only gave to the landlords of the Tyrol supervision of the religious observances, but also invested the bishop in his diocese with the same authority as the Roman bishop had in his. He fell into such disfavour over this in Rome that he resigned his bishopric and went into a cloister. Next to the Protestants, the hitherto despised Jews also received a private right of equality.

The Jews

Neither the state council nor the government was friendly to the Jews, the desire of both being to expel or at least to segregate them. In the Tyrol, as late as 1781, they were still excluded from the right of colonisation, and the estates of Inner Austria had instituted protective measures against the introduction of Jews into the towns. The emperor regarded the emancipation of the Jews from the economic point of view. He wished to protect Jewish freedom and to raise the Jews to a better social position, only in order that he might turn the Jewry of the country to greater use. The baptism of Jewish children; the distinguishing mark, *i.e.* the yellow patches which the Jews were bound to exhibit on some part of their clothing; the body duty, a sort of personal tax levied on the Jews — all these disabilities were removed. The Jews were permitted to attend all schools and were made eligible for academic honours.

A universal edict concerning Jews was not at once issued. There was an

edict for Lower Austria, for Silesia, for Bohemia, for Görz and Gradiska, where the Jews still enjoyed most consideration. The Jews in Lower Austria were tolerated in Vienna; in the country, only admitted when they sought employment in factories. The Jewish ordinance of Maria Theresa in 1774 had already established an exception. The Bohemian Jewish edict of November 19th, 1781, charged the Jews within two years "to discontinue their national language"; all law documents were to be drawn up in the language of the country. They were permitted to practise agriculture, but not to hold land as tenants; they might become artisans, painters, wholesale dealers, and manufacturers. In Hungary they were allowed to lease small holdings and to practise crafts outside the towns, but they were not allowed to wear beards. In Galicia the Jewish question was not decided till 1789. The provincial government had proposed in 1786 that all who were not engaged in agriculture or trade should be united into 241 communities and all declared liable to soccage, that they might grow accustomed to work in the fields. But the emperor assured them the right of colonisation and equality of taxation with the rest of the community, with the exception of protection duties, which in their case were heavily increased.

The introduction of Jews into the recognised life of the state resulted in the adoption of new family names, which were dictated to them wholesale by the authorities. The question of other Christian sects was not touched upon in the tolerance edict. The emperor ordered, in 1782, that all such sects should be treated as Catholics; for example the Hussites, who were numerous in Czech Bohemia. According to Kressel's proposal, in 1784, the Hussites and the Mennonites in Galicia were reckoned as Protestants. Other sects had a less pleasant fate, as the Abrahamites in Bohemia and the deists in Moravia. They professed belief in God and immortality, but not in the Trinity and not in the penalties of hell. Bishop Hay declared them to be Israelites; others denounced them as Socinians. The government would have nothing to do with them on the ground that it was absurd to think of God without religion, or of a religion without a God. The emperor ordered them off to Transylvania (October 10th, 1781). As nevertheless the sect increased by considerable numbers (they were reckoned, in 1784, 424 adult deists), the government issued a second order to the effect that they were to be released from the necessity of transmigration, and that they were to be left alone to follow their own religion, "although mistaken."^c

JOSEPH THE MAN

Joseph was twice married. His first wife was Isabella Maria, daughter of Philip duke of Parma, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments. She died in November, 1763, in the prime of youth, of the small-pox, and left a daughter who survived her only seven years. Joseph was long inconsolable for her loss, and always cherished the warmest affection for her memory.

His second wife was Maria Josepha, princess of Bavaria, daughter of the emperor Charles VII, whom he espoused in 1765. Joseph was reluctantly induced to conclude this marriage by the importunities of his parents, and the prospect of obtaining the allodial inheritance of her brother. But as the princess was deficient in personal charms and mental accomplishments, she never acquired his affection, and he treated her with coldness and neglect. Death dissolved this ill-assorted union before the close of the second year, and in May, 1767, the young empress fell a sacrifice to the same disorder which had proved fatal to her predecessor. Joseph did not again enter into the bonds of

[1767-1787 A.D.]

wedlock.⁹ Thus amidst all the stir and activity of public life he found himself not less alone than his great opponent Frederick II, who lived separated from his wife and who had lost most of his friends by death.

Joseph had not even dogs, in which old Fritz could always take pleasure; but he showed the same partiality to beautiful and high-bred horses. He often visited the riding-school in the morning and looked on while horses were being broken in and trained. He was himself a bold, a magnificent horseman. Frederick II had indeed given up flute-playing, so that he no longer enjoyed the recreation of music, but Joseph continued his house-concerts, at which he played both violin and violoncello. He was a thorough musician, skilled in orchestration. His intercourse with composers, singers, and musicians, with Mozart, Dittersdorf, with the singers Kelly and Madame Storace, reveal the rarely poetical and lovable side of his character. He understood how to encourage creative talent of many kinds; four of Mozart's operas are due to his inspiration.

Joseph was brought up in the traditions of Italian music, and remained faithful to this taste. But he raised the tone of both ballet and Italian opera, and with his "German national song productions" founded in fact the national opera of Germany. To the theatre Joseph gave earnest and constant attention. The Imperial House-Theatre, since 1776, the date from which Joseph had commanded it to be known as the "Imperial Court and National Theatre," had been dignified by really splendid acting. The best German plays were given there: *Minna von Barnhelm*, by Herr Justizrath Lessing; and, in 1786, *Die Geschwister*, by Clavigo; moreover in 1787 the emperor



JOSEPH II

himself directed the performance of *Fiesco*. The emperor usually sat, not in the great court box but in the third box from the stage. When he returned from a journey the public welcomed him with enthusiastic applause, and he would bow graciously in acknowledgment from his box.

There is no doubt that, with all Joseph's roughness and inconsiderateness, he possessed an irresistible charm. Whoever came into contact with him became his slave; in prose and poetry he was celebrated as the "crowned friend of men." He was pugnacious, witty, often harsh, but gentle to the poor and oppressed. The riddle of the mystical side of life, scientific research, tender poetry, the dreams of the idealist, were to him a closed book. Only what was practical, what could be of use to the multitude found favour in his eyes. His letters were like his character, neither philosophical nor wordy, but simple, homely, and decided. His French is not always correct, but he spoke fluently and intelligibly both French and Italian; it is a pity that so few of the letters we have are genuine. But his restless ardour for the good of his people, his stoical severity as well as his mild sarcasms, are preserved in numberless utterances. A few quotations follow:

"I want to feel the immediate effect of everything I undertake. When I had the Prater and Augarten planted, I did not choose young plants which would give pleasure only to posterity; I chose trees, under whose shade I and my contemporaries could find pleasure and protection.

"The sovereign should not display partiality to the few, but rather feel towards all men alike; I owe to all, justice without respect of persons.

"Every representation that is made to me, must prove itself to have emanated from common sense, if it has the pretension to alter my mind upon a matter I have already considered.

"One should proceed on one's own conviction and in one's actions have no other aim than towards that which is best and most useful for the greatest number. He who cannot feel love for his fatherland and his fellow citizens, who is not moved by a burning desire for the upholding of what is good, he is not born for the business of the state, and is not worthy to possess an honourable title or to be chosen for an appointment.

"German is the universal language of my kingdom; why should I allow the public business of a province to be carried on in the language which is peculiar to it? I am emperor of the German Empire; accordingly, the remaining states which I possess are provinces which united to the whole kingdom form one body, and of that body I am the head.

"My watchmen are my subjects, upon their love rests my security.

"A death sentence has never the same effect as a lasting heavy punishment carries with it; for the first is quickly over and forgotten, but the other is long before the public eye.

"That which is best for the many must always take precedence of the convenience of the few. If the service of the state demands something, all other considerations must give way.

"With one's friends one cannot be too candid; I hold this as a duty, but to me it is nature and habit.

"Agriculture and industrialism are more important than commerce.

"Cause and reason: from these two all things come, to them all things return, which serve mankind for sustenance. The ebb and flow of time changes this in nothing.

"The idea that the subject classes have received their bits of land from the higher classes as a voluntary gift is as absurd as if a sovereign should persuade himself that the sovereignty of his kingdom belongs to him, instead of far more to the country, or that these millions of human beings were created for him, and not he for them, that he may serve them.

"The privileges and liberties of a nobility or a nation do not consist in exemption from the duty of bearing their share of the human burden.

"I admit that my suffering remains the same, but I shall not cease to labour with what physical and moral strength I may possess, to do that which the service and the welfare of my fatherland require of me, without counting the possible cost which may have to be paid out of my length and strength of days."

JOSEPH THE ADMINISTRATOR

Joseph II was the first of the race of Habsburg-Lorraine who reigned in Austria. As a political power, he stands higher than the last Habsburgs, even higher than Maria Theresa, who paid far too superstitious a homage to the old ideals. With all his habit of rapid thought Joseph gave time for the execution of his projects, listened to his ministers, and, like his predecessors, showed great skill in adjustment and compromise; but he had not that

[1780-1790 A.D.]

tough power of endurance which had won for the old Habsburgs so much success and achievement. He thought and worked only for the state, for increasing its power and greatness. In home politics he went the same road as Maria Theresa, only with freer and less precedent-haunted steps, and with a more definite aim.

In early days he made for himself a "system" as they were so fond of calling it then. In a memorandum in 1770 he describes the weaknesses of the state government and discusses means of improvement, which in fact afterwards formed the programme of his future work. He had grown up in the period of enlightenment and his whole self seemed filled by it; all the excellencies and weaknesses of the time seem mirrored in his way of thinking. His up-bringing, his personality, his race, all fitted him, not to be a champion of philosophy but to be a state reformer — an enthusiast in the political sphere. Everything old he condemned; the existing order was not held to be just, but the advent of a new justice was announced.

The main lines of Joseph's principles for directing the state are known to us. Out of this many-peopled, strangely various Austria was to arise a homogeneous state, in which all provinces, all classes should work together without exception for the common good. Whilst in Austrian society, the nobility and clergy still clung to the old customs of the old monarchy as under Louis XIV, Joseph used his absolute power over the council to support the equality of all classes, protecting the spirit of freedom, and showing special care for the commonalty. The power of the state should work like a machine, perfected into simplicity, following certain fixed laws; it should stir the people to their depths, and gather all kinds of strength for the one great aim, the good of the people.

He had faith in the good will of his subjects, and in the compelling might of success. Throughout Europe so-called enlightened despotism prevailed, causing the old organic institutions of the state to die out and confining the idea of universal freedom to private life. The Josephinian system corresponded to this "enlightened despotism." He said, like Frederick II, "The sovereign is the chief servant, the administrator of the state." Leopold II also wrote in 1789: "I believe that the sovereign, even when he is one by inheritance, is only the delegated official of the nation." But between theory and practice there remained a great gulf. Woe to him who should seek to dispute the sovereign power of the monarch! To his autocratic will all must bow! Joseph desired that the government should govern, the administration administer, the police keep watch, the justices punish and avenge — but always within the law as nature had conceived and ordained it.

It was the greatest error of Joseph's life that he did not recognise the necessity of a formal constitution; that he trusted the giving and carrying-out of the law to one and the same person. It must be borne in mind that in the eighteenth century all political constitutions were dissolved. In Prussia control was military; in France an absolute despotism prevailed; in England the feudal system was abrogated and the old constitution discovered to be notably corrupt in many ways. In Austria Maria Theresa had broken the back of the feudal monarchy; but everywhere lingered the remainder of the mediæval government, dead and disintegrated as it was. These remains Joseph wished to destroy to the last shreds. He was an enemy neither of religion nor of the nobility, but only an enemy of the privileges of individual power and corruption. The power of the state was "to work not only on the different corporate institutions, but on the entire mass of the people."

The pillars of the state were no longer to be the nobility and clergy, but

a ready and self-sacrificing staff of servants. Perhaps in no country was the government so oddly parcelled out, and the administration of justice so dependent on officialdom as in Austria. It could not take the place of the representation of the nation, but it must be admitted that in Joseph's time the bureaucracy manifested an extraordinarily quiet and far-reaching activity, and that, influenced as it was by the ideas of the day, supported as it was by the powerful will of the emperor, it helped to build a new state upon the ruins of the old. It is however an old saying that a state whose weal and woe lie only in bureaucracy bears within itself the seeds of decay. Joseph learned soon enough that in this bureaucracy the spirit of sacrifice, the intelligence, the power of work, and the love of work which he demanded were not inherent. Already in 1783 he complains of this "meanly perfunctory manner of doing business" — of the idleness and the opposition to be met with in all, from the mere official up to the ministry. He wrote to the chancellor: "If, after acquiring a conviction on any subject, I lay a charge on my officers, their duty is to make my ideas their own, to show zeal, and to think of every means whereby they can be carried out; they should refer to me in any difficulty, and not regard the command as something to which they can apply their wits in order to make a lawyer-like reply, in justification of the *status quo ante*."

Joseph's Ecclesiastical Policy

The laws concerning the church promulgated under Joseph II are well known and have been represented from many points of view. Their object was to limit the clergy's power of law-making, to strengthen the hands of the bishops against the primate, to procure protection and tolerance for Protestants, to reduce the monasteries, to bring about a merely secular state education and a strict right of rigid state inspection. The emperor dealt boldly with the disputed boundary line between ecclesiastical and secular power, and in so doing engaged in a conflict in which many proud heads were brought low, and in which he himself did not escape without wounds. To this very day he is described by priestly authors as an enemy of the Catholic church — even as an atheist. Neither was Philip II a good Catholic in their eyes, and his Spanish-Catholic policy was denounced by the pope.

Joseph was a believer; he thought and declared himself a Catholic. He recognised all the dogmas of the church and submitted himself to her doctrines; he was neither a free-thinker nor a Voltairian, for he held fast to the creed of Christianity. The intention in his church politics had its source far more in the ever-increasing recognition of what the state should be, than in the philosophy of the day. In striving to emancipate the state from the church he felt himself to be within his rights, and he would have succeeded; none the less, he supported all departments of priestly power, communicated all his orders through the clergy, and endeavoured to procure their consent and co-operation.

Like Maria Theresa's measures of reform, those introduced by Joseph rather affected administration than the mass of the people; they were rather financial than economic. The leading idea of the government is always the power of the state, but it would be a crime to doubt that Joseph had the welfare of his subjects at heart. The very first laws, the edict of censure, the abolition of soccage, and the Tolerance Edict have regard to freedom of thought and belief, as well as the release of humanity from its bonds of servitude, from serfdom. In a lecture in 1782 Sonnenfels said: "The first year of his reign was productive of more remarkable laws than the whole lifetime

[1781-1782 A.D.]

of other rulers. He has liberated the conscience from thralldom, he has given freedom to the pen and the press, he has conceded to his people full rights of appeal, he has recognised the right of the subject classes to the original privileges of mankind. All Joseph's subjects are citizens; Joseph is an Austrian — he is one of us, our fellow citizen."

Whatever stories were invented about him and whatever failures he may have made, the Josephinian laws, the tendency towards enlightenment, and the spirit of German culture planted an indestructible germ of appreciation of freedom in Austria. George Forster said of Joseph II, "A spark from the torch of his genius fell upon Austria, which will never die out."

In the earlier years everything gave way to the government. The clergy, including some of the bishops, were content with the reforms in the church; the younger clergy were reconciled to them, and the word of the pope alone was not sufficient to check the tide of revolution. A large part of the influential nobility evinced a certain sympathy with the ideas of the emperor. But he did not depend upon them, and indeed through his harshness and vigour alienated their friendly inclinations, so that they harboured a steadily growing mistrust of him. The letters of contemporaries show the constant conflict between the old order and the new, the egoistic attitude of the aristocracy, the power and influence of the church, and the stupidity and inertia of the people. Moreover, Joseph was not the autocrat that he has sometimes been described. Like Maria Theresa he could yield his own opinion and even change his point of view if the men he trusted opposed him. Frederick II was a monarch in reality; every event was in his hand. In Austria the personality of the minister counted in the balance. For instance, Hatzfeldt often gave decisions which should really have come from the emperor. It happened, sometimes, that between the highest authorities there was strife and opposition. In foreign policies Kaunitz had almost unlimited authority.^c

THE RESISTANCE OF THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS

In no part of Joseph's dominions did his centralising efforts and his hostility to Rome rouse stronger dislike than in the Netherlands, and nowhere else was resistance to his measures carried so far — to the point, that is to say, of complete independence. The picture presented by the Belgian opposition and rebellion, confused at first sight, and apparently contradictory, becomes clear in its fundamental character if we understand that in this quarter Joseph's reforms met with a double hostility: that of a proud priesthood and that of ancient corporations clinging to their liberties. Before the important resistance began, however, Joseph's popularity had already suffered from his failure to obtain from Holland the opening of that highroad of Belgian commerce, the Schelde. There were indeed two Belgian questions on which Joseph felt very strongly at the outset, and during his journey in the Netherlands in 1781. He objected, first, to the expense of keeping up the border fortresses created by the Barrier Treaty, and to the indignity of having to share the occupation of these fortresses with Dutch troops. In this matter Kaunitz was entirely agreed with the emperor; and in May, 1782, wrote to his personal friend, the Dutch ambassador, that the Barrier Treaty had been concluded against France, and that Austrian relations with that country were now become of such a sort as to make the Barrier an anachronism, since the Franco-Austrian alliance provided a far better safeguard for Holland.

The efforts of emperor and chancellor were successful, and Holland, engaged in a war with its ancient ally England, evacuated the Barrier. Joseph

was thereby encouraged to proceed vigorously in the second matter which he had at heart, namely the opening of the Schelde. Holland, tenacious of the monopoly of colonial trade, held, by the Peace of Münster, the right of closing the Schelde and thereby cutting off the trade of Antwerp, whose beautiful harbour remained closed, and whose access to the sea was guarded by a Dutch fort on the border of Flanders. In demanding the freedom of the Schelde with threat of war, Joseph was as sanguine of success as he had been in the matter of the Barrier; but events came to pass as Kaunitz had prophesied. The sharp tone of the Austrian notes and the encouragement of France combined to rouse patriotic enthusiasm in Holland. The emperor's demands were refused, and on October 8th, 1784, a brigantine flying the imperial flag was shot at and held up on its way down the Schelde from Antwerp. The *casus belli* was there, and for a time war seemed certain. Three considerations, however, were potent in holding Joseph back — the hostility of France, the Eastern question, and above all the idea of exchanging the Netherlands for Bavaria. One by one he gave up his demands, including the freedom of the Schelde, and even to a considerable extent the indemnity; and on November 8th, 1785, he signed the Peace of Fontainebleau, which practically reinforced the Treaty of Münster. The disillusion was bitter for the Belgians, and the secret reason for Joseph's action did not make Belgian opinion more favourable to him.

For he had hoped to use the quarrel to forward his plan of exchanging Belgium for Bavaria — to wit, by offering France to come to terms with the Dutch if she would support his plan with the Bavarian heir presumptive, the duke of Zweibrücken. Kaunitz was in favour of the plan, and the heirless Charles Theodore of Bavaria showed no dislike to it. The duke of Zweibrücken, however, supported by Frederick, declared he would "rather be buried under the ruins of Bavaria than agree to the proposal" (January, 1785). He was followed by the elector of Bavaria, who publicly denied the rumours of an exchange, and Joseph gave up hope.

As a matter of fact Germany would probably have interfered if the plan had been carried through, for Frederick, feeling himself isolated in his old age, had eagerly headed a federation of German princes, both spiritual and temporal, Catholic as well as Protestant, which from fear of Joseph or offence at his violent entry on the scene, expanded until only Würtemberg, Oldenburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Cologne, and Treves remained faithful to Austria. Building on France and Russia, Joseph lost sight of the power through which Austria had in the past won her best victories — the support of Germany. Frederick died August 17th, 1786, and Joseph, imagining there might now be an end of the old rivalry, wrote generously to Kaunitz of the advantage attainable by an understanding between Prussia and Austria. The chancellor in reply convinced him that the rivalry could never end until one had so completely reduced the other as to deprive it of all power to harm.

Joseph's first reforms in Belgium (1782) were accepted more quietly than the government had expected. The suppression of certain monasteries, the introduction of religious tolerance, the submission of the bishops' pastoral letter to imperial approval, the forbidding of pilgrimages, hardly roused any opposition except from the rich and influential clergy led by the Belgian primate, Count Frankenberg, a Silesian by birth, who had been made archbishop of Mechlin by Maria Theresa in 1759.

The submissiveness of the people encouraged Joseph to take a further step for the regeneration of a country in which he found "bigotry triumphant, education neglected, and the clergy itself ignorant." On the 15th of March,

[1786-1787 A.D.]

1786, the bishops were informed of his intention of creating a universal seminary for all students of theology in Louvain, and in spite of protests the edict was published on the 16th of October. The Belgian estates declared that the articles of the edict violated the constitution of the country as well as the rights of the church and bishops, and that the nation was especially hurt because the preface to the edict justified the innovation on the plea of the dissolute state of manners in their country. The unfortunate institution, which opened, November 16th, to the three hundred students who had been gathered from all the various episcopal seminaries, was further damned by the choice of professors whose anti-papal and Jansenist doctrines created a revolt of the pupils (December 8th) in which several panes of glass and some benches were broken. The students' demands included the reinstitution of episcopal supremacy, a somewhat later breakfast, and beer for supper. The rector of the institute asked for government support, and the minister, Count Belgiojoso, replied by sending dragoons. The spiritual commission, sitting in Brussels, followed with measures which made the recalcitrant students something very like outlaws, and sent the papal nuncio and other leaders out of the country. The estates of Brabant and Flanders as well as the magistrates of Brussels, Ghent, and other towns, petitioned the emperor.

Before the country had recovered from its ferment about the seminary at Louvain, new edicts appeared (January 1st, 1787) affecting the constitution. The various councils at the head of affairs were replaced by a single "council of the general government of the Netherlands." The old provincial divisions were destroyed, the Netherlands were declared one province of the Austrian dominion, and were divided into nine circles governed by an intendant and commissaries; the old courts of justice, which varied in every district and city, and gave employment to some six thousand men, were swept away. Even the first tribunal in the land was abolished — the high court of Brabant, without whose approval the edicts of the sovereign himself had no validity, whose powers were minutely detailed in the "Joyous Entry," the charter of ancient rights granted by former dukes of Brabant and sworn to at Joseph's inauguration.

The reforms were doubtless good in many particulars, and after years of suffering and of foreign dominion the Belgian people has given itself a government which is built on the same principles and in the same form as the Josephinian institutions against which it revolted. But to a people accustomed as the Belgians were to self-government and a feudal system of privileges, Joseph's absolute enlightenment seemed merely tyranny. It has been suggested that Joseph should have employed the existing corporations as vehicles for reforms. So far as the character of Joseph's political conception is concerned, the question whether the feudal bodies of that country were fit to carry out the work of reform needs hardly to be discussed; for it is certain that the idea did not enter Joseph's head, and that no opposition among his peoples, nor any failure among his officials, could suggest to him the convenience, at least, of representative government.^a

The "Joyous Entry"

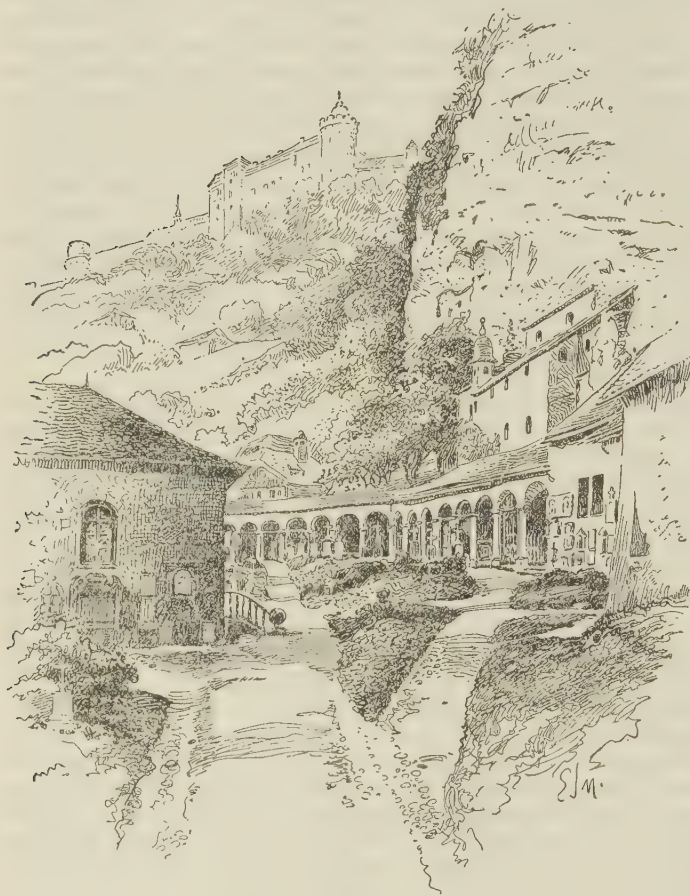
As, shortly after, ordinances appeared which upset the organization of the crafts and trades, especially in the life of the third estate (that of the citizens), an outbreak of indignation took place such as had never been witnessed since the accession of Joseph. All classes of the population now cried out at the public breach of the administration which the emperor had

[1787 A.D.]

acknowledged and granted on his accession. The agitation spread itself like lightning over the entire land; everywhere the old deeds of administration and charters of the classes, towns, and trade were brought forward. The deed of the "Joyous Entry," especially Article 59, was in all mouths. The passage

of the Joyous Entry, sworn at the inauguration of Joseph II, reads:

"Should his majesty, his offspring, or successors violate the rights and privileges, either themselves or through others, on all or individual points, no matter in what manner, in the name of his majesty, we give our consent that the named prelates, barons, nobles, towns, and republics, and all other persons, in this case, are not bound to render any service to his majesty, his heirs, or successors, nor to be obedient no matter in what cause his majesty might demand, or desire



ST. PETER'S BURIAL GROUND, ACCORDING TO TRADITION THE PLACE WHERE ST. MAXIMUS AND HIS COMPANIONS WERE CAST DOWN BY THE PAGAN HERULI IN 477

it, until his majesty desists from the above-named undertakings, and returns to his former ways."

The estates of the individual provinces now placed themselves at the head of the agitation, and declared the innovations to be open violation of rights and administration. The councillor of Brabant refused to publish the imperial edict; the Brabantine states threatened the stoppage of subsidies. Distinguishing himself by special zeal, the advocate Van der Noot soon appeared as a powerful supporter of the opposition. The two to be pitied under these circumstances were the governors of the Netherlands, Joseph's sister, Maria Christina, and her husband, Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, both distinguished by their goodness of heart and piety, but inexperienced, and not made for relations such as were now arising in

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Belgium. They found themselves as it were between the hammer and the anvil.

From the beginning of the reform, the emperor Joseph had exacted earnestness and force, firm politics, and refusal of every concession from them; on the other side they had bound their hands by a chance and well-meant action. In order to make themselves popular, they had shortly before bought property in Belgium, and sought to become naturalised as citizens of the country. The estates of the realm now exacted that the governors should fulfil their duties as citizens, and defend the rights and privileges of the country. The oppression increased daily; companies of volunteers were formed with the avowed intention of opposing the carrying out of the imperial commands with force; anarchical scenes were already taking place here and there.

Under these circumstances, as there were no means for a powerful opposition, the governors found it more advisable partly to give in. On the new and urgent representation of the estates, May 5th, 1787, the introduction of the new administration was prorogued with the further declaration of the governors that they had really sent the representation of the estates to the emperor, and that until his return (Joseph was then with Catherine II in the Crimea) nothing was to be done with regard to the administration; they had anticipated the full and just consent of the emperor. Nevertheless Maria Christina and Albert were soon compelled to make further concessions; for after the first one they were regularly besieged with appeals. The clergy of Bruges took the first step in a meeting on the 22nd of May; they requested the estates to support their just wishes. This was done on the 23rd of May by the estates of Flanders, the magistrate of Bruges, the University of Louvain, the magistrates and clergy of West Flanders. Together they presented memorials to the emperor with specified demands: the recall of all decrees, edicts, and despatches of the imperial highnesses issued to the detriment of the church and its rights; the reinstatement of all bishops in full rights such as they had exercised before 1781; the restoration of all liberties, privileges, and exemptions to the cathedral chapter, abbeys, and cloisters; the reconcession of the former rights of the bishops for the maintenance of the diocesan seminaries, and the granting of this right to the abbeys and convents under the supervision of the bishops; and the entire suppression of the ecclesiastical commission at Brussels. They further demanded that the lands taken away from the brotherhoods founded by the parish churches should be given back to them.

The political claims concerned the abolition of the innovations introduced into the civil and legal administration; they entreated the emperor to desist from these, as their execution could only be fatal. They referred to the oath which he had solemnly taken to uphold the sacred rights of the Belgians, rights which the Austrian rulers had over and over again confirmed and which were now acknowledged by the foreign powers. To these appeals of the clergy and estates of the named episcopates and provinces, the estates of Brabant, the duchy of Luxemburg, and the countships of Hainault, as well as the metropolitan capital of Mechlin, now joined theirs.

The power of these joint representations, which moreover alluded to the imminent dangers which were already threatening the public peace of the land, were yielded to by the governors, who granted all requests without restrictions. They declared their firm resolve to persuade the emperor that in future all innovations must be stopped and obviated; and in the meantime, to give proof of the sincerity of their promises, they permitted the

return to the old ordinances in ecclesiastical as well as political relations. Now joy and triumph prevailed in Brussels. On the 31st of May, the governors were drawn in their state carriages to the theatre by six hundred young Brabantines; the town was illuminated, the cannon thundered forth on the ramparts, all bells rang out joyously, and innumerable addresses came from the provinces. But by this the emperor Joseph had learned to what must lead, sooner or later, the thoughtless overthrow of institutions considered by the people inviolable and sacred. There was an end to the authority of his government in the Austrian Netherlands. The victory obtained was immediately made use of by the Belgians also; for the states began to take the government into their own hands.

The first thing they undertook was the closing of the general seminary at Louvain; besides this, the formation of patriotic volunteer companies, the bearing of other emblems than the Austrian, and the organisation of those elements of opposition which soon pressed farther on the path once entered, continued their course uninterrupted.

The Emperor Returns from the Crimea

At the first news of the turn which things had taken in Belgium, the emperor Joseph hastened from the Crimea to Vienna. On the 13th of June, he had taken leave of the empress Catherine; on the evening of the 30th of June, he entered Vienna. The four days spent in retirement and the vehemence with which all, especially Kaunitz, had to contend, clearly showed how much he had taken the Belgian event to heart. The idea of gaining time decided Joseph to adopt the following measures. The Belgian provinces were notified to send to Vienna deputies from the nobles, the clergy, and the third estate. The governors and the emperor's authorised minister received the order to come to Vienna. A propitious letter, not from Joseph but from the government, in which all events were attributed to misunderstanding, acquainted the Belgian estates with the promised suspension of all innovations.

All these ordinances were issued on the 3rd of July. On the same day the emperor appointed Count Joseph Murray, who had been at the head of the imperial troops in the Netherlands since 1781, to be governor-general with full power, and accountable to none save the emperor. The instructions which this general received included the command to suppress the agitation in Belgium at any price. At the same time fifty thousand men received marching orders, and for the present were to advance to the extreme frontier of Austria. On the 6th of July, Brussels received the above-mentioned ordinances. The recall of the archduchess and her husband caused a most disagreeable impression in Belgium, as in it a kind of declaration of war by the emperor against the provinces was perceived. The estates opposed the departure and also refused to send deputies. It was only when the emperor peremptorily summoned them for the 15th of August, and otherwise threatened to treat them as rebels, that they allowed the governors to go, and thirty-three deputies followed them.

Meanwhile, on the 24th of July, Count Murray received notice from the emperor to restore everything to the condition in which it had been before the 1st of April. From the 27th to the 30th of July, the command followed to concentrate the troops in certain places so as with one blow to compel the Belgians to withdraw all the ordinances decreed by them.

The Belgian deputies entered Vienna before the 15th of August, and on

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that day they were received in audience by the emperor. Little that is trustworthy is known concerning the negotiations; the result of the whole personal interview seems to have been that the deputies were not treated in an unfriendly manner by Joseph, and were appeased by promises, but with regard to the main point they were dismissed without any fixed declaration. Joseph promised them to send away Count Belgiojoso, who had made himself hated, and to meet the wishes of the bishops with regard to the plan for enlarging the general seminary, which the deputies joyfully reported at home on the 22nd of August. Concerning the main point he gave them the indefinite explanation that they would receive his further orders through the governor-general. The deputies probably had greater hopes from these expressions than they afterwards saw realised at home; for shortly after their return the governor notified that the emperor would only come to an understanding with the states under the following conditions:

(1) Everything in the provinces was to be placed on the same footing as before the 1st of April. (2) The university and seminary at Louvain were both to be restored to the condition in which they were before the 1st of April, or in which they ought to have been according to the emperor's wishes. The same thing was to take place with regard to the seminary at Luxemburg. (3) All taxes in arrears and the current ones were to be paid without delay. (4) All officials dismissed from their posts by the desire of the estates were to be reinstated. (5) The volunteer companies to be disbanded, the inflammatory cockades and other signs to be set aside. (6) All convents suppressed before the 1st of April were to remain suppressed, and all appointments to the abbacies in abeyance since that date to be void. (7) The general seminary at Louvain must be opened before the 1st of November.

The notification of these conditions raised a terrible fermentation; they were found to be in contradiction not only with the fundamental laws of the land, but also to the promises which the emperor had given on the 3rd of July, and again to the deputies. Therefore the estates of Brabant on the 30th of August handed to the governor-general the declaration that they could not accept the emperor's demanded return to the situation as it had existed before the 1st of April.

When Murray published the imperial decree and adopted military measures to carry it through, as well as for the collection of taxes and other subsidies which the government required, Brussels rose up in arms and was supported by more than fifty thousand men, who came partly from the country and partly from other towns.

From the 17th to the 20th of September there were such demonstrations that the government could have attained nothing without great bloodshed. Under these circumstances Murray began to negotiate with the rebels, being either intimidated or misled by a despatch of Prince Kaunitz which on the 10th of September notified him that the emperor had completely retracted the former decree, and exhorted him to act in this manner; for it cannot be denied that the governor-general received orders from the government, and others again immediately from the imperial cabinet. He issued a proclamation which was qualified completely to restore peace. He declared: "The constitutions, privileges, liberties such as the Joyous Entry, in accordance with the acts of inauguration of his majesty, are, and will be upheld and remain inviolate in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. With regard to the violation of the Joyous Entry and the attack on the same, the estates will be dealt with as desired; accordingly their proposals will be accepted, and then in

equity and justice his majesty will take the necessary steps according to the fundamental law of the land."

Joy and jubilation were as great now as had been formerly the agitation. The Belgians now gave vent to their feeling in addresses of gratitude. For example, that of the estates of Flanders began with the words: "Sire! the ever-memorable day in our annals has now come (September 21st) in which your majesty has restored to us our administration — this day on which the fundamental law, the liberties and privileges of a faithful nation have been forever assured; the day on which the estates of all provinces have found an end to their anxieties. What a noble example your majesty sets to your contemporaries and those who will ascend the throne after you! You teach them, sire! how careful they must be of overreaching and of abusing the plans of the alleged reformers who surround the throne, and by their ambitious plans cast a happy nation from the summit of its happiness to the deepest abyss of its humiliation and misery."

But matters were not looked on in this light at the imperial court. The emperor censured the governor-general for the weakness and transgressions of his plenipotentiaries, and disapproved of his conduct. On the 8th of October Kaunitz had to inform him of his dismissal. In his stead the emperor determined to appoint two men from whom he anticipated quite other results, and the suppression of the agitation if necessary by military force — Count Ferdinand von Trauttmansdorff as imperial minister, and Count D'Alton, a dauntless warrior, as military governor of the Netherlands. At home he gave himself up to philosophical and melancholy lamentations, which he imparted to Trauttmansdorff and others in letters concerning the mistaking of his good intentions and the spirit of opposition which for some time past had been spreading itself over Europe.

Count Trauttmansdorff remained passive and unobserved after his arrival in Brussels, until December, 1787; as, on account of the war with the Porte, a cessation of the Belgian negotiations had taken place.^e

THE RESISTANCE OF HUNGARY

Joseph's Hungarian measures were conceived in the same spirit as the reforms he introduced into Belgium, and they met with similar opposition. The feudal and independent kingdom refused to be made into an Austrian province. His first change, dealing with religion, gave perhaps as much satisfaction as displeasure. True, the bishops protested against the measures as oppressive to the church in which alone salvation is, but they did not question the sovereign's right. The Hungarian clergy had never been ultramontane and were treated with great consideration by Joseph: this circumstance may go some way to explain why it was that the opposition in this country did not come from the church, as in Belgium.

It was not indeed until 1783, 1784, and 1785, when the conviction grew that Joseph would neither be crowned nor call a parliament; it was not until the Hungarian crown was removed from Presburg to be placed as a curiosity in the Viennese treasury along with the Bohemian crown and the ducal coronet of Austria, not until the introduction of the German language and the abolishment of serfdom — that Hungary began to grow uneasy. The language ordinances were not intended, as the emperor explained, to oust the national tongue, only in so mixed a country as Hungary a simple business speech must be recognised, and in all enlightened lands Latin was looked on as a dead language. The fear that the emperor therefore wished

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to employ only German officials does not seem to be at all supported by facts, for in the official ranks we meet almost exclusively names belonging to the Hungarian aristocracy — Batthyányi, Esterházy, Palfy, Almasy, Károlyi, Nádasdy, Majláth, Teleki, Zichy, Wesselényi. The measures concerning serfdom were not carried out, and the peasants waited till 1827, 1832, and 1836 before their position was regulated in the spirit of the Josephinian reforms.^a

In his aversion to any class or corporate institutions the emperor decided to introduce administration proceeding from the government, managed and controlled by officials. His legislation was especially directed against the comitia of the comitat or departmental councils of the nobility, which had a right either to protest against the injunctions of the government or to stop them. The autonomy of these comitia was done away with, their correspondence prohibited, the office of supreme count ceased to exist, the deputy counts became royal officials without "presidential authority." The comitat councils should, with the permission of the government, assemble only once a year, and limit their scope of action to elections and taxes. By a writ dated March 18th, 1785, the whole country was divided into ten departments, at the head of which was placed a royal commissioner who had to look after the public peace, recruiting, levying of taxes, and the safety of the people. The commissioner had to exercise his influence upon the deputy count, the deputy count upon the president of the tribunal (judge), and the latter upon the country judge. The greatest part of the commissioners were taken from among the supreme counts, were well paid, and had the title "privy-councillor."

The idea and the form of this institution were the same as in Austria, in Belgium since 1787, and later on in France. Modern governments know nothing of these assemblies of the nobility. Hungary, too, had fought against them for a long time, and only in 1867 was this mediæval institution abolished. At that time, however, the comitat councils were considered the bulwark of Hungarian liberty and the autonomous administration. It was from these comitat councils, as from the higher and lower nobility, that the opposition against the government of Joseph issued, whilst in Belgium it was chiefly the third estate that spoke and acted against the orders of the government. The suffrage of the towns had no weight in Hungary, whilst the representation of the civic estate appeared to be an affront rather than a privilege, as all the towns together had only one voice in the imperial diet.

A writ issued on December 12th, 1786, which was to take effect on March 1st in the succeeding year, valid for the 1st of March, 1787, announced the new administration from the court of chancery down to the country judge and the lord of the soil. Just as the financial management was handed over to the Hungarian court of chancery, the provincial boards were amalgamated with the lieutenantancy, and new financial administrators and tax-gatherers were appointed for the ten provinces. The sixteen Zips towns, too, like all



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privileged districts, lost their autonomous administration. The administration of justice was divided into three resorts: the "septemviral table" as supreme court of judicature, the "royal table" as court of appeals, and thirty-eight county courts as tribunals of first resort. All exemptions ceased, but for differences of the nobility five district tables remained.

For Transylvania the writ of July 3rd was valid, which had dissolved a few years ago the former comitat and municipal government, and especially the union of the three nations in the country, in order, as Joseph remarked, to exterminate the national hatred. In 1786 the Transylvanian court of chancery ought also to have been united with that of Austria; this, however, was not achieved on account of the war with Turkey. With the 1st of November the new government should enter upon its functions.

Just as these reforms were intended to extend the supreme power as far as the people, the emperor also endeavoured to strengthen the power of the government by the introduction of a general defence and tax duty. That is what was intended by the laws of 1785 relating to the popular census or the conscription; and those of 1786 relating to the ground-rent conscription existed already in Hungary, but not for the nobility nor for the estates. With the 1st of November the new popular census and the numbering of the houses would begin under the supervision of the national boards, assisted by military persons who had already acquired experience and skill in this occupation. A paragraph annexed to the law expressly declared that the conscription was not ordered with a view to the levying of recruits but for the common weal; by the people, however, it was generally considered the first step towards an introduction of the German military system in opposition to the *insurrectio* of the nobility. The distribution of troops over the country added to the strengthening of this belief.

The Hungarian imperial diet had always opposed the idea of a standing army, and this measure, therefore, met with a unanimous general protest. All remonstrances and representations of the comitat councils more or less sharply expressed this view. The emperor, they pretended, had promised in his letter of November 30th, 1780, the maintenance of the old privileges; conscription, they further complained, was against the constitution — the employment of military persons in civil administrations had already been interdicted in 1741 and was consequently illegal. The equalisation of the nobility with the subjects, added the comitat council of Temes, was an outrage upon their privileges. "We cannot but infer from it," they said, "that even we who have been born within the circle of inestimable liberty shall be reduced to the miserable condition of slavery and submitted to the unconstitutional system of government employed in the German provinces."

"This conscription," said the comitat council of Neutra, "has hitherto been possible only in the outlying provinces and has always brought an insupportable slavery over the people; the Hungarian people has never been forced to military service; we would rather sacrifice our lives and property than lose our liberty and lead a miserable life in tears and lamentations."

In spite of these complaints the emperor remained firm in his decision; the secular authorities and the clergy had only to enlighten the people with regard to such a peaceable measure, which was intended for the common welfare and would in no way weaken their lawful rights. The comitat councils, however, made new remonstrances and even defiantly prevented, here and there, the execution of the preliminary measures. Only when the government declared that the popular census would take place in any case, some comitat councils silently submitted; others, however, like those of

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Presburg, Vasvár, and Neutra, still resisted. Several supreme counts were consequently dismissed, troops were again called together, the census took a quiet course and was completed in the autumn of 1785. The authorities recorded 6,935,376 inhabitants outside of the nobility.

The reform of the tax system, especially the abolition of the immunity from taxation of the nobility and clergy, had already been planned during the reign of Maria Theresa, and was taken up again during the reign of Joseph in 1783, in the letter addressed to Count Pálffy. In a second letter, dated December 10th, 1785, he touched this question again and explained also his reasons for the tax reforms, which were in accordance with the physiocratic views. The ground-rent was the cheapest and therefore the least oppressive; the ground should therefore be measured and equally taxed in accordance with the revenue, the produce prepared by nature or culture would be free from duty as products of industry — for these the consumers in towns would only pay a duty. The community had to superintend the measuring and the distribution of the taxes; the allodial estates of the nobility could not be exempted from measuring and evaluation; the estates of the nobility and of the peasantry, those of the crown and of the clergy, had therefore the same rent duty. A writ dated February 10th, 1786, ordered that the new system should be carried out; after its completion an imperial diet should be convoked and asked to fix the extent of the ground-rent, the discharge of the *insurrectio*, and the abolition of the line of custom houses.

By these and other innovations Joseph touched the core of the social and political life in Hungary. General excitement pervaded the country. The ten commissioners, among them being Joseph von Majláth, spoke in favour of the reform as the former tax system was deficient and erroneous. The other party, led by the Hungarian chancery court, declared the reform to be contrary to the constitution. They thought that the emperor should put the idea of measuring and evaluation as a suggestion of the government before the imperial diet. The two privy councillors Izdenczy and Eger emphatically opposed the summoning of the diet. The emperor according to old Hungarian custom was supreme in military and financial matters, and it would be sufficient if the court of chancery were not overlooked in these innovations. It was due to Izdenczy's influence that the diet was not called together and the emperor remained firm in his decision to carry out the tax system. Resistance could not be thought of: there were too many troops in the country, seventy thousand men before Buda-Pest. The emperor recognised the difficulty of evaluation but wished to have it finished in October. In fact, the preliminary measures were completed in August and the whole work towards the end of the year 1787, though it was deficient and erroneous in many respects. The emperor appointed a commission for the introduction of the new system. His instructions, however, to this body were his last work in this affair; the war with Turkey soon compelled him to postpone and finally to recall everything.

JOSEPH'S VISIT TO CATHERINE

In 1780, while Maria Theresa still lived, Joseph had paid a visit to Russia — a stroke directed against Prussia as a political power. Joseph had sent to the czarina to know if he might meet her somewhere on her journey to White Russia, and make her personal acquaintance. The czarina accepted the overture with cordiality, and fixed the town of Mohileff in Lithuania as the meeting place. The emperor had ordered it to be made clear that this

visit had no political significance; but nobody believed him, and he himself owned to the wish that Austria and Russia should once more be close allies.

The French court believed the emperor had in his mind the dissolution of the alliance; the king of Prussia supposed that Joseph wished to combine with Russia and seize a Turkish province; and Prince Potemkin already saw in Joseph a welcome comrade in view of another war against the Turks. The chancellor advised the emperor to explain to the czarina that Austria had no intention of going to war with Germany and still less contemplated any independent action against Poland, the principal motive for the journey, he should state, being his desire that he, the future ruler of Austria, should be rightly understood by the czarina; and that, if possible, the old friendship between the two countries should be revived. But Joseph did not follow the programme laid down for him, preferring to follow his own bent. He left Vienna on the 26th of April, and travelling by way of Galicia passed through Kieff on the 2nd of June on his way to Mohileff. The czarina arrived there on June 7th, and remained four days. The greeting was most cordial on both sides, but in the matter of politics the czarina evinced a determined reserve, merely throwing out the suggestion that Italy, and more particularly Rome, might be a desirable acquisition to Joseph's dominions. To this Joseph merely replied by a jest. About the Prussian monarch she only remarked that he had grown old and morose, allowing all kinds of "small people" to carry tales to him.

When the czarina invited Joseph to follow her to St. Petersburg, the emperor first made a visit to Moscow, and on the 28th of June went to St. Petersburg, where he remained for three weeks. Joseph was especially anxious to win over the minister Panin, but in political affairs he adopted the same reserve and non-committal attitude as the czarina herself. Upon her again referring to Italy and the Turks, Potemkin said the emperor might at least engage himself to form no alliance with the Ottomans against Russia. Joseph declared himself willing, provided only that Russia would engage never to take part in any war against Austria. It did not come to any definite exchange of pledges, but Joseph had, as the English envoy said, won a place for himself in the czarina's heart.

Maria Theresa noted the result in a letter to the queen of France. "Nothing definite was said, but it appears he has had the good fortune to be able to destroy the false, deeply-rooted prejudice against us." After his return, Joseph carried on a lively correspondence with the czarina, in which each addressed the other with exaggerated compliment. The task of turning this friendship to political account was undertaken by the ambassador Cobenzl, and it resulted finally in the Austro-Russian alliance of 1781.^c

In competing successfully with Frederick for Catherine's favour, Joseph was acting entirely in accordance with the views of Kaunitz, the "Austrian vice-vizir," as Frederick called him. From the correspondence between the two sovereigns we learn that Joseph agreed to Catherine's oriental projects of creating a new "Dacia" under a ruler of the Greek faith, and founding in the place of Turkey, whence the Turks were to be expelled, an independent state under her grandson Constantine, on the understanding that Austria should be allowed to strengthen and enlarge her borders on the southeast, and obtain the Dalmatian seaboard. Upon so extensive a project Joseph shrank from entering at once (February, 1783) for fear that his ally, France, should join Prussia. When, however, Catherine contented herself with a smaller beginning, and determined to possess herself of the Crimea, Austria marched troops to the Turkish frontier and declared through her internuncio at Constanti-

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nople that the two courts were acting in concord. For these services Joseph claimed Russia's help in the matter of the Bavarian exchange. With Bavaria instead of Belgium, Kaunitz argued, Austria would have nothing to fear from France, could force back Prussia, and thus strengthened take up with Russia Catherine's great oriental scheme.

In the course of another three years the czarina collected a new list of charges against the Turks, of which she notified Joseph while informing him of her proposed journey to the Crimea. At first Joseph was disinclined to accept the invitation to accompany her — this "Catherinised princess of Anhalt-Zerbst" as he called her — but towards the end of the year Kaunitz was all for his going: "Who knows what advantages we may get from it if time and circumstances are favourable to us." The superb stage management of Potemkin has given to Catherine's journey a world-wide fame (May, 1787). It does not appear that immediately warlike schemes were arranged during the visit, and Joseph hurried back to Vienna at the end of June, uneasy about the opposition of the estates of Brabant. However, when Turkey declared war on Catherine two months later, Joseph, under the advice of Kaunitz, supported her with a despatch of a strength that astonished her — 245,000 infantry, 36,000 cavalry, and 9,000 guns were to be in the field by the next year.^a

A personal interview took place between the two powers at Cherson. The partition of Turkey, like that of Poland, formed the subject of their deliberations. A diversion made to their rear by Gustavus III of Sweden, however, compelled Catherine to recall the greater portion of her troops. Russia, since the days of Peter the Great, had been a field of speculation for Germans, who, to the extreme detriment of their native country, increased the power of Russia by filling the highest civil and military posts. A prince Charles of Nassau-Siegen, who served at this period as Russian admiral, was shamefully defeated by the Swedes, lost fifty-five ships and twelve thousand men, and was forced to fly for his life in a little boat. The Turkish campaign was, owing to these disadvantageous circumstances, far from brilliant. The Russians merely took Oczakow by storm and fixed themselves, as the Austrians should have done in their stead, close to the mouths of the Danube. Joseph was even less successful. The extreme heat of the summer of 1788 produced a pestilence which carried off thirty-three thousand Austrians. The bad inclination generated among the lower class by the nobility and clergy had crept into the army. At Caransebes, the troops were seized with a sudden panic and took to flight, carrying the emperor along with them, without an enemy being in sight. The Turks, commanded by French officers, were several times victorious. Sick and chagrined, the emperor returned to Vienna.^b

VICTORIES OVER THE TURKS

Then, following the popular voice, he replaced Lacy by his old opponent Laudon, in command of the independent Austrian army (August, 1789). After successful actions by Hohenlohe and Clerfayt, Laudon moved forward and after three weeks' siege took Belgrade (September 15th to October 8th). Meanwhile, on August 1st and September 22nd, the combined Russian and Austrian armies under Suvarov and Prince Josias of Coburg gained the splendid victories of Fokshani and Rimmik. These successes were followed by others until the allies became masters of the whole line of fortresses covering the Turkish frontier, and their three grand armies converged as if to the complete overthrow of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

Again the activity of Prussia interfered to rob Austria of the fruits of her victories and prevent the triumphant third campaign which seemed so likely. During the campaigns of 1788 and 1789 Joseph had quite well foreseen the gathering hostility of Prussia, and in 1790 he wrote to the czarina that Prussia and Poland would certainly attack her in the spring. The Russian chancellor, Ostermann, like Kaunitz himself, refused to take so serious a view. Russia wished to continue the war so as to dictate terms; Prussia worked against peace in Constantinople and concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with the Porte, January 30th, 1790. The Prussian court even welcomed the beginning of the French revolution as depriving Austria of the one ally to whom she might have turned in her distress. Joseph had already commanded Laudon to arrange a plan of campaign against Prussia and Poland. The news of the loss of Belgium, which Joseph described as the culminating point of misfortune and shame, came to weaken Russia's not very eager desire to support Austria against Prussia.

REVOLT OF THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS (1789 A.D.)

The calm which followed in Belgium upon the appointment of Trauttmansdorff and D'Alton (October, 1787) was not of long duration. The Austrian authorities imagined that they had found the secret of success in the employment of force, and D'Alton occupied with soldiery the palace where the council of Brabant was in session over the decree for the reopening of the unfortunate seminary. Thus threatened, the council signed the order to publish the decree (January, 1788), while in the streets the first blood was spilt between the military and the citizens. The opposition, suppressed for the moment, burst out again when the government had to summon the estates of the provinces in order to raise taxes. True, the clergy and nobility of Brabant at last declared their willingness to grant subsidies, but the third estate held out. Joseph, who at this time was lately returned from the Turkish war, decided upon stronger measures, such as the suppression of the third estate; but the democratic and revolutionary party had got the upper hand. Bonek's secret patriotic association numbered seventy thousand in October, and by that time insurgents had gathered over the border at Breda to the number of twelve thousand. Edicts and threats were useless, and on October 24th Van der Mersch marched the insurgents into Belgium and won an engagement with the imperial troops at Turnhout. When the patriot army was already threatening Brussels, Trauttmansdorff began to withdraw the obnoxious measure, finally gave up everything, and offered an amnesty into the bargain. It was too late—his action was interpreted as fear. Flanders declared the emperor deprived of all his rights in the duchy (November 25th, 1789). Brussels was evacuated by the Austrians (December 12th). Brabant declared the independence of the Netherlands. In January of 1790 a scheme of Belgian federation was accepted and proclaimed. The Netherlands had torn themselves free of Austria.

CONCESSIONS TO HUNGARY

There were those who believed that Hungary was well started on the same road. We last saw that country at the moment when Joseph was successfully carrying out his new land valuation. Opposition was already stirring, and late in the summer of 1788, when the government asked the comitat assemblies for recruits, they supplied only 1,184 out of 15,000, and demanded

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the summoning of the diet with the restoration of former institutions. Joseph seemed inclined to take the advice of the Hungarian chancery, which was for calling the diet; but his personal advisers persuaded him to refuse (December, 1788). No brilliant success of the Turkish war had yet occurred to appeal to the imagination; next year recruits, corn supplies, and the additional war tax were again refused. National songs grew popular and the national dress ousted the German. "The Belgian story over again," Kaunitz said, and as in Belgium so in Hungary, Prussian influence was at work.^a

In the midst of public distresses, the declining spirit of Joseph was troubled with domestic feuds. He had offended his brother Leopold by an imprudent partiality for his nephew the archduke Francis, who had been brought up under his auspices, and by an unjustifiable attempt to secure for him the reversion of the imperial crown. This impolitic attempt to raise the son above the father created an incurable jealousy between the two brothers; and Leopold not only censured every part of his conduct, both in internal and external policy, but sedulously avoided even an interview or any species of communication which might implicate him in the transactions or embarrassments of his brother.

Joseph sank under the struggle of contending passions, the weight of accumulated calamities, and the effects of disease. The same languor which prevailed in the chamber of the sick monarch was, for a time, diffused through every department of state: although a war with Prussia seemed inevitable, he neither formed magazines nor made the necessary augmentations of the army; equally unable to avert and unwilling to encounter the danger, he displayed the extremes of anxiety, alarm, and irresolution. But as the storm approached, his mind regained a portion of its pristine activity, and, in the commencement of February, 1790, he ordered the requisite preparations for impending hostilities. He felt also the necessity of conciliating his subjects to frustrate the designs of Prussia, which were founded on their growing disaffection, and accordingly revoked many of his unpopular edicts and prepared to rescind many others. He received the haughty demands of the Hungarians with condescension and complacency, restored their constitution as it existed at his accession, promised speedily to solemnise the ceremony of his coronation, and as an earnest of his intentions sent back the crown of St. Stephen.

The rapture with which the crown was received proved the precipitation and folly of wantonly choking the feelings of a people so susceptible to national prejudice and so awake to national honour. Triumphal arches were erected in its passage; every town was a scene of festivity; numbers flocking from all quarters swelled the cavalcade, and at Buda exulting multitudes crowding to the cathedral welcomed the precious palladium of their national splendour and freedom.

At night the crown was removed into the chapel of the palace, and guarded by two magistrates with drawn sabres. The whole city was illuminated, the streets resounded with songs of joy and exultation, and on every side was heard the exclamation, "Long live the liberties of the Hungarian people!"

DEATH OF JOSEPH II (1790 A.D.)

But Joseph did not live to experience the good effects of this change of conduct; for at this awful crisis his reign and his life were hastening to a close. Though naturally robust and hardy, his incessant exertions of body and mind had worn down his frame; and his last campaign accelerated his

decay. He exposed himself to the sultry heats of the summer, and to the noxious air which exhaled from the marshes in the vicinity of the Danube, where he often slept on the bare ground. He was his own minister and general; by day he encountered the fatigues of a common soldier, and regulated the complicated affairs of the army; at night he scarcely allowed himself more than five hours for repose, conducting with his own hand the extensive correspondence relative to all the affairs of his vast empire.

In December, 1788, a fever, derived from anxiety, hardship, and fatigue, compelled him to retire to Vienna. During several months he was in considerable danger, and was afterwards long confined by an asthmatic complaint. With extreme care and attention he seemed to recover gradually; but his incessant restlessness and the fatal revolution in the Netherlands occasioned a relapse, and he finally sank under accumulated disorders of body and mind.

Enfeebled by incessant sufferings, his dissolution was accelerated by the unexpected death of his beloved niece, the archduchess Elizabeth, a princess of the house of Württemberg, and sister to the grand duchess of Russia. He had himself chosen this amiable princess to be the consort of his favourite nephew Francis, and loved her with paternal fondness, while she looked up to him with filial reverence and affection. On receiving the melancholy intelligence, the emperor smote his forehead with his hands, remained for some time absorbed in grief, and at length exclaimed, "O God, thy will be done!"

In the midst of his agony he had the courage to support an interview of three hours with his nephew; but although his firmness of mind did not give way, his bodily strength could not resist so awful a shock. Feeling the approach of death, he summoned his confessor at three in the morning, and devoutly heard the prayers ordered by the church for persons in the last agonies. Though his sight failed, his senses remained unimpaired till the last moment, and he expired on the 20th of February, 1790, with perfect composure, and almost without a groan, in the forty-ninth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.⁹





CHAPTER XIII

THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

[1790-1806 A.D.]

At the end of the eighteenth century there were in Germany no less than three hundred independent sovereignties, ecclesiastical states, or free cities; not to speak of fifteen hundred imperial knights with jurisdiction over their subjects. The territory of modern Würtemberg alone was divided among seventy-eight different rulers, under the almost nominal headship of the emperor. Some of these principalities were infinitesimally small, even when compared with domains like those of a modern prince of Waldeck, which one can traverse in the course of a morning's stroll. The abbeys of Gutenzell was down in the *Reichsmatrikel*, or military schedule of the empire, for one-third of a horseman and three and one-third foot soldiers; the barony of Sickingen for two-thirds of a horseman and five and one-third foot. The burgraviate of Reineck could boast of one castle, twelve poor subjects, one Jew, and a couple of farms and millwheels. The rulers of these petty states wasted little thought on problems of good government. The bishoprics and abbacies, not being hereditary, were subject to a total change in the methods of administration with every change of incumbent. A whole string of these bishoprics — Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Worms, Speier, and others — extended along the Rhine, forming the boundary against France: a weak bulwark they were now to form when the waves of the French Revolution came surging into Germany.—HENDERSON.ⁿ

LEOPOLD, the third son of Maria Theresa, was forty-three years old when he succeeded Joseph. His wise and liberal administration of the archduchy of Tuscany (1765-1790) remains to this day an almost unique phenomenon

in the history of Italian governments. With the help of his minister, Pompeo Neri, a native of Florence, he made land-tenure free, restored autonomy to parish councils, simplified taxation, abolished torture and the Inquisition,

liberated trade and industry, destroyed guilds and monopolies, instituted the system of hereditary tenements, and founded an untrammelled education.^a

His future right to the Habsburg monarchy and to the imperial crown had influenced Leopold but little in his way of life; he judged the character of his imperial brother correctly and with innate tact avoided all interference in Viennese affairs, although during the lifetime of Joseph's second wife he might have considered himself the successor, and was in fact so regarded by his family. He appeared wrapt up in active care for his grand duchy, and by his peculiar position had grown to love it to such a degree that the



LEOPOLD II (1747-1792)

idea of its being united to the superior home power — to which in 1784 Joseph persuaded him to consent — was anything but agreeable to him.

THE TREATY OF REICHENBACH (1790 A.D.)

During the first hours of his presence in Vienna, Leopold recognised that he must transact all serious business himself. No initiative was to be looked for from his brother's ministers. They were one and all useless for purposes of advice, offering him no suggestions for a programme, and showing him no confidence. Indeed, they, as well as the members of the state council, settled at their posts though they were, had not the slightest idea of what Leopold's views really were. The new emperor started by endeavouring to inform himself thoroughly of the general state of affairs; he worked from ten to twelve hours a day without interruption; not even pausing, as he wrote to Maria Christina, to take a breath of fresh air. Foreign affairs became the principal political question. Peace must be obtained, fresh conflict of any kind must be avoided if the Austrian provinces were to be quieted. This end once attained, it would be possible to restore to Austria her prestige in the eyes of the other European powers. Kaunitz considered Austria's greatest danger to be in the attitude of Prussia, from which he expected the worst consequences. He advocated forcing the Turks to make peace by an outburst of military energy, to be accompanied by so strong and definite a demonstration in Berlin as should defer the Prussian court from showing

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Turkey open support. Leopold on the other hand was of opinion that peace with Germany was Austria's first necessity; a settlement with the Turks did not to his mind present very great difficulties, because he did not consider any advantage he could gain in the East worth holding out for, but would have been content to allow affairs to resume the state in which they found themselves before the war.

It is astonishing that in this matter Leopold's judgment should have been sounder than that of Kaunitz. A war with Prussia at that moment would no doubt have placed Austria in the gravest situation. Prussia could at any minute send 160,000 able-bodied men into the field, and even if one takes the most optimistic view of the Austrian troops—the view for instance of a military author who ascribes to the Austrian army a force of 300,000 combatants—one must still admit that, on both fields of war, widely separated as they were, so that mutual help was out of the question, Austria would appear to be the inferior force. In such a case Austria must at least expect to lose the Netherlands; and in Hungary the party already inclined towards Prussia would make difficulties, the further consequences of which could not be ignored. As an instance it is only necessary to consider the possibility of a revolutionary movement, even a transient one, by which the troops engaged against Turkey might be cut off from the centre of the kingdom, and from the only dominions which could be depended upon in all cases of war, or from which they might be threatened in their rear. The policy conceived by Prince Kaunitz, of attacking Prussia and so circumventing the Prussian scheme for a coalition against Austria, and of rendering Russia's aggressive oriental policy inoperative by diplomacy, had proved itself a mere illusion.

Prussia had concluded an offensive alliance with both Turkey and Poland, the aim of which was to protect Turkey against the slightest violation of her territory, and moreover to restore Galicia to Poland; England had received the project of an Austrian alliance with the greatest coolness, and France was out of the running in all foreign politics; Sweden was already at issue with Russia, and the German central provinces were unanimously inclined towards Prussia, whilst Prussia itself showed at present no signs whatever of the collapse of its *parvenu* power, which Kaunitz expected and so intensely desired: so that the decision of the old chancellor, once more to try the luck of arms in battle with the detested Prussia, can only be called the idea of a sick dreamer, an adventurer.

The moment in which the change of rule took place, allowing for the circumstances of foreign and domestic policy, is described by Ranke as one of the most dangerous for the existence of Austria which the world's history can show. It would seem that matters needed but a touch to bring about a completely new order of affairs. Leopold understood the situation and did not hesitate to break with a policy which had become a tradition. Over the heads of the two chief ministers, Hertzberg and Kaunitz, he hastened to try to establish a better understanding with the dreaded rival. He addressed himself in an autograph letter (written March 25th) direct to King Frederick William, in order to persuade him to a peaceful settlement of the various difficulties. This step achieved at least one result—it caused the king to forsake the line previously arranged for him by Hertzberg, and so occasioned his minister's policy to waver, just when, in the spring of 1790, it would have had every chance of resulting in effective activity.

Leopold's action received unexpected support through a sudden change, at that very time, in the attitude of England. To the Berlin cabinet England declared herself fully satisfied that a situation should have been restored in

which the powers in possession retained the *status quo ante*; she would not strain the weakness of Austria further, and she would only undertake to support Prussia. Prussia had to suffer hostilities in consequence of maintaining her present course of action. With this, disappeared Hertzberg's expectation of being able to force Austria to part with Galicia and, in the same way, possibly to win Dantzic and Thorn for Prussia.

When Prince Kaunitz perceived that he was at issue with his new emperor on a principal question of foreign politics, he decided to offer Leopold his resignation. It was not accepted, and in this matter, too, Leopold showed great insight. He could not have replaced Kaunitz from the younger Austrian diplomatists. Cobenzl and Colloredo were insignificant. Stadion and Thugut were not yet in the foreground. If Kaunitz would but agree to this change of front and set himself to carry out Leopold's ideas, he would still be the most useful as the most skilled actor on Austria's political stage.

Leopold took care to make the transition as easy as possible to the old man; he was able to give him the assurance that the advances to Prussia would not be made in every case, but on the contrary that he would only make them to obtain a free hand to secure peace with the Porte; and that he would be ready, when the eastern affairs should be in order, and Russia showed itself ready to support him, to let the issue be a war with Prussia. In any case Leopold would not disturb the existing relations with Russia. Under such auspices the chancellor of state let himself be persuaded on the 27th of April to recall his resignation.

The two influences, the influence of the emperor and the influence of Kaunitz, are from this point easily traceable in their exact effect on Austrian policy: the two opinions often amounting to hot dispute, giving some colour to the belief that Leopold himself was vague and unsettled in his decisions. This was, however, not the case; it was simply that the emperor could not silence this opposition, because he could not do without Kaunitz. He would certainly not have hesitated to place the helm of state in other hands, could he have found anyone able to cope with the difficulties which had grown out of the situation. Statesmen in Austria were few and far between, and Kaunitz was head and shoulders above any of the younger heads of that day.

The Porte

The understanding with Prussia was still a long time in the making. Frederick William's answer to Leopold's advances was still quite in Hertzberg's manner: adjustment of affairs as before the war, or an interchange of territory between Austria, Prussia, Poland, and Turkey, by means of which the common interests of those states would be alike protected. In this event, however, Austria would suffer, for in consequence of obligations too hastily incurred by Diez, the Prussian envoy in Constantinople, Prussia as an ally of the Porte could not allow Turkey, which would be expected to trim the balance of power, to act towards Austria in a manner sufficiently generous to recompense that country for returning Galicia to Poland. Yet upon this condition hinged for Prussia the possibility of demanding Dantzic and Thorn from Poland.

At the court of Vienna the reply of the Prussian monarch was considered almost tantamount to a refusal of the proposed understanding, and Russia was again urged to definite agreement in the event of a breach with Prussia. A second communication from Leopold to the king (April 28th) stated quite clearly that Austria would only be in a position to give a settled answer to

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the proposal from Prussia when the basis of peace with the Porte should have been agreed upon with Russia. Prince Reuss in Berlin had to amplify this by word of mouth, and he explained to Prussia that objections to this could hardly exist, since, if Prussia could declare its action to be dependent on that of England, Austria could not be blamed for first consulting an ally. Upon this the king demanded (May 9th) the quickest possible decisive reply. He had responsibilities which would suffer no postponement, and found himself in a situation more resembling an armed truce than a peace. To this statement he added a sketch of the proposed adjustment of territory, which gave to Austria that part of Servia and Wallachia which she had gained through the Peace of Passarowitz.

The efforts of Austria in St. Petersburg were not followed by the desired success. Russia would not be in any way bound in treating for peace with Turkey. If Turkey would evacuate the territory between the Danube and the Dniester belonging to Russia, the war should end; if not, Russia was determined to pursue her advantage at the point of the sword. A decided consent to support Austria in war against Prussia was not expressed: this would also depend on the result of dealings with Turkey; Austria should, however, endeavour to continue diplomatic relations with Prussia for the purpose of gaining time.

So Austria really stood alone in the event of an attack from Prussia. The probability of this event was more and more apparent, especially since the arrival of a third letter from Frederick William (June 2nd) which treated a recent proposal, *à propos* of Austria's relinquishing Galicia, as an ultimatum, and demanded decisively hostile advances on the part of Austria towards Turkey. Simultaneously began the concentration of Prussian troops in Silesia, whence the king, accompanied by Hertzberg, betook himself. He pitched his camp in Schönwald, near the Bohemian border, and ordered his envoys in Vienna to make it known that he was determined to go to war, if Leopold did not agree to his demands.

This momentarily more pressing decision was dealt with in Vienna by Leopold himself, who in pursuance of a former resolution, and against the advice of the chancellor, gave the preference to accepting the Prussian proposals for war. Kaunitz convened a council to deal with this resolution, and on the 16th of June the endeavour to meet Prussia had been already approved—several objections, however, being pointed out. Leopold replied to these in writing on the 16th of June as follows: "I am much bound to you for the communication of your good opinion. Our home affairs are unfortunately in such a condition that we must use all possible decent means to avoid breaking with Prussia." Field-marshal Laudon also assisted at this conference. He had been placed at the head of that part of the army which was held in readiness to oppose Prussia.

When the first news of the Prusso-Turkish Alliance reached Vienna, the emperor had already despatched 37 battalions and 66 squadrons, which were in winter quarters in Hungary, to the borders of Silesia and Galicia; during the following spring these troops were reinforced, so that 20 battalions and 34 squadrons could take the field against Poland, and 91 battalions and 120 squadrons were in readiness to meet Prussia. Whether the two together would really have formed a force of 150,000 strong, as has been often asserted, is notwithstanding somewhat doubtful. Laudon's chief command resulted already from his position as highest in command over the entire Austrian army, which Leopold had given to him when he came to the throne.

Laudon had drawn a cordon along the Silesian frontier in May, but his

main force he concentrated at Neutitschein. Prince Hohenlohe commanded a force in Moravia. Laudon seems to have had a thoroughly military grip of the situation, but for all that he should not have spoken of the hopeful results as though they were already achievements. This does not, however, appear to have influenced Leopold. The treaties with Prussia were conducted by the state referendary, Baron Spielmann, who went to Breslau on the 25th of June and took the king a letter from Leopold, which insisted on the peacefully minded dispositions prevailing in Austria, and which apostrophised Frederick William's rectitude in the most flattering terms.

The consultation with Hertzberg first attacked the question of compensation in Galicia, which, according to the Prussian estimate, ought to equal the value of Dantzic and Thorn, *plus* some of the border districts, which Hertzberg appraised as possessing 120,000 inhabitants and yielding revenues to the amount of 600,000 thalers. Austria offered some Galician territory, divided, not *en bloc*, having 300,000 inhabitants, and revenue to the amount of 343,000 gulden. It was demanded that Brody and the saltworks of Wieliczka should be withdrawn, but to this Spielmann would not consent without further instructions from Vienna. Whilst these were pending, several important facts worked upon the mind of the king of Prussia, causing him to modify his determinations quite unexpectedly.

Lucchesini, the Prussian envoy in Warsaw, who had been summoned to Reichenbach, the place chosen for the treaty, to report upon the public mood in Poland and to replace Hertzberg who was ill, declared his conviction that Poland would scarcely be attainable in exchange for the two Galician towns. The envoys from England and Holland also appeared at the same time in Reichenbach and declared that they could only agree to such an exchange of territory as should place matters on the same footing on which they were previous to the Turkish wars. England had only just escaped the danger of being seriously embroiled with Spain on account of the right of possession on the Nootka Sound in California, whilst the national assembly in Paris had borrowed support from Spain. A change in French policy was not, however, out of the question, and in this case England, for the sake of its interests in the New World, must hold itself free from any quarrel with a European power. For the increase of Prussian dominions and Prussian power on the Baltic, England saw itself in no way called upon actively to interfere.

Frederick William was much discouraged by these disclosures, and as at the same time his trust in Hertzberg, who had been privately accused of supporting revolutionary views, was rudely shaken, he now disclaimed the leading policy of his ministers, and commissioned them to bring the negotiations with Austria to as speedy a close as possible, without endeavouring to obtain further concessions to Prussia. "Do not let yourselves be put off any longer by Prince Kaunitz," he wrote to Hertzberg on July 14th. "If for the moment I resign Dantzic and Thorn, it will at least compel the Vienna court to speak plainly, and it will put an end to their thousand evasions; to obtain this, one must propose a strict *status quo*, as I have clearly charged you."

Great was Spielmann's astonishment when he was informed of this change in the Prussian propositions. The *status quo* was not calculated to meet Austrian desires, and the court of Vienna could scarcely be expected to rejoice over it. Austria was no doubt convinced by this time of the slight advantage which the possession of Galicia gave her; this conclusion moreover masked a complete readjustment of territory, which would mean resigning all advantages that had been wrung from the Turks.

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Laudon's death (July 14th, 1790), however, rendered more obvious than before to the Vienna politicians the necessity of moderation. Even if the hopes which had been placed on him were admitted to have been extravagant, his influence over the troops could not be gainsaid; they had for long years placed great confidence in him. Really to replace him as commander was at the moment hopeless, and this made the event of any war doubtful. "Unpleasant as it is," so wrote Philip Cobenzl to Spielmann, "to let ourselves be dictated to by the Berlin court, our home affairs are in such a state, particularly now we have lost the great Laudon, that we must put up with everything, only to get out of the slough."

The *status quo* was accordingly accepted. Austria engaged herself to return to the Sublime Porte all acquisitions derived from the late war; only Chotin for the time being was to remain garrisoned, and the Bosnian frontier was to be protected. Prussia, in return, made herself responsible for several stipulated compensations. In a declaration commenting upon the arrangement, the expectation was expressed that during the continuance of the Russo-Turkish war Austria would hold herself aloof from any interference, and would refrain from giving direct or indirect assistance to Russia against the Porte. As to Belgian affairs, she declared that in the direction of subjugation as well as constitution she would be willing to throw in her lot with the maritime powers.

This Treaty of Reichenbach, signed July 27th, 1790, is a great and most diplomatic victory for Austria, which is due to Leopold's skill and moderation. With one stroke the situation was adjusted, the respect for Leopold among foreign powers strengthened, action in relation to the Netherlands and Hungary freed from all outside restraints, and the way cleared for concentrating all Austria's strength on establishing conditions of peace throughout the country itself. That, moreover, Prussia was compelled to withdraw from her wide-reaching plans, and obliged to give up the idea of turning Austria's embarrassment to her own profit, was a very decided advantage, obvious to all observers.¹

PACIFICATION OF HUNGARY AND BELGIUM

One of the consequences of the Reichenbach Convention was the election of Leopold as emperor. He was crowned October 9th, 1790. Leopold had been very careful in his correspondence with his elder brother. Only in the matter of Joseph's antipapal church reforms were Leopold's letters of agreement entirely frank. Joseph no doubt thought he had his brother's sympathy for his Hungarian and Belgian measures, and yet we know from the correspondence with his sister, the archduchess Maria Christina, that Leopold did not approve and thought that submission would be more politic.

Three days after his arrival in Vienna, Leopold started upon the pacification of Hungary by confirming his brother's recantation, promising a diet for the coronation and for the discussion of measures for the happiness of the country. The Hungarian people, however, had gone very far in their discontent, which, like a swollen river, was bursting its dams and overflowing on every side. In the stormy diet which opened July 10th, 1790, the most extreme views were expressed: the question was asked, for instance, whether the succession had not been broken by the ten years' rule of an uncrowned king; and it needed all the skill of able leaders, Joseph Batthyányi, cardinal-archbishop of Gran, Count Carl Zichy, *juxta curia* and president of the assembly of magnates, and the personal, Joseph Urmeanyi, president of the assembly of estates.

to moderate the passion roused. "The French constitution has got into Hungary's head," was the remark of the Prussian ambassador in Vienna. Leopold was firm in refusing all the new restrictions which a committee of the Hungarian diet was busy putting into the inaugural coronation diploma. The victory of the moderate party was forwarded not only by Leopold's tact and the skill of his advisers, but by two outside circumstances: the Austrian understanding with Prussia, which deprived the disaffected Hungarians of an ally, and the anti-Magyar attitude of the Serbs in Hungary who offered Leopold forty thousand soldiers in return for his gracious proclamation to the "Illyrian nation." Leopold was crowned amid great enthusiasm at Presburg, November 15th.

Already on February 17th Leopold had prepared a liberal manifesto which was to be laid before the Belgian estates directly Joseph died. The manifesto was left unanswered by the Belgian congress, which had come into the power of a clerical-revolutionary party led by Van der Noot. Meanwhile a number of the democratic party were in favour of accepting the Austrian proposals. Leopold recognised that force only could regain him the Netherlands, and he threatened war if the estates did not submit before November 21st. At eleven o'clock on the previous evening, the congress decided that they would accept Leopold's third son, Charles, as hereditary archduke, on the understanding that the new state should never be united with Austria. The decision was not listened to. Field-marshal Bender in command of thirty-three thousand Austrian troops started the march to Brussels, which he reached in ten days. On December 2nd the Austrians entered the city, welcomed by a people tired of congress and revolution. The whole of Belgium submitted to the emperor's proposals and on December 12th Cardinal Frankenberg celebrated a thanksgiving. By the Treaty of the Hague, England, Holland, and Prussia guaranteed the Belgian provinces to Austria, and Austria promised to retain the ancient constitution as confirmed by Charles VI and Maria Theresa. Exactly one year after Joseph had been declared deprived of his rights in Belgium, memorial services were held for him in Brussels and Antwerp. Quiet was not to endure for long. Indeed Leopold had already felt the force of the revolution which was stirring in France.^a

POLITICAL STATE OF AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS ON LEOPOLD'S ACCESSION

The wishes and requests of the corporations of the estates of the empire in the years 1790 and 1791 give a faithful and animated picture of the circumstances and temper of the time. When, in March, 1790, Leopold II assumed the reins of government, he found the various estates in a ferment all over Austria. "Internal affairs," writes this able and judicious prince in 1790, "are in the utmost confusion. I have no capable men about me; all the provinces are in a stir; provinces and cities, nobles and merchants, bishops and monks are all demanding rights and privileges, referring back to the times of Charlemagne and requiring everything directly."

In Tuscany Leopold had favoured the principles of an enlightened absolutism, in Austria he seemed inclined to recognise the old provincial constitution, and possibly to combine the provincial bodies into a states-general in which the middle class should be well represented. The imperial briefs of May and June, 1791, convoked the diets of the several provinces. They were required to set forth the history of their constitution and functions, and to submit their requests to the central government by the hand of delegates. In accordance

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with local customs the nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries appeared with a modest and dejected accompaniment of municipal representatives and free peasants of the Tyrol. The arrangement, the presentation, and even the garb of these delegations were of the ancient fashion; the temper displayed in their assemblies seemed to be that of the days of Leopold I and Charles IV: but neither government nor estates, neither nobles nor burghers had any certain knowledge or right understanding of the spirit of the old social system. The most contradictory opinions were expressed by members of the government commission appointed to confer upon the constitution. Some of them demanded that the peasantry and the burgher class should be summoned; others maintained that the peasantry were represented by the lords of the manor and that equality of rights was dangerous and contrary to historic precedent. The estates themselves confused the new legal system of the state with their own ancient institutions. The estates of Bohemia talked of a compact between prince and people, and of participation of authority; those of Styria went so far as to take, in rationalistic fashion, the "origin of society" for their starting-point. The right of the sovereign to reform the "representation" was questioned by none. "From thee, beloved father of so many nations, whose million hearts yearn towards thee — from thee we look for our happiness," is the phrase of one of the addresses.

Federalism took precedence of centralisation; the interests of the privileged classes, of those of the nation at large. The Bohemians talked of their king, the Styrians and Carinthians of their duke. Not a single state demanded a homogeneous system of government, nor the general representation of the burgher and peasant classes; not one advocated the abolition of the *Robot* (villein or compulsory labour, the labour-rent by which the peasants held their land), nor the complete personal enfranchisement of the peasantry: and this at the time when, by the constitution of 1790, France had finally broken with the *ancien régime*, and had proclaimed the right of all to citizenship, to a share in the franchise.

The official instructions (*cahiers*) given by the various sections of the estates to their deputies at Vienna are among the remarkable documents of Austrian constitutional history. The restoration of the constitution of the estates and of local government as it was before the days of Maria Theresa and Joseph II is universally demanded — annual diets, the old organisation of the estates, a share in legislation, the right of granting contributions, the election of committees and commissioners of the estates, the right of free assembly and discussion, the right of naturalisation, the abrogation of all Josephinian laws affecting the common and equal administration of the law, the relations between landowners and peasantry, and national education. The clerical estates demanded the recognition of the Catholic church as the state church, the abolition of public seminaries, episcopal censorship of the press, the appointment of professors of theology at the universities, the restoration of monastic property, administration of the fund for religious purposes by the estates, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the reform of the marriage laws by the bishops.

The second and third estates, those of the nobility and gentry, demanded precedence among the estates, a privileged position before the law, the restoration of provincial offices, and the reappointment of the functionaries and servants of the estates, down to the *Landschaftstrompeter* (district trumpeter), the hubberdiers, and grooms; also exemption from tolls, the ancient rights of the chase, the maintenance of entail, the abolition of peasant rights of succession, the restriction of remainder in the female line, the reversion of lapsed

estates, the monopoly of brewing and selling beer, and, above all, the restoration of the ancient privileges of the lords of the manor.

LEOPOLD II CONCILIATES THE PROVINCES

The Bohemian nobles insisted on the recognition of the local ordinances of 1627 as a fundamental law, and the restoration of the Bohemian *Hofkanzlei* (chancery); the Moravian nobles, upon the limitation of the number of attorneys by statute, and upon the expulsion of the Jews; the estate of Styria wished for a provincial minister chosen from among themselves. The estates of the Tyrol brought forward two thousand grievances in the diet of 1792. They demanded the ratification of their privileges as in 1712, the administration of property according to the statutes of 1720, the abrogation of all Josephinian laws concerning toleration, the reduction of monasteries, the marriage laws, the new civil and criminal laws, and recruiting. The nobility wished to establish the claims of noblemen to civil and military appointments, to obtain exemption from tolls and customs dues, the title to large fees and mortgages, and a distinctive uniform of knighthood. One nobleman exclaimed in the open diet: "What does it matter to the Tyrolese what may happen in Bohemia, Moravia, or other provinces? The Tyrolese have their own sovereign, their own laws, and their own constitution."

The fourth, or burgher estate was no less forward in complaining of the Josephinian reforms, of the new judicial system, of the dissolution of monasteries, the equalisation of city and suburban trades, of municipal and peasant property, of the extension of the freedom of the guilds, the inhibition of the *Meilrecht* (mile right) — that is of the right to sell beer within a mile of the city. Some towns formulated grievances respecting the prohibition of hawking wares, the turnpike charges, the highways, and the maintenance of paupers, and even respecting the prohibition of the official dress of municipal functionaries. Neither in Bohemia nor Moravia did the burghers put in a claim to political rights. The admission of a representative of the University of Vienna to the status of a member of the estates was regarded as a special concession. Only in Styria did the burgher estate demand, over and above the antiquated privileges of exemption from toll and rights of the chase, the franchise for the thirty-one burgher communes and the admission of their deputies into the diet. The nobility and clergy, however, maintained that this claim was presumptuous, and even in Styria the local government came to the conclusion that a larger representation of the burgher element had no legal justification and would be expensive and superfluous. Taken in the aggregate these documents exhibit the boundless pretensions of the privileged classes, the weakness of the middle class, and the absolute immaturity of the people in political affairs.

The government conferred with the deputies who brought to Vienna the wishes and claims of the various estates; but in view of the particularism of the provinces, and the feudal aspirations of the nobles and clergy, no effective reform of the constitution appeared feasible. Leopold II yielded to pressure, and re-established the provincial system of government, but only in the form and scope settled in the time of Maria Theresa, and more particularly in the year 1764. He coerced the estates into submission, and at the same time propitiated them by formal concessions. The absolute authority of the crown remained intact, the question of taxation was to be decided by long-established custom, and if larger contributions were required in time of war the estates were allowed to confer, not concerning the "whether?" but the

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"how?" The emperor Leopold restored the committees of the estates: he granted them the local posts of honour, the ancient ceremonial, special functionaries, the management of the property of the estate, though all under government supervision; and the privy councillors and privy chamberlains regained their seats and votes in the diet. He refused the right of free assembly and discussion, the exemption from toll, and the ancient rights of the chase, the institution of a special tribunal, and (more particularly) of a special minister of the province. The *Landeshauptmann* remained in Inner



MONUMENT OF THE EMPEROR FRANCIS II IN THE FRANZENS-PLATZ

Austria and the Tyrol, the *Landesmarschall* in Austria proper, and in Bohemia the head of the administration was at the same time president of the estates. Political power remained vested in a central authority which represented the state to the outer world.

Leopold II gave up only the unpopular financial enactments of 1789: he maintained unconditionally the agrarian, judicial, and administrative statutes of Joseph II. He sacrificed the public seminaries to the clergy, and left religious instruction and authority in matters of faith and discipline once more in the hands of the bishops; but he refused to abrogate the Tolerance Edict, to restore the monasteries, or to hand over to the church the revenue for religious purposes. Leopold II was a friend to the cities and the burgher class, as Joseph II had been to the peasantry. He restored to them the right

of electing magistrates, the concession of trades, and the administration of their own property. He could not give the fourth estate its rightful weight in the constitution; in Styria alone each district was allowed in future to send two burgher deputies to the diet, but even there the committee of the estates remained closed to them.

What Leopold accomplished was a restoration rather than a reform, and even this he did not bring about by enactments of general application but by separate resolutions addressed to the estates of the provinces (April, May, and June, 1791). This restored constitution subsisted with but slight alterations till the year 1848.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the documents of 1790 and 1791 convey a just impression of the whole body of public opinion in Austria. The Josephinian laws, the more enlightened tendencies of the age, and the spirit of German culture had created a nucleus of liberal opinion which could not be extirpated. In opposition to the current of federalistic and aristocratic feeling in 1790, Leopold II enunciated the principle that one system of law and equity should prevail throughout Austro-Germany. Only one statute (*novella*) of 1791 takes account of provincial differences. In 1792 the principle of a uniform system of law for all the German provinces of Austria was reasserted by the emperor Francis II. In the struggle between the estates and the bureaucracy, the people, the one permanent element in the state, tranquilly pursued its avocations, its culture, its enjoyments. It was estranged from the estates and it feared the government. From neither the one nor the other did it expect to derive benefit or advantage; only the peasant hoped for the abolition of the *Robot*, the burgher for the unrestricted rights of industry, for representation and self-government under a constitutional system of equitable political administration.

Since the Thirty Years' War a distinctive national character had sprung up in Austria; since the reign of Maria Theresa had arisen a new patriotism. In spite of varying conditions of nationality the Austrian people remained true to the conviction that it was essential for every province and every race to abide as a member of the whole, and for this unity to be maintained and furthered. For a long time the people found its satisfaction in the conveniences of an assured legal position and the zealous pursuit of material interests. But the sanguinary revolutionary wars of 1797 and 1809 sufficiently proved that common activity, common energy, and common enthusiasm were not extinct.^m

LEOPOLD AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The difficult picture presented by Leopold's attitude towards the Revolution in France corresponds to the difficult position in which the state of French and European politics placed the brother of Marie Antoinette, the head of the empire, the sovereign of a great European power — neither secure from the hostility of her old rival Prussia, nor supported by the interested policy of her recent ally Russia. His first move (1790) was at the instigation of the German princes (the electors of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the prince-bishops of Strasburg, Speier, and Bâle, the dukes of Würtemberg and Zweibrücken, the landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt, the markgraf of Baden, the princes of Nassau, Leiningen, Löwenstein, and others), who had suffered financially by the French national assembly's decrees abolishing ecclesiastical and territorial rights within the limits of France: for the decrees affected the German states in Alsace and Lorraine, which had been ceded to Louis XIV

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on the understanding that these German rights should be respected. The emperor's protests, which, by a clause inserted in the coronation oath he was bound to make, were ineffectual. The German complaints were soon answered by French complaints of favour shown in the Rhenish courts to *émigrés*, and in the spring of 1791 both Austria and Prussia determined to make no change in their attitude towards France.

In June Leopold, naturally afraid of compromising his brother-in-law with the French nation, was yet ready to support Louis in his plan of escaping from Paris to the troops which still remained loyal; that is to say he was ready, not to lend troops to the count d'Artois nor to any other French officer, but to march an army from Luxemburg as an ally, if Louis himself requested it. It was not until he received news of the failure of the king's attempted flight, and of his imprisonment, that Leopold sent (July 6th) an identical note to the empress of Russia, to the chancellor of the German empire, to the kings of England, Prussia, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, suggesting combined action on the king's behalf. A little later (July 25th) the preliminaries of an alliance with Prussia were signed, in which the two parties were to stand together in their attitude towards France, and neither was to attempt any enlargement of territory from Polish domains. No power but Prussia responded warmly to Austria's suggestion of combined action, and Leopold himself relinquished thoughts of intervention (August) when he heard that the majority of the French assembly had preferred a constitutional monarchy to a republic. He was the more inclined to hold back from intervention since England had declared her intention of remaining strictly neutral, while the czarina's enthusiasm for the cause of the French king looked as if it sprang chiefly from a desire to embroil Prussia and Austria with France so as to be left undisturbed to work her will with Poland.

The chief importance of the meeting at Pillnitz (August 25th, 1791), between Leopold and Frederick William, lies in the decided coldness shown, especially by Leopold, to the count d'Artois, who arrived at Pillnitz with burning schemes for intervention, and in the firm decision to take no steps against the Revolution without a European concert. By the 14th of December, the Girondists had pressed the king to threaten the elector of Treves with war if he did not dissolve the army of *émigrés* within his borders, and thereby gave Louis the occasion of collecting an army which he might use for his own ends. This double game (the agreement with the republicans and the gathering of an army) was the suggestion of Marie Antoinette. The forward policy of the Girondists brought Prussia and Austria still closer; but their definite alliance-treaty of February 7th, 1792, was purely conservative and defensive — indeed Kaunitz especially remarks the emperor's unwillingness to take part in any counter-revolution promoted in France by a foreign court.

The Revolution, Leopold's sincere desire for peace, and his own clear sight had turned the uncompromising enemy of everything connected with Prussia into a warm champion of the new friendship. In answer to the king's decree of December 14th, Leopold declared that he would support the elector if he were attacked, but that at the same time he would send an envoy into Treves to see that the scarcely less dangerous question of the *émigré* army (which numbered four thousand) should be set at rest. The Girondists however were determined on war, and put the question whether the emperor, who by his alliance with Prussia had broken the alliance with France of 1756, would continue in peace with France and refuse to join any combination against her independence. No answer, or an unsatisfactory answer, would be taken as a declaration of war. Kaunitz's answer (February 17th) was dignified but

not without hope of peace, nor did the emperor despair. The king of Prussia was more convinced of the necessity of war, and despatched Bischoffwerder to Vienna to come to decided conclusions with Leopold. He arrived February 28th. On the 29th Leopold was taken with a sudden cold, developed rheumatic fever, and died on March 1st.^a

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF LEOPOLD II (1790-1792)

According to a former general impression, the emperor Leopold had been the first and most active opponent of the French Revolution. Having just escaped the danger of a war in the east, he made use of the understanding he had arrived at with Prussia to preach a crusade against the Revolution; he had been incited by the French émigrés at Pillnitz to bring about the notorious alliance with Prussia and had endeavoured with eager solicitude to win to it both Russia and England. Then, in order to make France incur more deeply the odium of a formal attack, he had delayed the declaration of war, but at the same time had irritated and threatened the revolutionary party by exciting against it the émigrés and the German princes. At last the national assembly brought the unworthy performance to an end with violence.

As regards Poland, Prussia, which had formerly been on bad terms with Austria and Russia, is said since 1790 to have incited the patriotic party to a reform of the constitution. In consequence of this the *coup d'état* of the third of May, 1791, had taken place there, to the great mortification of the two imperial courts, which would have hated nothing more bitterly than the rise of Poland out of its hitherto shattered condition into a liberal and well-regulated monarchy.

Whilst then Poland had fixed all its hopes on the further support of Prussia, the latter, seduced by Leopold's bugbear of French Jacobinism to join the Pillnitz convention, had gone over bag and baggage from the liberal into the despotic camp. The war with France having been decided upon, there was neither will nor strength available for the east of Europe, and consequently Poland was abandoned to the violence of Russia. In the summer, therefore, of 1792, the German army had broken out upon the Paris democrats, and simultaneously, that of Russia on the Warsaw liberals; and, after the victory of the Russians, Prussia first and then Austria had not been ashamed to take part of the booty as a reward for their infamous concurrence. This opinion will not stand the test of an examination of the state papers; but rather, according to them, the policy of the emperor Leopold moved in quite different, incomparably purer and freer paths.

Far from being swayed in any respect by the French émigrés, the emperor thought only of the fate of the royal couple, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. In order to support their attempt at flight, in June, 1791, he made some military demonstrations and to relieve their captivity in July he took diplomatic measures. In this respect the conference at Pillnitz had no further import. When the former immediate purpose had been accomplished and Louis was reconciled to the national assembly, the emperor placed his army on a peace footing and in the autumn of 1791 made a public recognition to all the European powers of the new French state. He had no keener wish than that his already sufficiently heavy troubles should not be increased by an entanglement with France. He was just as angry with Russia and Sweden, who were egging on the émigrés to an attack on France, as with the Paris agitators who were striving to carry into the neighbouring countries the revolutionary disturbance. But as the agitation of the two extreme parties in the winter of

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1791-1792 continued to increase, he made a special point of consolidating his new friendship with Prussia and succeeded in February in concluding an alliance for mutual defence against all attacks. Here also his whole ambition as regarded France was to maintain the *status quo* and in the same conservative spirit he made a motion in Berlin at the same time for the security of Poland and its new constitution of the 3rd of May.

At the time when Joseph II with his restless aspirations had made an unconditional alliance with Russia and had commenced to the latter Turkey and Poland, in order to receive in return Bavaria and Servia, Leopold had always been of the opinion that in this way Austria's own strength would be much less increased than Russia's oppressive superiority. He therefore willingly renounced every aggrandisement of his own power and actually separated himself as early as 1790 from the Russian schemes. Nevertheless he had not intended for that reason, without further consideration, to adopt as yet the attitude of Prussia towards Russia. Rather was it his opinion that, besides the Russian and Prussian, there was a possible third position, well adapted to promote the particular interests of Austria between and in spite of the two powers. He saw the means to this in the efforts of the Polish patriots to render their nation again strong and capable of defence by a thorough reform of the constitution.

Poland and Austria in olden times had always been good friends and comrades, with kindred ideas. Of late certainly the Warsaw patriots had leaned towards Prussia, but now they and their king had fallen into ruin and were freshly embittered against her. If it were possible now to win them over to Austria and then to erect on the banks of the Vistula a strongly allied kingdom — perhaps in favour of the elector of Saxony, whose ancestors had reigned there for three generations, and who himself cherished the warmest feelings towards the Austrian empire — then by this means the most powerful advantages for Austria would have been reached with one stroke, and the imperial influence, forcibly pressing forward between Russia and Prussia, would reign from Wittenberg and Dresden to Dantzic and Riga. Leopold, therefore, did everything he possibly could to further the regeneration of Poland, and when the constitution of the 3rd of May, with the succession to the throne of the elector of Saxony, was announced there, he tried on every occasion to induce Prussia to guarantee it, without, to be sure, betraying in any way in Berlin his project for the amalgamation of Saxony and Poland into one state. Even as it was, a strong Poland seemed dangerous enough to the Prussian court, and Leopold was at last obliged to be satisfied with the promise of Prussia to protect the freedom of Poland, though not its constitution.

We see how completely all parts of this imperial system correspond to one another. The uniform and exclusive aim of all is to defend the country taken possession of in the summer of 1791, to prevent the encroachment of any third person, to protect the Rhine against France as well as Poland against Russia. No offensive act is purposed by the emperor, because he is aware that the maintenance of that position gives him a preponderating position in Germany, an esteemed one in Europe; whereas every agitation may have immeasurable consequences.^b

ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II (1792 A.D.)

Francis, the eldest of the ten sons who outlived Leopold, had at the age of sixteen left his father's Tuscan court for Vienna and the guardianship of his uncle. Joseph's first impression of his nephew showed him a spoilt mother's darling, selfish and apathetic, moderated with time. Krones says of him.

"A young man without passion or spirit, reserved and practical-minded, a cool and dry observer of men and the world, who, with a passive and tenacious power of endurance, held his ground and let come what was to come — Francis possessed the fundamental characteristics of industry, an understanding of the business routine of government, firmness of character, a most exacting love of order, and a supreme mistrust which never closed its eyes, and which was to grow with the bitter reality of heavy and troublous years." Characteristic of the bourgeois simplicity of his life was the Viennese dialect in which he liked best to clothe his dry humour. His full consciousness of patriarchal sovereignty made him a natural enemy of revolution, and as a statesman, if he had little power of looking forward, he had an eye for what could be done at the moment.

When Francis came to the throne at the age of twenty-four, Kaunitz, "the driver of the European coach," was still at the head of affairs, though his influence had waned. The chancellor had forwarded Leopold's understanding with Prussia as a necessary evil. In the matter of the European concert for which Leopold had hoped, Kaunitz saw that the alliance between Austria and Prussia would be a stumbling block to England, and that Russia wished to embroil both her neighbours in a war with France. Moreover the Austrian *entente* with Prussia lacked the only true basis for an alliance, namely a clear calculation of what advantages each partner was to assure the other in their common action. The vice-chancellor, Philip Cobenzl, Joseph's favourite, was for suiting Austrian policy to Prussian interests, and the victory of this opinion finally moved Kaunitz, in August, 1792, to resign.

If the selfish policy of Russia and the ravings of the émigrés did much to make war inevitable, the most potent persuasive was in France itself, in the mad jingoism of the followers of Brissot among the Girondists, who could do what they would with Dumouriez and his Jacobin ministry.

FRANCE DECLARES WAR ON AUSTRIA

Dumouriez strongly urged the king to declare war on Austria; her alliance with Prussia was formed with no other purpose than to keep France down, and her reply to the French demand that she should separate from Prussia was an impertinence: for the chancellor's declaration, that the alliance was dissoluble only when those dangers were gone against which it was formed, was practically a declaration that France must change her constitution according to the fancy of the boy who was king of Hungary and Bohemia. It was Condorcet who threw the final glamour upon a war which should move the nations of the earth to claim their rights and liberties. There was also a less ideal motive at work to favour war: the new king would probably have difficulties in Hungary, certainly in Belgium — a country easily detachable from the house of Austria. And, as a matter of fact, it was the French invasion of Brabant (April 29th) which let loose a war that was to last twenty-three years. Louis showed a certain indifference in declaring war. He may well have argued that if the French were beaten, as seemed the more likely event, the victors would set him more securely on the throne, and if, on the other hand, the French conquered, he might reap popularity.

The first move of the French was a ridiculous failure. The troops which invaded the Netherlands (April 29th) fled at the first sight of the Austrians. But the duke of Brunswick, who was put in command of the combined Prussian and Austrian Moselle army, was no friend of the Austro-Prussian alliance and had little sympathy with the cause he was to fight. His first act was to

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issue from Coblenz, greatly against his will, "the deplorable manifesto" of July 25th, which threatened to rase Paris to the ground unless the French submitted to their sovereign. The manifesto, the production of an émigré, was answered by the sacking of the Tuileries (August 10th) and the deposition and imprisonment of the king. The duke of Brunswick spent ten days reaching the French frontier, and thus lost the chance of catching the French troops and generals, disunited upon the question of republic or constitutional monarchy. He took the fortress of Longwy after a two days' bombardment (August 23rd), made his connection with the two auxiliary Austrian forces under Clerfayt and Hohenlohe, and proceeded to Verdun, which capitulated September 2nd. Wishing to halt and wait for a dryer season, he was nevertheless unwillingly urged forward by the king of Prussia. At Valmy (September 20th) he encountered Dumouriez, who refused to retreat before his cannonade, and he accordingly drew off his troops.

Dumouriez, diplomat as well as tactician, succeeded in stirring Prussia's jealousy of her new ally; an armistice was offered by Prussia, accepted by France, and the invaders evacuated France, having given up the fortresses they had captured, and lost a quarter of their men by fever and dysentery. The Prussian retreat left Dumouriez free to hasten north and defeat the archduke Albert, who had hitherto successfully commanded a Belgian army, at Jemmapes (November 6th). Belgium fell immediately into the hands of the French; indeed by the middle of December Dumouriez had Aachen in his possession. The alliance between Austria and Prussia held, in appearance, for some time longer. But the rift between the two countries was already sufficiently large at the end of the Champagne campaign.

Next year the Austrians under Prince Josias of Coburg, who commanded the Belgian army, defeated Dumouriez at Aldenhoven (March 1st), chiefly owing to the brilliant generalship of the young archduke Charles. Seventeen days later they won another victory at Neerwinden, and Dumouriez, long dissatisfied with the convention, deserted to the Austrians (April 5th). Coburg went on slowly to take the fortress of Condé and Valenciennes. Only their lack of unity prevented the allies from marching upon Paris — unity, however, was farther off than ever. International jealousy had sharpened; the secret desire for self-aggrandisement, with which every party had individually entered upon the war, began to show its head openly. Austria claimed Condé and Valenciennes as a perpetual possession, the duke of York marched away with his English and fifteen thousand Austrians from the main army to take Dunkirk, Prussia looked upon success in the war as more dangerous — seeing that her rival gained territory by it — than defeat; and meanwhile the Terror and Carnot's genius organised an undreamed-of host against the selfish enemies of France. Jourdan drove the Austrians off the field at Wattignies (October) and forced the allies to winter not in France but in West Flanders.

They fared little better on the Rhine. The Prussians were already sick of the war and had found their booty in the second partition of Poland with Russia (April 16th, 1793). Wurmser, successful against the French at the lines of Weissenburg (October), could not persuade Brunswick to attack Alsace. In November two new French generals were ready to meet the allies — Hoche with a Moselle army and Pichegru with a Rhine army. Hoche attacked Brunswick and was beaten at Kaiserslautern (November 29th, 30th), but joined forces unhindered with Pichegru. Hoche, in sole command of both armies, beat the allied troops badly at Froeschweiler and at Wörth (December 22nd), and thus freed the left bank of the Rhine.

So ended a campaign, gloriously begun, under the patronage of almost the whole of Europe, by the bravest and best disciplined troops in the world, against a state on the brink of ruin, with an army knowing nothing of discipline or fighting.

THUGUT'S POLICY OF EXPANSION

At this time Cobenzl was no longer the director of Austria's policy. In March of that year his place had been taken by Franz Thugut, as general director of foreign affairs, a man whose talents had raised him from the burgher class, a pupil of Kaunitz. During the first year of office his desire was to wage an aggressive war on France for the extension of the Austro-Belgian borders to the Somme, and the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine for the formation of a dependent state under an archduke. The difficulties of carrying on the war for the preservation of an untenable Netherlands, however, suggested another possible enlargement for Austria, in the shape of those Venetian possessions on the mainland which the emperor Joseph had desired. An alliance with Russia and England was also an aim of Thugut's for the isolation of Prussia and for the assurance that Austria should not be left out at the third and last partition of Poland, but should march into Poland with Russia and the other powers against Kosciuszko's final attempt to save that ancient kingdom (March–November, 1794).

CAMPAIGNS OF 1794

The outlook for 1794 was not cheerful. The German princes were not for fighting, and, led by Prussia, they would not hear of the emperor's revolutionary plan of proclaiming a universal arming of the people against France, at any rate in the threatened districts. Prussia preferred to agree to contribute a certain number of troops to the allied army under the archduke Albert of Saxe-Teschen. But these 62,400 men under Möllendorf, an old and active intriguer, were, by the contract of the Hague, to be paid for by England and Holland. Whatever Thugut's policy may have been in the spring of this year, the emperor showed that he at least was still in earnest about holding the Netherlands, for he appeared in person at headquarters in Valenciennes (April 14th). The Austrians were successful at first; but, despairing of adequate assistance from his allies, the emperor despondingly returned to Vienna (June 2nd): for Möllendorf refused to send his auxiliaries, and England was in communication with Prussian diplomats. The French won Ypres and Charleroi and got the victory in the battle of Fleurus (June 26th). From that moment the Austrians could do nothing but fall back, and at the end of July, when the two French armies had joined hands at Brussels, and Möllendorf still persisted in refusing his aid, Coburg retreated across the Maas and gave over his command to Clerfayt (August 29th). Meanwhile Archduke Albert had been forced to cross the Rhine (July 15th), and he was followed by Clerfayt on October 5th and 6th. Cologne fell into the hands of the French. All this while Möllendorf was promising aid and refusing it. Unattacked by the French, Möllendorf left his impregnable position and also crossed the Rhine (October 22nd) "for political reasons." This retreat made Coblenz untenable and a day later saw the allies in possession only of Luxemburg, Mainz, and Mannheim on the left bank of the Rhine. Masséna and Napoleon had been equally successful in the Alpine campaign against Italy and Austria.^a

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THE DEFECTION OF PRUSSIA (1795 A.D.)

Thus, in 1794 France had driven all her enemies out beyond her "natural frontiers," so called, had restored tranquillity within, and thus given evidence of her vigour and vitality. The government had been purged of the worst and vilest scum of humanity, and all Europe stood in amaze at the might of an enemy who had boldly and dauntlessly performed feats so gigantic. Any man who was not whole-heartedly devoted to the alliance against such a country from profound conviction might well lose courage. Of such was the grand duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, brother of the emperor Francis, and the first to withdraw from the alliance and make his peace with the republic. In itself this peace was of very slight importance; its significance lay in the fact that it demonstrated to the world the possibility of coming to terms with the French Republic. The example had been set; Prussia followed suit, and Spain was not slow to do likewise.

The Prussians, as we know, had gone to the left bank of the Rhine, and from thence had despatched twenty thousand men to the Polish theatre of war. The imperial field-marshal was now unable even to hold the Rhenish fortifications at Mannheim, which fell into the hands of the French on December 25th, 1794. They were now in possession of the whole of the left bank of the Rhine with the exception of Mainz and Luxemburg, for the duke of York had steadily retreated before them. Pichegru actually conquered the whole of Holland in a winter's campaign, and transformed it into a Batavian republic.

As early as December, Prussia had sent Goltz, her minister, to Bâle, there to negotiate on neutral soil for peace with the French Republic, which was represented by Barthélemy. After the death of Goltz the work he had begun was carried on by Hardenberg, who succeeded in effecting a peace on April 5th, 1795. In virtue of it the French were to remain in possession of the king of Prussia's dominions on the left bank of the Rhine until the question of the possession of the whole bank should be settled by a definitive treaty with the empire. By a secret article it was settled that if, under the said treaty with the empire, the left bank of the Rhine were handed over to the republic in its entirety, Prussia should be indemnified for her loss; the proposed means of indemnification being the secularisation of the bishopric of Münster. At the same time a line of demarcation was laid down, embracing the whole of north Germany down to the Palatinate, Bavarian, and Bohemian frontiers, with the express purpose of permitting any prince of the German Empire within that limit to make his peace with France either directly or through the mediation of Prussia — three months' grace being allowed him for the purpose.

By this disgraceful peace Prussia not only renounced her connection with the German Empire, but usurped the prerogative of the emperor himself, who alone was competent and entitled to be the instrument of mediation between the Holy Roman Empire and its enemies. Moreover, Prussia had purchased peace by a breach of faith with her allies and had shamefully left them in the lurch. But her pretensions to the rôle of mediatrix were no less than flat rebellion against the emperor and the empire; they amounted to the formation of a separate faction and a seditious attempt to stir up the estates of the empire against its head. If Germany had not already been wholly impotent as regards her internal organisation, the defection of Prussia and the consequent split between north and south Germany would have brought about her destruction; as it was, nothing but *vis inertiae* kept her from falling asunder altogether.

As far as the emperor was concerned, he was more patriotic than his rivals

and did not abandon the hope of winning by arms a peace that should be honourable to the empire, even though deserted by the majority of the princes for whose interests he had drawn the sword.

THE THIRD PARTITION OF POLAND (1795 A.D.)

Prussia hoped that by the Peace of Bâle she had purchased the undisturbed possession of Poland. Austria had permitted the second partition of that country without interfering; in the patent of February 14th, 1793, she had even admonished the inhabitants of Galicia to submit peaceably, in spite of the obvious danger of letting her two neighbours, Russia and Prussia, grow even more powerful than they were already. But when a fresh conflict broke out in Poland, when the king was thrust aside and Kosciuszko appointed dictator, Austria could no longer look on indifferently at the loosing of the republican elements in the east, for she could not but fear that the very elements she was combating on the Rhine might force their way into her own territory.

As a matter of fact the Viennese police had actually got on the trail of a revolutionary conspiracy in Hungary which seemed dangerous enough to justify intervention in Poland. The leader of this conspiracy was Ignatius Joseph Martinovics, mitred abbot of Szathmár and imperial councillor, a man who had been overwhelmed with favours and benefits by Leopold II, but who was possessed by unbridled ambition and insatiable greed, which led him into all kinds of evil courses. He had begun life as a Franciscan, but contrived to leave the order, and in the capacity of a secular priest was appointed professor of natural science at the University of Lemberg, and afterwards at Vienna. The ideas of liberty and equality soon found in him an enthusiastic disciple and made him a political fanatic. He sought and found accomplices and with them founded a league with the express object of stirring up the populace by speeches and writings and of overthrowing the monarchy.

The police soon came on the trail of this treasonable agitation; members of the society were arrested at various places, and all sent to Pest, as it was the emperor's intention to withdraw no man from the jurisdiction of his rightful judges. The office of judge in this momentous affair fell to the youthful archduke Alexander Leopold, the emperor's third brother (who had been appointed palatine of Hungary in 1790 at the request of the Hungarians themselves), as president (*Präses*) of the septemviral board. Six of the conspirators were condemned to death, eleven to imprisonment, and the rest were pardoned. On January 20th, 1795, Martinovics was beheaded, with four others, Szigray, Laczkovics, Szentmariay, and John Hajnóczy, who had acted as directors of the league; and on the 13th of February the punishment of death was also inflicted on Alexander Szolarczik, notary, and Paul Oetz, advocate. Not long after the last act of this shocking catastrophe the archduke went to Austria for the benefit of his health, where, on July 12th, an unfortunate experiment in the laboratory at Laxenburg brought his promising career to an untimely end.

A few days before the execution of the abbot of Szathmár a certain Lieutenant Franz von Hebenstreit was put to death at Vienna for having supplied some newly invented war-machines to Poland and France, for having written and disseminated seditious songs and endeavoured to subvert the tranquillity and order of the country. His accomplices, Professor Billek von Billenberg of the Vienna Neustadt Academy, and other conspirators, such as the councillor (*Regierungsrath*) Gotthardi, the head commissioner of police (*Polizei*

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Obercommissär) Franz von Troll, a merchant named Hakel, the councillor of magistracy (*Magistratrath*) Prandstätter, a schoolmaster named Jeline, Baron Riedl, and others were condemned to longer or shorter terms of imprisonment. The populace was indifferent; they looked upon these aberrations as the monstrous births of an inflamed and diseased imagination.

None the less the Austrian government felt itself bound to take energetic action against Poland, the seat of the revolution, and despatched troops to occupy Little Poland. Meanwhile Prussia and Russia had suppressed the rebellion and were thinking of putting an end to all the supposititious dangers to which they were exposed by the existence of Poland as a perpetual focus and rendezvous of all turbulent elements, by a third and complete partition of the country. The question of what course Austria should take in the matter was one of no small importance. She might allow Russia and Prussia to effect the partition without any interference from her, as she had done in 1793, but then her neighbours would have aggrandised themselves at the very moment when Austria had lost the Netherlands and sacrificed enormous quantities of men and money in the long struggle. Or Austria might draw the sword against Russia and Prussia in order to prevent the partition, a plan of all others least fit to be considered just at this time. There remained therefore only the last course, which was to take advantage of the partition of Poland for her own profit. Prussia had latterly manifested such hostile sentiments that Austria had reason to fear a recurrence of the days of Frederick II, especially if she were strengthened by the acquisition of Poland. East Galicia, which had fallen to Austria's share in the first partition, lay defenceless; Prussia had only to march her troops into it, unless Austria kept a large force perpetually under arms to guard the frontier. Accordingly the threatening attitude of the northern power seemed to argue the imperative necessity of rounding off and securing Austrian territory in this direction.

For this reason Austria intervened in the negotiations which had long been pending between Russia and Prussia, and demanded the four southern palatinates of the republic of Poland, Lublin, Chelm, Cracow and Sandomir, for herself. Thus she obtained a frontier protected by rivers and secured two strategic points in the towns of Cracow and Sandomir. The negotiations were spun out for nearly a whole year, and did not lead to a complete agreement between the three interested powers until October.

On October 24th, 1795, the deed of partition was signed by all three, and in virtue of it Austria gained possession of all the region between the Vistula and the Bug as far as Brest-Litowski, as well as of Cracow and Sandomir on the left bank of the Vistula. The Pilica, Vistula, and Bug thus formed the boundary of the new territory, which consisted of an area of 843 square miles with about a million inhabitants. The newly acquired province was united with the portion of Poland which had fallen to Austria in 1773, under the name of West Galicia, and constituted a single administrative district with two capitals, Lemberg and Cracow. The oath of fealty was received in the following year by Charles, prince of the empire and count of Auersperg, whom the emperor deputed to represent him. The clergy and nobles sent plenipotentiaries to Cracow, and the commons and peasantry took the oath in the district courts.^c

CAMPAIGNS OF 1795 AND 1796

The first success gained by the French on the west was the taking of Luxemburg (June 7th, 1795), after Bender had stood a siege of eight months. It was not until September that the French made a forward move, crossed

the Rhine, and forced the Austrians to retire. Mannheim was treacherously given up (September 20th), after Austrian reinforcements for the town had been refused. The French could thus separate the two Austrian corps under Clerfayt and Wurmser. Clerfayt, however, unfolded an energy and a skill that astonished Europe. He hunted Jourdan back over the Rhine, after a night march appeared before Mannheim (October 29th), which the French believed they had made impregnable, and in six hours, with a loss of fifteen hundred men, took the fortification by storm. Pichegru was forced back, Kaiserslautern, Homburg, and Zweibrücken fell once more into Austrian hands, and on November 21st the French garrison of Mannheim, consisting of ten thousand men, submitted. An armistice was signed on January 1st, 1796, for five months. The Austrians now held the right bank from Bâle to the Sieg and a considerable piece on the left from Speier to Oberdiebach.

In Italy the Austrian command was given to Beaulieu, a distinguished cavalry leader, but not the equal of Bonaparte, whose services to the convention had been rewarded by the lately instituted Directory with the command in Italy. The Austrian plan was spoiled at the beginning by the skirmish of Montenotte (April 12th), where Bonaparte separated Argenteau's troops from the main body under Beaulieu. Provera with nine hundred men was overcome by an overwhelming French force at Millesimo (April 14th), and with equally overwhelming numbers Napoleon stormed Dego. The next day (April 15th) it was taken back from Masséna by a brilliant stroke of Major Bukassovich and his Croats. At two o'clock on the morrow, Masséna returned with reinforcements from Napoleon, attacked Dego from three sides, and practically annihilated the Austrian troops there.

Beaulieu still hoped to make his connection with the Sardinian army, but Bonaparte manœuvred Colli still further back towards Turin (April 17th), and the Sardinian king sent to ask the Austrian general what forces he had at his disposal and what plans he had made. Perceiving that Victor Amadeus was wavering in his alliance, Beaulieu determined to sacrifice his own line of retreat in order to reinforce Colli; but, after a further move of Napoleon's, the king requested an armistice (April 22nd), which Napoleon granted (April 24th), on the conditions fixed at Cherasco that the French should occupy Ceva, Tortona, and Coni, fortified places of which Sardinia had refused the occupation to her ally.

The defection of Sardinia changed the face of affairs. Napoleon, hitherto maintaining poorly supplied troops in a hostile country, and threatened in his rear, could turn the whole of an army, maintained at Sardinian cost, against this single enemy, who awaited his attack behind the Po. Napoleon was enabled to win Lombardy, to occupy Milan, and to make peace with most of the Italian states, after he had stormed the bridge at Lodi and crossed the Adda (May 10th). Parma, Modena, Naples, and the papal states bought an expensive and fragile armistice, Venice pretended an unarmed neutrality, and secretly paid subsidies. The Austrians withdrew slowly to the Tyrol, keeping in their hands only Mantua.

Thugut did all he could to save the fall of Mantua. Wurmser with twenty-five thousand men was ordered from the Rhine to succeed Beaulieu, and a good deal against his will—for his dream was the liberation of Alsace, his home—he arrived in a month's time at Trent; at the end of June he relieved Mantua, but, beaten at Castiglione (August 3rd), he had to withdraw into the Tyrol and leave Mantua to the besiegers.

Now, it was Bonaparte's plan to join Moreau—who had been opposed to Wurmser on the Rhine when the latter was called to Italy, and who had

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marched down to the Danube — and to direct the combined army on Vienna. To do this Wurmser had first to be incapacitated. After three weeks' rest, therefore, he moved up to find Wurmser; but at the same time the Austrian general was moving down to make a second attempt to relieve Mantua. Bonaparte reached Trent before he heard of Wurmser's march, and there was nothing for it but to follow by forced marches. He caught him up on September 8th, but Wurmser continued to march to Mantua, overcame the opposing French forces, and no decisive fighting occurred till September 15th when Bonaparte had the advantage and forced Wurmser to take refuge with his troops in Mantua. This uncalled for addition to the numbers shut up in Mantua was a weakness rather than a strength, and the Spanish commander, Canto d'Yrles, was persuaded only by Wurmser's extreme danger to receive the new-comers.

Thugut and Wallis made another effort and despatched a third army, chiefly of Croats, under General Alvinzi, who had distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War, in Turkey, and in the Netherlands. In the neighbourhood of Verona, Alvinzi successfully opposed Bonaparte's attacks at Bassano (November 6th) and at Caldiero (November 12th), and on the 13th Bonaparte withdrew to Verona. The next night he left Verona secretly, crossed the Adige at Ronco, and threatened the Austrian flank and rear. For three days (15th, 16th, and 17th), the bridge over the stream Alpone at Arcola was the centre of desperate fighting which ended in a complete defeat of the Austrians.

In January a new army of sixty thousand men, chiefly recruits, was sent over snow and mountain paths to strengthen Alvinzi for a fourth attack. If he was to reach Mantua, it was first necessary to dislodge Joubert from his strong position on the heights of Rivoli. Skirmishing began on January 9th, 1797, and on the 14th Bonaparte arrived, reopened the decisive battle, which, at first favourable to the Austrians, ended in their entire defeat. Bonaparte pressed on from the victory to Mantua with what troops he could, and arrived there on the 15th, to reinforce Sérurier and the besieging army against a combined attack from Mantua under Wurmser, and from without by an Austrian division under Provera. Wurmser was flung back into Mantua and Provera's small force, surrounded on all sides, was forced to submit.

The troops in Mantua, sixteen thousand out of the original thirty thousand, had long been existing on quarter rations of salt horse. All hope of relief was over, and the key to the Austrian possessions in Italy was given up on February 2nd, 1797. Five hundred cannon fell into the enemy's hands; the garrison was allowed to withdraw to Austria under a promise to serve no more in the war. As an especial honour Wurmser — contrary to the commands of the Directory — was allowed by Bonaparte a free march back with five hundred men and six light cannon. He died seven months later in Vienna with the word "Alsace" upon his lips.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES (1797 A.D.)

We must now return to the Rhine and to the achievements of the most interesting Austrian figure during the wars against Napoleon — the archduke Charles. At the beginning of the year 1796 the successful Clerfayt, owing to disagreements with the war office and with Thugut, had resigned his command, and the archduke Charles — the third son of Leopold and twenty-five years old at this time — took over the direction of the lower Rhine army of 70,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, against Jourdan with his Maas-Sambre

army of 65,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry; while Wurmser commanded the upper Rhine army of 60,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, against Moreau with a Rhine and Moselle army of 70,000. Before the campaign was opened, however, Wurmser, as we have seen, was summoned to Italy.

The Rhine campaign of 1796 began after the expiration of the armistice. on June 1st. Jourdan and Kléber successfully crossed the Rhine; but their engagements with Kray and the archduke Charles necessitated withdrawal, and by June 21st the French were in their old positions. Archduke Charles, leaving Wartensleben behind, marched into the upper Rhine valley to oppose Moreau, but he failed to stop the enemy's march against Swabia in the engagement at Malsch (July 9th), and withdrew to Pforzheim in order to hold the passage of the upper Neckar at Cannstatt and Esslingen.

The archduke now conceived the plan of contesting every point with the advancing Moreau without letting himself into a decisive battle, falling back step by step until occasion arose to make a junction with Wartensleben, who was to retreat in the same manner before Jourdan with his Maas-Sambre army. Wartensleben, an officer of the old school, in whose eyes the loss of magazines or the failure to cover a bit of territory was the worst possible offence against military art, clung to the notion of covering Bohemia, and was forced only by Jourdan's blunders to carry out, unintentionally, his, part in the archduke's plan. Having retreated, fighting, as far as Donauwörth, Charles forced the enemy's right wing under Bernadotte to fall back (August 22nd), and fell upon Jourdan's centre while Wartensleben attacked it from the Raab (August 24th). Jourdan retreated, followed by Charles, who refused to lessen his strength by supporting Latour on the Danube, and at Würzburg Jourdan was well beaten by Charles, Wartensleben, and Kray (September 3rd).

On the 16th he was forced back from Limburg, and by the end of the month the French were almost entirely on the left bank again, and Charles, leaving Jourdan, could march to the upper Rhine whither Moreau had withdrawn: for Moreau, whom Latour had failed to hold up at Friedberg, found his advance impossible, now that Jourdan was out of the way, although he had got far into Bavaria and made with that kingdom the armistice of Pfaffenhofen, by which he had the whole country and a subsidy of 10,000 livres at his disposal. He therefore determined to withdraw, and aided by Saint-Cyr made a splendid retreat, opposed not very brilliantly by Latour and Naundorff. Arrived in the Breisgau, however, Moreau did not at once cross to the left bank, but turned to Kehl against Charles, who was coming back from the pursuit of Jourdan. Moreau was beaten at Emmendingen (October 20th), and by the 25th his forces were all on the left bank. On the right bank, the French now had only Kehl and Hüningen commanding the passage of the Rhine, and in order to retain these positions, which they could have rendered impregnable, they offered an armistice. It was not accepted and Desaix delivered up Kehl on January 9th, 1797, and Hüningen capitulated February 2nd.

Such was the first campaign made by the archduke Charles as commander-in-chief, at a time when Baden, Würtemberg, and the Swabian and Franconian circles were concluding an armistice with Moreau, paying a subsidy between them of 31,000,000 livres and withdrawing some ten thousand men from Charles' army. The money paid amounted to five times the amount which they had been unable to contribute for the defence of the empire. Meanwhile Prussia fell upon the imperial city of Nuremberg, which she would gladly have devoured; and on August 5th was signed a new treaty with France.^a

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PERSONALITIES AND CLIQUES IN THE NINETIES

The young emperor Francis had not a firm enough will to reconcile and arrange the extremely diverse elements at work. The emperor, indeed, felt throughout the necessity of a guiding hand, and leaned upon his tutor, Thugut's friend Colloredo, as his brother, the grand duke of Tuscany, leaned on Manfredini. At the same time the emperor did not hesitate to consult men of the most opposite opinions. He let himself be easily confused, swayed in resolve, and diverted from his purpose. Indeed he was even accustomed in such cases unconsciously to make statements opposed to the policy of his ministers, and naturally exploited by his enemies for their own purposes. Colloredo would then at all costs smooth matters over, and, generally speaking, Francis would abide by a system once adopted. But such a state of affairs had most prejudicial effects. Endless talk and argument ensued that only served to bewilder everybody concerned; everyone was encouraged in intrigue, a hundred trifles happened which stultified intentions of the government and which often had far-reaching consequences; everyone believed that the ministers, particularly Thugut, could be trifled with, and that he could presume unpunished on the goodness and clemency of the emperor.

If the youth of the emperor Francis had fallen in quiet times, or if it had shown good results, a government possessing authority at least to a certain degree would soon have been established. The exact reverse of this happened. Great excitement had already been produced by the second partition of Poland and the change in the ministry of 1793. Wurmser's defeat in the late autumn of 1793 raised a great storm of opposition to this good man, and, indirectly, to his patron, Thugut.

The loss of Belgium threw everything into a ferment. Waldeck was blamed and still more was Thugut. The numerous nobility of the Netherlands, particularly those who were in Austrian pay, had, ever since their country was lost to Austria, organised an opposition to Thugut and now threw the responsibility of everything on him. Those families among the Austrian nobility, who were nearly connected by relationship or otherwise with the Netherlands, as for instance the Starhemberg and Trauttmansdorff families, joined them. At the head of them all stood that Trauttmansdorff who had won so few laurels in the Netherlands in Joseph's time, and who, now that he was chancellor of the Netherlands, could not forget that Thugut had desired to do away with the Netherland chancellorship, and not even to pension its ex-officials.

At the same time, incomprehensible as it sounds, there was a fairly widespread Prussian party. Lacy, Mack, and later Rosenberg all belonged to it. Without being aware of it, this party was constantly attacked and slandered and bribes were dangled before its members by Lucchesini. They allowed themselves to be led by the Sardinian ambassador, consulting the interests of Sardinia far more than those of Austria. Besides, they were intimately connected with Manfredini, and Lucchesini was not far distant.

Finally, and more important than all else, there was a party of revolutionaries whose ranks were steadily being swelled by the country's want of success and who would not hear of war against France, or of the new ideas. This party was recruited in great measure from the illuminati and freemasons, people who hated Thugut, because he was an enemy to these societies. The young count Perger, son of the minister of police, who was sent to England on business connected with the loan, said quite openly when he was there that

the emperor must be compelled to put an end to a war which was condemned by freemasons all over the world. To these insurgents belonged also the more opinionated followers of Joseph's reform measures, the school educated by him; and, with these, the Prussian party naturally went hand in hand. In most cases, as in Germany, the friends of Prussia were at that time also the friends of France. Still there remained elements which were in closer and more direct relationship to France and French ideas than the Josephites and Fredericians, and there was not the least doubt that with these, too, bribery had been busy. During the Belgian campaign of 1794 it had always been recognised that there were traitors in the imperial army, who betrayed plans to the French, and endeavoured to make use of their knowledge in other ways.

Thugut shared these suspicions, and even Witzleben joined in them. General Fischer of the imperial force was especially suspected, but he was not the only one. In 1794, even before the defeat, there was already talk of a Jacobin clique in the camp; and it is certain that a revolutionary temper or something akin to it was to be discovered spasmodically in all classes.

Thoroughly to explain the position in which poor Thugut stood in relation to all these inimical elements, one must again remind oneself that he was a man risen from the ranks and quite without the pale of the reigning aristocracy. He lived, indeed, in too constricted an environment. As near relations, the old bachelor had only a brother, a young subaltern, whom he dared not even promote; the office in the chancery was his home, his whole existence — he was accustomed to remain there every evening till quite late. Even in the imperial family Thugut had no support. The older members like the archduchess Maria Christina and her husband, the elector of Cologne, and the archduke Ferdinand, installed in Milan as viceroy, all found themselves in a Fronde-like attitude towards the young court. Thugut had no liking for them, finding them, in contrast to their great mother, narrow-minded and narrow-hearted; moreover he found himself constantly thwarted by their influence, and, as he maintained, by their intrigues.

Most of the emperor's brothers were too young to have any weight. The grand duke of Tuscany, as we have seen, worked against Thugut in the most aggressive fashion. The archduke Charles, as conquering hero and adopted son of the archduchess Maria Christina, was the only one of any great importance, but the relations between him and Thugut had become very strained. He belonged to Lacy's peace-party, and wanted to subject the army, in the first place, and the state subsequently, to something like a radical reformation before he could regard Austria as being ready to try conclusions with the Revolution. As the archduke Charles had command of the army in Germany in 1795, we must pause a moment to consider his position.

PERSONAL TRAITS OF ARCHDUKE CHARLES

In the first place he was a thorough Habsburg. Let us see what Varnhagen von Ense says of the personal impression which the archduke made upon him thirteen years later, in camp, in the year 1809: "I heard him that first morning," said he, "from my window, devoting an hour to the muses, improvising on a piano, upon which instrument he was a master of technique. Shortly afterwards he went out, mounted his horse, made the round of the camp, and on returning took exercise on foot. His appearance was pleasant and prepossessing. He looked like a brave and honest man of kindly disposition, who inspired confidence but who could also make himself both feared

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and respected; for his glance in the field was instinct with power and the habit of command, whilst his usually friendly expression denoted earnestness and dignity.

"His small, delicate figure was not lacking in the necessary strength and muscularity; warfare with its attendant strain and rude manner of life had not been able to deprive his movements of a certain refinement and grace. The most striking characteristic in the archduke was, however, the entire simplicity and naturalness of his manner and the complete absence of anything artificial or constrained; from the lassitude of many of his movements one would have suspected, at times, a want of force; but the heroic fire of his eyes flashed forth a refutation of that idea. His unshaken courage, which always showed the example of self-denial and self-sacrifice, his kindly solicitude, his just and steadfast mind, as well as the reputation of his earlier feats and victories, had earned him the devoted love of his soldiers; the officers were ardently attached to him, the men thoroughly devoted; wherever he appeared, he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers."

There is no doubt that the archduke was a great and influential personage, gentle and benevolent as was ever a Habsburg, mentally gifted and possessing a serious and noble nature. Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen and the archduchess Maria Christina adopted him, and the education these excellent people afforded him developed his qualities in a singularly happy manner. His whole character was imbued with fitting earnestness. Unfortunately, however, the dark side of the Habsburg nature was not wanting, was even unusually marked in his case. Like his father he was physically delicate and often ailing. He possessed almost no power of initiative. As Perthes remarked, it is extraordinary that in the first paragraphs of the *Laws of Military Science* he should declare war to be the greatest misfortune that can befall a state.

Niebuhr says of him: "He felt none of the actual joys of battle; he regarded it as a game of chess and enjoyed arranging the figures, but on the day of action he had no pleasure in fighting, although he had courage enough. A great general should go into the field as to a dance; all his faculties ought to be multiplied from sheer delight in fighting; but Archduke Charles remained calm and would always have preferred to settle matters by manoeuvres rather than by blows; he attempted to win the day in the same manner as one solves a difficult problem; that being solved, he would turn to another: the practice of following up a victory with all his might was repugnant to his nature."

Suvarov called him "general of the defensive." Clausewitz describes him as a "geographical general." "He has not," said Clausewitz, "the quick courage and prompt pleasure of the soldier — he never seizes his sword in both hands and rushes upon the enemy, and he never makes an attack into a festivity; he is lacking in the spirit of enterprise and thirst for conquest."

All professional soldiers are of the same opinion — that the archduke Charles lacked resolution, and so fell short of being a general of the first rank. If he had possessed this, he would perhaps have been second to none; but, as it was, he is to be ranked only among those who come next in history to the very first. This is the fate of his house, the fate that has dogged the steps of all Habsburgs. In 1800 his conduct was most remarkable. Later on the archduke tried to postpone the war. In 1805 he had to be set on one side when war was decided upon. At that time Gentz was his most violent opponent, and imputed to him the meanest of motives, the most corrupt resolutions. How he conducted himself in 1794 we have already seen. Want of confidence in himself and in Austria hampered him at every important

crisis. What he said, in one of his military memoranda, of the German generals — that they were inactive because they were puzzled — was true of himself. He lived in a perpetual state of feud with Thugut. To submit himself to the latter's strategical plans was all the more distasteful to him in that he, the oldest of the emperor's brothers now living in Germany, held so brilliant a position in Austria, and was idolised by all the younger generation in the army. By the mere fact of his youth he was necessarily placed in a natural antagonism to almost all the generals. Besides, he had, even then, the desire to reorganise the army completely, before it again departed upon active service.

It is obvious how everything combined to drive the great soldiers possessed by Austria into the arms of the peace party. A certain liberalism weighed even with the archduke as with his father. As he had admired Napoleon more than he hated him, just so he felt no real enmity toward the Jacobins. He regarded his kingdom and its old formulas with a certain distaste. The decisive years of his youth he had spent in the Netherlands and in camp; the army was home to him and, to the German way of thinking, he appeared far more Austrian, far more a soldier than a German. The loss of the Netherlands also produced a certain effect. This struggle for a conservative Europe, as Thugut designed it, did not chime in with the tone of his ideas. His thoughts were predominantly military and, curiously enough, this very military cast of his mind was his chief deterrent from action. The difference between him and Stadion was perfectly evident in 1809. Only when in actual battle was he stirred by the joy of fighting. Like all his race he was distinguished for a mixture of high courage and cold-bloodedness.

Rühle von Lilienstern writes of him: "The archduke hurried to the position of greatest danger, exposed himself recklessly, and immediately engaged in a single-handed conflict." Another says of him: "One saw on the battlefield that he cared nothing for death and dangers; his whole personality became more impressive, and his soldiers looked up to him with pride and confidence. If, after long survey, he called, 'My horse!' (he used, when obliged to stand still for long, generally to dismount) one might be quite certain that things were going badly, and could make sure that he would rush to where an accession of strength was needed, in order to restore the balance and compel good fortune. Not his the ruling principle that a commander-in-chief ought at least to avoid the whirlpool of the conflict, and not to expose himself to gunshots. To seize a flag and show the disheartened or wavering troops the road to glory, or to drive back isolated deserters at the sword's point when he saw them influencing the masses, were actions which, performed by him on occasion, did not fail of their effect. His presence had a visible effect on the courage of the troops, whose confidence he possessed in a high degree." If we may compare the warrior with the statesman, the archduke reminds us again in such moments of Thugut, opposed as the two were in all else. But we are reminded most vividly of Charles V, who always gave his enemies an advantage; who, prostrate with gout, followed his troops on a stretcher, but who, on critical days, seemed to be cased in steel and iron and to be quite a different creature; almost trembling with war-fever, he was a knightly hero in the old sense of the word.

In the second half of the campaign of 1796, the archduke proved himself a hero. But at its commencement he had certainly done his best to give the enemy every advantage, with unusual success. That he seldom managed to gather about him the right people — Gentz and Thugut are agreed as to this — and that this immediate circle had considerable influence over him (it is

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true the doughty Bellegarde was one of his nearest advisers) must also be taken into consideration.^d

"From childhood until now," Charles said of himself at a later period, "in my education, and in my far-reaching environment I have striven for one unattained ideal of perfection in the fulfilment of duty; and in this course I have continued uninterruptedly. I have found it absolutely necessary to give precedence and true rights to my undivided heart, allowing it free room for action, and in its decisions with regard to myself and others honouring its verdict in everything which is its prerogative, and abiding in all things by its decisions. The elevation of good feeling to moral strength is more important than the deepest insight into the essence of virtue."^e

To this conception of his own character may be added two estimates of Archduke Charles from another quarter. "Archduke Charles," Napoleon said, "would doubtless have been the first general of his time, had not fate put in his way hinderances which with all his talent he was unable to overcome." And again Napoleon said of him: "Here is one who will never bring a word of blame upon his head. The man has a spirit of heroic cast, and a heart from the golden age. He is a moral being; applied to a prince that epithet embraces all things." Such an estimate, from such a source, is not to be taken lightly. We shall have some opportunities presently to estimate its correctness, for the archduke in a sense holds the destinies of Austria in his hands. But before we take up again the narrative of military events, we must make further study of the temper of the times, that we may understand the Austrian attitude towards the French on the one hand, and towards the associated German principalities on the other.^a

PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN AUSTRIA

There were numerous German patriots in the army, who served the emperor because he was the emperor. It would none the less be difficult to prove that in the nineties there was a genuine imperial party either in Germany or in the German army. And circumstances fell out so unfortunately that even the imperial party, as far as such a thing existed, could scarcely venture to support Thugut. The imperials desired an understanding between Germany and Austria at any cost, and, therefore, were always inclined to make too light of any obstacles in its way. Men such as Duke Albert and the prince of Coburg quarrelled with Thugut on this point: for, as above mentioned, it is undeniable that Thugut was a thoroughgoing Austrian, as the phrase was understood in Maria Theresa's time, and yet he found himself supported still less by the Austrian particularists.

Gradually, people grew tired of the war as it dragged its weary length along, and they had had more than enough of losses and defeats. Already they were sullen and disheartened in relation to the Dutch, calling them ungrateful and unworthy of such sacrifice. A similar way of thinking affected them towards the empire when Austria was forsaken by every ally and especially by Prussia. This was the sorrowful reaction after what had taken place within the empire. Austria must not sacrifice itself, it was felt, for this unthankful empire. In fact no allies of importance remained, with the exception of England. It could not go on its knees to England's gold, pull England's chestnuts out of the fire. It was clear that speeches and opinions such as these were rife, and that there were elements inimical to Austria in Germany, out of which the Germans manufactured their sharpest weapons, and

in this course they were confirmed by their own inalienable belief that Austria would do the same as Prussia.

The particularists in Germany as in Austria overlooked or wished to overlook the fact that Austria had become so intimately bound up with the German Empire that it could not oppose that empire's interests without deadly danger to itself. Thugut's greatest support was still in the people, the real people of the German provinces. The antipathy towards France was deep-rooted and instinctive there, whilst in Hungary there existed strong French sympathies. The people of the German crown lands had rushed to the universal armament in 1797 with touching readiness for self-sacrifice. Still, in 1798 there was no mistaking the national hatred shown by the people of Vienna toward France.^{1 d}

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES IN ITALY

Thus much understood as to the internal conditions at the heart of the empire, we are prepared to take up once more the trend of military events. The loss of Italy and the pacification in his rear made Bonaparte's march on Vienna seem imminent. Archduke Charles was called from the Rhine to oppose him, but the Italian forces of which Charles became generalissimo were but the wreck of an army depressed by constant defeat, so that Bonaparte cried: "Hitherto I have had troops without a general to oppose me; now I have a general without troops."^a

After the fall of Mantua the archduke was called away to take over the command in Italy. But it was all too late and the time had gone by for winning great laurels here. It is nevertheless clear that in this decisive moment the archduke behaved in an extraordinary manner. He regarded the whole situation as hopeless, delayed doing anything, and, to the horror of Thugut, came back to Vienna, to ask for orders from the emperor in person. Much time was lost by all this, and the new differences between Thugut and the archduke had a paralysing effect. Thugut was much displeased at the archduke's desire to abandon the Tyrol, and later on he cast it in his face that his hesitation was alone responsible for the misfortune which followed.

Only far to the east, at Tagliamento, were operations again resumed. As is well known, Bonaparte was victorious (March 16th, 1797). The imperial forces now marched back through the mountains to Carinthia. Thugut asserted that the disorder was truly colossal. He repeated his eternal complaint that everyone did as he pleased. At Tarvis another battle was fought (March 3rd), and no doubt with much glory; but still the French were not to be stopped. The archduke appears to have done little to avert misfortune. At heart he was in favour of a peace, or at least of an armistice. The only bright spot in this period is the people's rising in the Tyrol. Even the neighbourhood of the Lake of Garda was invaded. It was not certain whether the French line of retreat might not be threatened; Bonaparte was in any case a long way from his own country. In Italy, too, there were many elements which were prepared for a rising. Though the French were now again pressing on into Germany they were nevertheless divided from the Italian army by wide tracts of country, and — which was the main point — Bonaparte had not forty thousand men with him. If the organisation of the militia in the archduchy and the lower Austrian provinces succeeded, it was still not impos-

^a When the French ambassador, Bernadotte, hung the French tricolour out of his window, the people regarded it as an insult, rushed into the hotel, and tore down the flag; and this action led to endless discussions with the French government, and finally to the breach in 1799.

[1795-1797 A.D.]

sible that the French might find themselves in serious danger, and as factions had now arisen in France a discomfiture would have cost Napoleon probably his life and certainly his career.

Thugut therefore did not yet give up the cause as lost. In Austria the militia was organised, in Hungary the *insurrectio*. At the same time Thugut again turned his eyes towards Russia where the emperor Paul had been reigning since the autumn of 1796. There exists the draft of a letter from the emperor Francis to the emperor Paul, the humble expressions of which leave no room to doubt the earnestness of the meaning. Neither at the embassy in Berlin nor in Petersburg was there any information of an impending change in Austrian policy. "Thugut's triumph over the cabal," says Prince Reuss (the ambassador at Berlin), "means the same thing as the triumph of the good cause over the French. May God," he added, "grant him the victory." Thugut carried out the fulfilment of the imperial decision to quit Vienna, but at the last moment a change for the worse took place.

Bonaparte again made offers of peace and on apparently very favourable conditions; Austria was to receive compensation for the Netherlands and eventually for Lombardy, at the expense of Venice. The Rhine was demanded only in case Austria insisted on the retention of Milan. The whole was couched in rather ambiguous terms, and at first Bonaparte's authority was distrusted. Besides Thugut was unwilling to enter upon the negotiation because under no circumstances did he wish to break with England and conclude a separate peace. Had Thugut been emperor matters would have been allowed to come to extremes. But the court now lost courage. It was above all the Neapolitan influence which made itself felt in this decisive crisis. The empress was a princess of Naples and moreover the queen of Naples was the emperor's aunt. In order to cover her own defection it was the desire at Naples to win Austria to a peace. "It is with it as with women," said Thugut once in reference to this Italian court; "when one has fallen she tries to make the others trip." In the year 1796 the ambassador Gallo had gone to Bâle to conclude a definite peace. He requested leave from Vienna to sound the French government on its intentions in behalf of Austria. The empress favoured the plan. The emperor thought the matter of no consequence and gave permission; Gallo was now again in Vienna and labouring for an understanding between Austria and France.

It cannot now be denied that the Austrian government had for a long time had various designs on Dalmatia and Istria, over which it asserted ancient rights of the crown of Hungary. Further, in order to win the favour of the empress Catherine for the third partition of Poland, Austria had on the first of January, 1795, concluded with her a secret treaty which became known only in our day and by which prospects were opened up to her of acquisitions in the Balkan Peninsula and in Istria, at the expense of the Porte on the one hand and of Venice on the other. And these plans had drawn her eyes ever more and more in the direction of Italy, to which Frederick the Great had already wished to turn Austria's attention. Besides this, the restitution of the western border of Piedmont in exchange for a French conquest had long formed part of Thugut's plans, and since the legations had fallen into the hands of France he had also striven after their acquisition; it was then only a step further to meditate ceding them to Venice in exchange for a possession on the mainland. The luckless republic came more and more into the foreground of the design. There was some sense of right in the last century, but it gradually became more and more perverted into a sense of dynastic rights. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Naples, and even Sardinia Thugut would not have

taken by force. But Venice was a republic, and the Polish Republic afforded a recent precedent for the seizure of a commonwealth which was not the hereditary property of a dynasty. Indeed it cannot be doubted that Thugut was never opposed to compensation at the expense of Venice. He only shrank from a complete annihilation of the republic and wished to surround the whole business with the forms of legality. But he did not oppose the transaction and he had now given up the idea of adding to the number of Austrian subjects. But it was quite another question as to whether things of this kind should be received from the hands of France or from these allies.

It would be quite another matter, moreover, if France were at the same time to derive from it an enormous increase of territory and power. It would be quite another matter if Austria were completely to relinquish the object of the war and abandon her allies. Finally, it would be quite another matter if the left bank of the Rhine also were actually to be delivered over to France. In order to present the then existing situation in the right light, stress must be laid on the fact that in the year 1796 Prussia too had taken a decided step. A new treaty had been brought about between her and France wherein were defined the spiritual principalities, which Prussia and the king's near relative and ally, the hereditary stadholder of Holland, were to receive, if by the terms of a general peace the dismemberment of the left bank of the Rhine and consequently secularisation should be taken in hand. By this means Prussia would be once more considerably extended. In Austria, however, some apprehension was excited lest the prince of Orange should receive the south German bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg, and the Prussian influence thus again be established and increased within the sphere of Austrian power.

Although we are only very imperfectly informed as to the details of what took place at the court of Vienna in April, 1797, and even Vivenot's letters for this period are very unsatisfactory and deficient, still it seems fairly clear that at this decisive moment the emperor consulted others rather than those who had hitherto been his chief advisers, and especially lent an ear to the empress and to Gallo. Colloredo, a man of much consideration, declared that it was no part of his business to undertake the responsibility for such matters. He was too little informed on the question for that. Thugut received an express command to draw up instructions for the negotiations with Bonaparte. He submitted. How little it lay in his intention to bring about what now took place is shown by the words which he wrote to his friend Dietrichstein a short time afterwards: "What do you say to our famous peace? I have kept out of it and still think the same as ever." When Hüffer says that Thugut ought to have given in his resignation, he has modern conditions too much before his eyes, and forgets that it was open to Thugut to hope to restore matters to their former footing at some future date.

In direct demonstration of the direction from which the wind blew for peace, it was not an Austrian diplomat who was despatched to Bonaparte but the Neapolitan Gallo, with whom an Austrian general was associated. It was really this man who took matters out of the hands of Thugut and the court. Gallo had handled the whole question of peace in the most superficial, feeble, and hasty manner. And before all, as Thugut had all along feared, he had at the same time worked for the cause of Naples and represented her interests.

Thus it happened that the preliminary Peace of Leoben (April 18th, 1797) was brought to a conclusion at a moment when the French were only eighteen miles from Vienna. Notwithstanding, the left bank of the Rhine had not been sacrificed at Leoben. It is to Hüffer that we are indebted for having pointed this out; Gallo had certainly permitted a very bad wording to be employed.

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But the sense, as Hüffer indicates, can be only that Belgium and the neighbouring territories may indeed be comprehended under the constitutional borders, but not the left bank of the Rhine. Besides the Netherlands, Austria also abandoned Lombardy with the exception of Mantua, and was to be compensated at the expense of Venice. The town of Venice itself, with the islands, was to remain intact for the present. The emperor, to whom Thugut referred everything, ratified the treaty. Austria, he declared at the same time, must before all things gain time to collect her forces for the prosecution of the war, and this was attained by this preliminary arrangement. Thus before the actual peace was concluded, on the 17th of October, much time was suffered to elapse.

THE PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO (OCTOBER 17TH, 1797)

Thugut was distracted about the peace. He became quite ill with excitement. But it was the same as with the peace of 1809. Having once gone so far it was difficult to stop short and recommence hostilities. This time, also, the emperor confirmed the proceedings. Amongst the Vienna public, unfortunately, there was now great rejoicing. Men congratulated one another in boisterous fashion on the peace, of whose more regrettable provisions it must be confessed that they were ignorant. "What completes my despair," Thugut exclaims, "is the disgraceful debasement of our Viennese, who are wild with joy at the word 'peace' without once asking whether the conditions are good or bad. No one troubles himself over the honour of the monarchy, no one thinks what will have become of the monarchy in ten years' time, if only he can rush about to masquerades to-day and eat his roast fowl in peace. What can be one with such characters to make a stand against the energy of a Bonaparte who defies all dangers with a smiling face? Peace — peace! But where is it? I see no security for it in the treaty. If I have not been deceived in my hasty perusal of it, I find in it no sort of safety for us; and its execution which is hanging over us will perhaps bring about a new chain of preliminaries — I have only glanced at the different articles in a superficial way, and we shall have time enough to consider them and bitterly to lament them. Meantime I know enough to put me into a fever." ^d

By the Peace of Campo-Formio Austria lost 780 square miles in Belgium, Lombardy, and the Breisgau, and gained 865 in Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia. Francis suffered by it, therefore, not as Austrian sovereign but in his honour as emperor. For in the secret articles he promised to use his influence, at the approaching congress, that the left Rhine bank from Bâle to Andernach should be French. Damages for losses thus sustained were to be got from the right bank, or by secularisation, and a secret article arranged that Austria was to begin by having the archbishopric of Salzburg. As it was exactly upon such ecclesiastical foundations that the existence of the empire really depended, the emperor was hereby overturning the constitution, as he was, in the matter of the Rhine provinces, straitening the boundaries of the confederate state of which he was the head and defender. The Austrian Peace of Campo-Formio was, in fact, a sort of rejoinder to Prussia's Treaty of Bâle: the king of Prussia was the first to betray the empire for the interests of his own state; in making the Peace of Campo-Formio the head of the empire himself followed suit. The pressure and the shock from outside brought each of them to balance the weight of the empire against their positions as great European powers; in either case the scale of empire flew into the air. The Peace of Campo-Formio and the Treaty of Bâle go together, and the later of the two events is not prop-

erly understood until it is looked upon in the light of the rivalry between Austria and Prussia. For instance, it was declared by one of the secret articles that as the French Republic had no objection to giving Prussia back her possessions on the left bank, there was no new territory to be gained by the king of Prussia in Germany.

Istria and Dalmatia submitted to Austrian rule in May, 1797, and thus was fulfilled an old dream of Austrian policy. In Venice itself there was first played the comedy of a plebiscite (May 12th); on January 18th, 1798, the French cleared out with a rich booty, and the Austrians entered to receive the oath of submission from the last of the doges, Lodovico Manin.

THE PEACE CONGRESS AT RASTATT (1798-1799 A.D.)

Before the articles of the Treaty of Campo-Formio were known, the emperor sent (November 1st) a decree to all the states of the empire to send delegates to Rastatt to settle the terms of a lasting peace, "on the basis of the integrity of the empire." Napoleon appeared at Rastatt on November 26th and left again directly he had arranged for the taking over of Mainz and of other fortresses (December 1st). The complaints of the elector of Mainz on the withdrawal of imperial troops were of course unavailing; on December 8th the city was formally given over to France by Austria, and on January 8th, 1798, the diet at Ratisbon confirmed the transfer. That was the first achievement of the congress. The second was the giving over of the whole of the left Rhine bank (March 9th, 1798), and the third was the approval (April 4th) of a comprehensive plan of secularisation. The whole procedure was consummately characterised in a pamphlet entitled *The Passion*: "And it came to pass that, as Bonaparte had finished, there gathered together the high priests, the scribes, and Pharisees, in a city which was called Rastatt, and held council how they might take the empire by deceit and kill it. And the empire saw that its hour was come and said: 'My soul is sad unto death.' And the ecclesiastical principedom was sore troubled and said in the congress: 'Verily, verily, woe unto you, there is one among you will betray me.' And behold the Prussian court whispered in the ear of France, 'What will you give me that I betray it to you?' Bonaparté gave sentence on the empire: 'We have a law, and according to the law must it die.' The Palatinate and Hesse-Darmstadt answered: 'What has it done? I find no fault in it.' But the emperor said, 'It is better that one die than that the whole people be ruined.' And he gave it over to be scourged and crucified." Of the imperial army it is said in the pamphlet: "They beat their breasts and turned back again."

The peace congress lasted on at Rastatt weeks after war had again broken out. Lehrbach, representative of Francis as archduke, left March 11th, without giving notice; on April 13th, the plenipotentiary of the emperor as emperor, Count Franz Georg Karl Metternich, father of the more celebrated chancellor, left, declaring only in general terms that the armistice was broken and the place of meeting dangerous. The three French delegates were warned by no official announcement, nor did the archduke Charles, as head of the army, see that they were dismissed, although it was clear that their dealings in south Germany could not be suffered in war time. The delegates themselves asked Talleyrand for permission to withdraw. The answer was that they were to hold out at Rastatt as long as possible and leave only under protest. Close to Rastatt was stationed a Szekler regiment of hussars under Colonel Barbaczy. Barbaczy held his command from General Görger, Görger held his from Baron Kospoth, and Kospoth from the archduke Charles at headquarters.^a

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THE RASTATT MURDER (1799 A.D.)

On the 22nd of April Barbaczy sent one of his officers with an escort of three privates and a bugler to ride straight into the courtyard of the castle of Rastatt and hand to the "directorial" freiherr von Albini a letter to say that, under existing military conditions, when for the sake of their own safety the military were compelled to patrol the town and its environs, he could not give any consolatory assurances with regard to the safety of the *corps diplomatique*; because, after the recall of the imperial plenipotentiary, Rastatt was no longer regarded as a place of congress. For the rest, unless prevented by the exigencies of warfare, the Austrian soldiery would continue to respect their personal inviolability. To the Germans the tone of this letter appeared so unmistakable that on April 23rd, in spite of their friendly sentiments towards the French, such members of the peace commission as were still there resolved, on Albini's motion to that effect, to terminate the session and prepare to return home.

The French, however, still doubted whether the "extremity" which would justify their departure had actually come, and it was the 25th before they issued a note to the members of the commission still present, in which they protested against what they stigmatised as a breach of international law, and fixed the 28th of April for their departure. On the morning of that day their eight travelling coaches stood in the courtyard of the castle laden with baggage. They were persuaded by Albini's representations to defer their departure until Barbaczy sent the assurances of the safety of the ambassadors for which he had been asked the day before. Hour after hour elapsed and no answer came from Gernsbach, and the officer who at length made his appearance at Rastatt, at seven o'clock at night, brought a letter from the colonel giving the ambassadors twenty-four hours to get out of the town and to pass through the lines of the army, and expressing his regret that they had displayed such lack of confidence in the respect that would be paid to their personal inviolability. The colonel's letter was drawn up in accordance with the archduke's commands of April 25th, which imposed on him the duty of expelling French subjects in general, and these same ambassadors in particular, from the sphere of the army.

But Barbaczy had secret orders besides these. Among the records of the Austrian military archives, which Herr von Sybel was the first to investigate, two remarkable documents have come to light. One of them is the résumé of a report from Colonel Barbaczy and runs:

April 18th.

COLONEL BARBACZY TO GENERAL GÖRGER:

Reports arrangements made and still to be made in consequence of secret orders concerning the French ambassadors now preparing to take leave. At the same time inquires whether the escort of these ambassadors, consisting of Baden troops, is to receive hostile treatment.

The second is an autograph postscript appended by Major-General von Marveldt to a report made to the lieutenant-general (Austrian lieutenant-field-marshal) Kospoth under date of this same 18th of April, and runs:

With reference to the letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Mayer received yesterday by courier, General von Görger has made such arrangements that if the Szekler hussars do not find the nest empty the business can hardly miscarry. If only this wish had been expressed a few days sooner!

Late in the evening of the 28th of April proceedings were taken against the French ambassadors in accordance with the secret orders hinted at in

these words. A detachment of sixty Szekler hussars under Captain Burkhard appeared before the gates of the town at the same time as the bearer of Colonel Barbaczy's letter, armed with orders to let no person connected with the congress pass out or in. According to Barbaczy's letter the day of grace for the ambassadors' departure lasted till the evening of the 29th. Debry, however, insisted that they should leave within the time appointed by the ambassadors themselves, and the start was consequently made before eight o'clock. At the gate, however, they found their exit barred by hussars, and it was nearly ten before this obstacle was removed, and the procession of carriages, escorted by torches, at length passed out of the town by the Rhinau gate.

They had barely gone two hundred paces before about sixty Szekler hussars, who had lain in ambush by the Murg canal, galloped up to the carriages, stopped them, and inquired after the French ministers. To the question of whom he was driving and in which carriage Bonnier (the French minister) was riding, the postilion of the first carriage replied that Bonnier was in that immediately behind him, and that Jean Debry and the ladies of his party were in his own. The carriage was surrounded in a moment. Debry handed his passport through the window, the paper was torn up, he himself was dragged out of the carriage, robbed of his watch and money, and, on answering the question "Are you Jean Debry?" in the affirmative, was struck down by several sabre-thrusts. He rolled into the ditch by the roadside and was left there for dead. Bonnier and Roberjot were next interrogated in the same manner, dragged out of their carriages and cut down, and both the carriages and corpses were plundered. No one was ill-treated except the ambassadors; on the contrary, the coachmen and servants were told that no harm would be done them, only Roberjot's valet declared that his watch and money had been taken. The first news of the massacre was brought to the Casino at Rastatt, where the diplomatists were still assembled, a quarter of an hour later by Boccardi, the Ligurian ambassador, who had been in one of the hindmost carriages. The carriages were brought back to Rastatt that same night, and in the morning Jean Debry appeared, covered with blood, having crept out of the ditch and taken refuge in a wood, where he had saved himself by climbing a tree. On the afternoon of the 29th he, with his family and those of the two murdered men, was driven to Plittersdorf with a guard of Baden and imperial hussars and was not left by his escort until he was on board the boat that was to take him across the Rhine.

The certain and conclusive results at which investigators of the most diverse party views have unanimously arrived of late may be stated as follows. The Szekler hussars had orders to stop the French ministers and to rob them of their papers. In the report which Dohm made and published in the name of the German ambassadors, there is no mention of the robbery. We learn why not, from a letter written by Count Solms-Laubach and dated May 18th, 1799. In it he says: "It was a knotty and much debated question whether we should mention the seizure of the papers or not. I was one of those who wished to have this circumstance, which was undeniably important, included in the narrative for the sake of having a complete record of the matter; the omission of any mention of the fact was due to excess of caution and the apprehension that the persons referred to in the papers might be regarded with suspicion, as though compromised by such reference." They certainly were not ordered to rob the ambassadors, still less to kill them, but they cannot have been forbidden to do so, otherwise they could

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not have openly boasted of the deed, openly sold their booty, and nevertheless have got off without any punishment whatever.

The mere fact that an attack was made with intent to seize the ambassadors' papers constituted a breach of international law, and to this offence the perpetrators added a heinous and murderous crime by letting loose the passions of a barbarous soldiery; and it presently appeared that the whole proceeding had been absolutely futile, for when they ransacked the intercepted archives of the embassy they found nothing that could be used against Bavaria or could serve in any other way as a tardy justification of the murder. The clamorous cry for vengeance which the Directory raised over the crime of the 28th of April was drowned in the brazen clang of the great war then raging in Switzerland and Italy. It was not reserved for the most despicable government France has ever known to exploit the national indignation for its own ends, and in after days the first consul had more serious work to do than to demand satisfaction for the blood of the murdered Jacobins of Rastatt.^e

RHINE AND ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS OF 1798 AND 1799

When the emperor informed the German Empire of the Peace of Campo-Formio, his hearers had been profoundly touched by the declaration in the articles of peace that the integrity of the German Empire was to form the basis of the negotiations now inaugurated between that empire and France. The deputies of the empire who assembled at Rastatt for the peace congress were therefore not a little surprised when the imperial forces evacuated Mainz, Philippsburg, Königstein, Ulm, Mannheim, Ingolstadt, and Würzburg, and when French troops surrounded Mainz and forced the few electoral and imperial soldiers left there to capitulate. The evacuation of these fortresses by the Austrians was the outcome of a secret convention concluded by Napoleon with Count Cobenzl. The French deputies at Rastatt declared that in consideration of the long duration of the war, and of the expense entailed upon her to repel an unjustifiable attack, France required that the negotiations should proceed on the basis of taking the Rhine for the boundary between the two nations. It was clear that this claim could not in the long run be resisted, but the question then arose as to how to indemnify the princes of the empire who would lose by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine.

Austria, with an eye to Prussia, to whom she had owed a grudge since the Peace of Bâle, made an agreement with France, to the effect that the latter should restore to Prussia all her possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, thus leaving her without any claim to indemnification. Prussia, on hearing of this arrangement, declared herself willing to resign all claim to indemnification if Austria would likewise claim none for her losses on the farther side of the Rhine. This meant, in other words, that Austria should resign the Venetian Republic of which she had already taken possession. Austria naturally refused to entertain this suggestion. At length the French emissaries at Rastatt spoke the magic word "secularisation." They said in so many words that the ecclesiastical property on the right bank of the Rhine must be used to indemnify the princes of the empire who suffered losses on the left. The word had scarcely been spoken before the temporal princes who had hitherto talked big about the integrity of the empire ceased to concern themselves about it altogether, and only strove to snatch, each for himself, as much church property as he could. The negotiations which

ensued lasted until the beginning of the next war, which presently broke out between France and Austria. The French had beleaguered Ehrenbreitstein all through the time, and had forced the stronghold into surrender by starving the imperial garrison. They blockaded Philippsburg and levied contributions in money and in kind on the right bank of the Rhine exactly as if they had been in an enemy's country.

Every thinking man must have felt assured that the Peace of Campo-Formio was no more than a truce. The early renewal of hostilities was due to various measures taken by the French Directory. The republic of Genoa had been transformed by the Directory into the Ligurian Republic and made entirely dependent upon France; Tuscany had been incorporated into the Cisalpine Republic; so had Modena; and the states of the church had ceased to exist. During a riot in Rome a French general, Duphot, was shot; whereupon the French ambassador quitted the city and it was occupied by a body of French soldiers under Berthier. Pope Pius VI was obliged to resign the temporal sovereignty; he was carried off to Savona, and the states of the church were transformed into the Roman Republic. The king of Sardinia, under French coercion, resigned Piedmont, which was then united to France. The king withdrew to Sardinia. Thus the whole of Italy with the exception of Naples and the state of Venice was under the direct or indirect control of the French. In Switzerland the Directory was likewise stirring up strife, the existing form of government was overthrown, the Helvetic Republic was organised and drawn into the French alliance.

Bernadotte's Tricolour (1799 A.D.)

After the revolutionary attempts in Italy and Switzerland had proved successful, Bernadotte, the French ambassador at Vienna, ventured upon a step which contributed not a little to the breach between Austria and France. He ran up the tricolour on the balcony of his hotel in the Wal-beerstrasse. Crowds upon crowds immediately gathered in front of the house. Vienna was in a ferment; the flag was interpreted as an incentive to revolution on the part of the ambassador, but Vienna had no motive for a revolution. When the throng increased and loud menacing cries rang out on all sides, Bernadotte sent a note to Thugut and demanded protection. Sentries promptly appeared and mounted guard at the gates of the palace. Count Perger, chief of police, and a certain Count Dietrichstein, went to the ambassador and requested him to take down the flag; and on his obstinate refusal to do so Dietrichstein and Perger merely exhorted the mob to be quiet, and then withdrew. The mob, however, was not quiet; stones flew in at the windows, and one determined fellow — Kappelbub by name, said to be a cobbler's apprentice — climbed up to the balcony and boldly hauled down the flag. The court, anxious to save the ambassador from actual ill-usage, now called out the military. With clamorous outcries of "God save the emperor!" the crowd dispersed and the tumult was at an end. The ambassador haughtily demanded his passports, nor could he be induced to stay by any expostulations. Thereupon the emperor had the whole proceeding put on record and signed by his ministers, and gave information of it to all the foreign ambassadors, who unanimously declared that the scene had been caused by Bernadotte's own imprudence and that the Austrian government had done its duty. This explanation was forwarded to Paris. Bernadotte took his departure.

These occurrences were more than enough to make Austria determine

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upon war, and the emperor could no longer be an indifferent spectator of the revolutionary aspirations of the Directory, which were a menace to the whole of Europe. Moreover the occasion was more favourable than ever before, for the Directory had sent forty thousand picked men to Egypt under Napoleon, their ablest general, to conquer that country. Napoleon had landed safely in Egypt; but the French fleet under Admiral Brueys, which had accompanied him and was to keep communication open between France and Egypt, had been completely destroyed by the English admiral, Nelson, in the roadstead of Abukir, and Napoleon was consequently cut off from his base. This defeat seemed a signal for a fresh outbreak of hostilities. The Turks declared war against the French Republic, Austria concluded two alliances, one with Naples, the other with Russia and England. The king of Naples had appointed the Austrian general Mack to the command of his troops, and began the war before Austria was ready, or the Russians had arrived. The Neapolitans occupied Rome, but were soon afterwards twice defeated by the French under Championnet. Mack retreated upon Naples, the king took ship with his family for Palermo in Sicily; the viceroy, Prince Pignatelli, was forced by a mutiny among the Neapolitan troops to conclude an armistice with the French. Aggrieved at this, the *lazzaroni* of Naples stirred up a general riot, which was directed in the first instance against Mack. To escape the mob he was obliged to flee with his whole staff to the French, who sent him to France as a prisoner of war. The French were victorious over the *lazzaroni*; they occupied Naples and converted the kingdom into the Parthenopean Republic—one ephemeral republic the more.

The Russians had already got as far as Moravia when the French republic declared that it would regard their entrance into Germany as a declaration of war. The emperor returned no answer and hostilities broke out. The belligerent parties acted upon the principle that the possession of mountain ranges carried with it that of the adjacent plains, and that south Germany and Italy must therefore be conquered in Switzerland. The armies were accordingly disposed as follows:

The archduke Charles was in Bavaria with 54 battalions and 138 squadrons, that is with 54,000 foot and 24,000 horse. Hotze with 24,000 men protected the frontiers of the Grisons and Vorarlberg, to the inviolability of which the court of Vienna attached great importance; 44,000 foot and 2,600 horse were posted in the Inn valley and southern Tyrol, under the command of Lieutenant-General Count Bellegarde. A third army of 82 battalions and 76 squadrons (64,000 foot and 11,000 horse) assembled on the Adige. Pending the arrival of Suvarov, Lieutenant-General Baron Kray was at the head of the whole army. The French were not nearly so numerous. The army of the Danube, under Jourdan, amounted to 46,000 men; an army of observation, 48,000 strong, under Bernadotte, was to blockade Mannheim and Philippsburg and to assist Jourdan by creating diversions. Masséna with 30,000 men was told off to conquer the Grisons and the Tyrol. There were also 50,000 men in Italy under Schérer, and 36,000 under Macdonald in Neapolitan territory.

The Austrians were attacked before they were ready. The Russians were still on the march, the Italian army had not yet assembled, when the war in Switzerland began. Masséna conquered the Grisons, advanced to the frontier of the Tyrol, and even penetrated through some of the passes into the province itself. But the defeat of Jourdan left his line of retreat unprotected, and he withdrew. The Austrians, glad to feel that the enemy

was gone from the Tyrol, let him alone. Both armies awaited developments in Germany and Italy.

Jourdan had marched across the Rhine, the archduke Charles had marched to meet him. When the armies met Jourdan was defeated in a decisive battle at Stockach (25th of March, 1799), of which defeat his retreat across the Rhine was the consequence. The pursuit of the enemy brought the Austrians close to Rastatt, where the peace congress was still sitting.

The Tyrol and Italy

Many things conspired to prevent the Austrians from following up their victory.¹ Clausewitz ascribes their failure to do so to the personal character of the archduke Charles.^a The situation does not call for much elucidation [he says]. The archduke had it in his power to crush his opponent at any moment, and did not do so, and the reason for this is to be found in himself and, more particularly, in two characteristics. In the first place he was deficient in enterprise and thirst for victory. In the second, though in other respects a man of excellent judgment, he had, as has been said, in the main, a radically false conception of strategy: he took the means for the end and the end for the means. The destruction of the fighting-power of the enemy, for which no effort is too great in war, had no place in his mind as an object in itself — to him it existed only as a means for driving the enemy from this point or that; while on the other hand he estimated success wholly and solely as a matter of gaining certain lines and districts, which, after all, can never be more than a means towards victory, that is, towards the annihilation of the physical and moral strength of the enemy.²

It must be recalled, however, that the archduke fell ill, and was obliged to give over the chief command temporarily to General Wallis; moreover, the transport system was slow, clumsy, and ill-adapted to modern methods of warfare, a circumstance which hampered the movements of the army. The court of Vienna judged an attack upon Switzerland below the Lake of Constance too desperate an enterprise, and expressly stated that the main operations were to be directed towards the Grisons with the Tyrol as a base, and, finally, Austria lacked the advantage of a single leader in command. The archduke, who was responsible for the defence of Swabia, Hotze, who was responsible for that of Vorarlberg, and Bellegarde, who was responsible for that of the Tyrol, pursued each his allotted task, but combined movements could only be brought about by correspondence, which involved an enormous waste of time.

Ultimately operations began with the Tyrol as base. Bellegarde occupied the Engadine. Proclamations were scattered broadcast through Switzerland, stating that the Austrians had no other desire than to restore the ancient constitution. The Austrians subsequently conquered the Grisons, and Masséna was driven back across the Glatt. The archduke advanced upon Zurich. The French were worsted and took up a position beyond the Aar and the Limmat. The archduke took up a strong position opposite, and both armies lapsed into inaction. The key to this proceeding is to be found in the subjoined note, sent by the emperor to the archduke:

"Since I purpose in the course of a few days to provide your dilection (*Euer Liebden*) with more detailed instructions respecting the present situation and the measures hereafter to be taken, I will at present only briefly signify to you that from this time forward until the arrival of the Russian imperial corps *d'armée*, under the command of General Korsakov, at the

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Rhine, every undertaking which your dilection may propose to engage with my army committed to your charge, which does not combine the certain prospect of success with the no less certain absence of danger to my forces, is for the present quite opposed to the best interests of my service. Your dilection will therefore have to confine yourself to maintaining the advantages already gained, and only under the aforesaid double condition avail yourself of the opportunities offered by favourable circumstances, or by grave mistakes on the part of the enemy, and your dilection must before all things turn your attention to the matters herein prescribed, and to the maintenance of the army at its present strength." This note bore reference to the events in Italy, to which we must now return.

Schérer, the French commander-in-chief, attacked without giving notice of the commencement of hostilities, but was repulsed at Legnago by Lieutenant-General Kray. At Verona the French were severely defeated, and beat a retreat across the Mincio. Suvarov, whom the emperor Francis had made an Austrian field-marshal, now entered Italy with his Russians and took over the chief command. Mantua, Peschiera, and Ferrara were invested; Mirandola fell. Schérer crossed the Adda and gave over his command to General Moreau. The latter lost the battle of Cassano, in consequence of which defeat Sérurier's division was forced to surrender on the battlefield. Suvarov entered Milan. Moreau crossed the Po, hoping to effect a junction with Macdonald, who had hastened by forced marches from Naples. Pizzighettone and Ferrara, the citadels of Milan and Peschiera, surrendered to the Austrians; in many places the country-folk rose in arms against the French, whose situation became more and more critical. Their safety depended upon the junction of Moreau and Macdonald, and to prevent this from taking place Suvarov marched against the latter and defeated him in a three days' fight on the Trebbia.

The French were in an evil plight. Mantua surrendered to General Kray, the citadel of Alessandria did likewise, and a Russo-Turkish fleet bombarded Ancona. No sooner had Mantua fallen than Suvarov continued his advance. Joubert had taken over the command, and a battle was fought at Novi; Joubert fell early in the fight; Moreau, who had left that morning, was hastily recalled, but could not save the day. The sequel of this battle was the conquest of Tortona.

Dissension among the Allies

Brilliant as were the results of this campaign, many dissensions had already arisen among the allies. England, whose subsidies gave her the right to a voice in the discussion of military operations, was afraid lest the Russians should effect a permanent occupation of some Italian port, and was therefore anxious that they should retire from the peninsula. Austria set a high value on her conquests in Italy, and desired to enjoy undivided possession of them and to secure for herself as large a share as possible in the future. To this the presence of the Russians was an obstacle, for the czar Paul was bent on restoring the old state of things in Italy, a wish incompatible with the designs of the court of Vienna. He also felt affronted because, at the capitulation of Ancona, the French had surrendered to the Austrian general Fröhlich only, with the remark that "the surrender was made to him and not to the barbarians"—an observation which Fröhlich had let pass without comment.

The Russians themselves did not care to remain in Italy, for not only

was there constant friction between them and the Austrians, but Suvarov himself had many reasons for dissatisfaction. He had stipulated that he should take orders from none but the emperor Francis, and the whole of the Austrian army was under his command; nevertheless he found that the emperor sent to the Austrian generals orders at variance with those he himself gave. He was desirous of retiring from the command altogether, and was therefore glad when a scheme was propounded and found acceptance, by which the Austrians were to operate in Germany and Italy and the Russians in Switzerland. The corps now advancing through Germany was destined for the Swiss operations, as well as the Russians in Italy.

The archduke received orders to evacuate Switzerland, to leave one corps for the protection of south Germany, to go down the Rhine with the main body of his force, and there to take the offensive in support of the operations of an English and Russian army in Holland. Pending the coming of Suvarov he left twenty-five thousand men under General Hotze with Korsakov in Switzerland, and started for Germany in conformity with his orders. He relieved Philippsburg, which the French had invested, and took Mannheim at the point of the sword. On this occasion the Austrians gave a rare proof of discipline. At their entry into Mannheim not a single soldier fell out of the ranks, nor was a single act of violence perpetrated. These exploits were brilliant indeed, but of no service to the Dutch expedition. This enterprise had nothing but ill-luck; twenty-six thousand English and seventeen thousand Russians had landed, but being defeated at Bergen-op-Zoom by Brune (September, 1799), after a series of purposeless engagements, they embarked again and definitely abandoned the undertaking.

The issue of the campaign in Switzerland was equally unfortunate. Korsakov was defeated by Masséna at Zurich (this was the second battle of Zurich), and the Austrians were driven out of the Linth valley; and this at the very moment when Suvarov was marching out of Italy to join Korsakov. With lion-like courage he fought his way through and arrived safely in Germany. The Russians then evacuated Switzerland. Then began a series of bickerings; Suvarov refused a personal interview with the archduke, the Russians accused their allies of bad faith, and the czar Paul, exasperated by the disasters to his forces in Holland and Switzerland, sent his Russians home. The coalition was broken up.^f

At the beginning of October we find the archduke Charles between the Rhine and the sources of the Danube, at Donaueschingen, having left Mannheim on receipt of the news of Korsakov's defeat at Zurich. He made no effort to join the beaten Korsakov, although with him he might have dealt a decisive blow at Masséna, and thus have put some enthusiasm into a campaign whose flatness, whose nightmare ineffectuality weighed heavy on this young man's conscience—for it must not be forgotten that the archduke was at this time only twenty-five years old.^g

In the following year, 1800, Bonaparte made preparations for a fresh campaign against Austria, under circumstances similar to those of the first. But this time he was more rapid in his movements and performed more astonishing feats. Suddenly crossing the St. Bernard, he fell upon the Austrian flank. Genoa, garrisoned by Masséna, had just been forced by famine to capitulate. Ten days afterwards, on the 14th of June, Bonaparte gained such a decisive victory over Melas, the Austrian general, at Marengo that he and the remainder of his army capitulated on the ensuing day. The whole of Italy fell once more into the hands of the French. Moreau had, at the same time, invaded Germany and defeated the Austrians under Kray in

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several engagements, principally at Stockach and Meskirch, and again at Biberach and Höchstädt, laid Swabia and Bavaria under contribution, and taken Ratisbon, the seat of the diet. An armistice, negotiated by Kray, was not recognised by the emperor, and he was replaced in his command by the archduke John (not Charles), who was, on the 3rd of December, totally routed by Moreau's manoeuvres during a violent snow-storm, at Hohenlinden. A second Austrian army, despatched into Italy, was also defeated by Brune on the Mincio. These disasters once more inclined Austria to peace, which was concluded at Lunéville, on the 9th of February, 1801. The archduke Charles seized this opportunity to propose the most beneficial reforms in the war administration, but was again treated with contempt. In the ensuing year, 1802, England also concluded peace at Amiens.

The whole of the left bank of the Rhine was, on this occasion, ceded to the French Republic. The petty republics, formerly established by France in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, were also renewed and were recognised by the allied powers. The Cisalpine Republic was enlarged by the possessions of the grand duke of Tuscany and of the duke of Modena, to whom compensation in Germany was guaranteed. Suvarov's victories had, in the autumn of 1799, rendered a conclave, on the death of the captive pope, Pius VI, in France, possible, for the purpose of electing his successor, Pius VII, who was acknowledged as such by Bonaparte, whose favour he purchased by expressing his approbation of the seizure of the property of the church during the French Revolution, and by declaring his readiness to agree to the secularisation of church property, already determined upon, in Germany.^f

In May, 1803, war broke out between England and France, and France occupied Hanover. In April, 1804, the duke d'Enghien was taken prisoner in Baden, and shot by Bonaparte's orders at Vincennes. Although Russia suggested a protest in the imperial diet against the trespass upon the territory of Baden, neither Austria nor Baden would take the initiative. Early in May, Talleyrand informed the Austrian ambassador, Cobenzl, that Bonaparte was about to declare himself emperor of the French. There was no feeling against this move in Vienna, but it raised the question of the relative importance of the Austrian sovereign.^a

TWO IMPERIAL TITLES

The purport of the overtures which Cobenzl was commissioned to make was most friendly and accommodating. The conversion of the first magistracy into a hereditary office, so ran the despatch, was only the coping-stone of the great work which the first consul had consummated when with energetic hands he destroyed the anarchistic and revolutionary ideas which, starting in France, had threatened to subvert all Europe; and everyone must now confess that to the man who accomplished this work must be confided also the preservation and strengthening of the new order of things. Only as regards the title to be assumed some objections were raised, and it was intimated that no change in the equality of Austria and France could be suffered. Cobenzl received at the same time the order to discover whether any exception would be taken in Paris to the conversion of the imperial dignity into a hereditary title. It was indeed recognised that great difficulties would attend the execution of such a design, since the German diet would certainly not lightly give its consent, or else would couple it with heavy conditions; whilst if Francis confined himself to assuming the title of emperor

of Austria no one had a right to make an objection, for the court of Vienna must be at liberty to follow the example of Russia and France.

The objections which were raised in Vienna about the question of the title, with regard to etiquette and ceremonial, Talleyrand silenced with a reference to a circular directed to the diplomatic representatives in which it was said that the title of emperor would introduce no change into the ancient diplomatic forms. Philip Cobenzl was of opinion that titles could not be of secondary importance in matters of ceremonial and etiquette; it could not be a matter of indifference to Austria if the rulers of France exchanged the title of king for that of emperor. When Talleyrand responded that Francis also was an emperor and Napoleon did not dispute the precedence with him, Cobenzl had his answer in readiness that indeed this was the case, but as a ruler of Austria he was only king of Hungary and Bohemia; as emperor he bore the title only for himself and was not in a position to bequeath it to his successors. And to the observation that the house of Austria would always remain in possession of the imperial dignity, the Austrian representative replied that if that were so all difficulties would be removed, but it was doubtful if, in view of the recent changes in Germany which had procured such preponderance for the Protestants on the occasion of a new election, the majority of votes would be secured to the house of Austria. "What does it matter," said Talleyrand, "what title the chief of the government bears? One names himself emperor, another king; in America he is called president. The nation has chosen the title of emperor, which is the most appropriate to the power and greatness of France; Napoleon has assumed it and cannot give it up."

Cobenzl at last admitted that it was now very difficult to find a way out of the labyrinth; it would have been easy to come to an agreement if the matter had been privately discussed earlier: still, Talleyrand might think it over; he, Cobenzl, would do the same and perhaps they would yet find a solution. Talleyrand asked what he meant and why he did not speak out if there were anything concerning the matter in his despatch. Cobenzl denied having received any instructions on this point; it had not yet been possible to consider the whole affair thoroughly, but merely to give a hurried consent to the conversion of the first magistracy into a hereditary office. Talleyrand said in reply: "This will be a protracted business; time presses, Napoleon will be displeased with this delay; he wishes everything to be settled as quickly as possible. Every nation is justified in choosing for its chief the title which it wishes to grant him."

Cobenzl continued to play his rôle in a masterly manner. He remarked, as though the idea had only just been suggested to him by this speech, that either Bonaparte must relinquish the name of emperor or else the house of Austria also must make a permanent claim to the title. Talleyrand raised no objection. "Good!" he said; "assume the title of emperor quite independently of the empire. Bonaparte will have no objection to that." Cobenzl, not content with this, demanded Napoleon's formal assent; two days later he received it. "If Austria," so ran Napoleon's reply, "thinks good either now or at any future time to assume the title of emperor, France will not only make no opposition to this, but will even exert her influence to obtain its recognition from the other powers; only the other relations, between the king of Bohemia and Hungary and the king of France, must remain the same as they were before." Champagne received orders to conclude a convention, only it was not to appear as though France had lent herself to a bargain in order to obtain recognition on the part of Austria.

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In Vienna there was every reason to be pleased with the diplomatic talent of the ambassador; nevertheless, difficulties arose in the way of completing the transaction. Champagny viewed the matter in a different light. At first he would not concede that any grounds existed for refusing recognition, since the precedence of the emperor was guaranteed by the most solemn engagements. Afterwards he went one step further. In case, he said, the imperial throne of Germany should no longer belong to the ruler of Austria, and the latter should assume the title of emperor of his hereditary states, then the French government would recognise the new title, but until then the engagements undertaken by the two courts ought to remain secret. But in Vienna there was great dissatisfaction at this suggestion, and it was urged that the recognition should be simultaneous, that Austria was now in a position to demand from all the courts what they were conceding to France. Champagny's propositions were easily overruled; he contended that it would be well if the number of emperors were limited to three; against which it was pointed out that if, in the election of a new Roman emperor, the choice did not fall on a member of the house of Lorraine and the latter had taken on itself the imperial title independently of the German Empire, there would then necessarily be four emperors.

As a matter of fact the circumstance that the instructions received by Champagny were not in harmony with the sense of the statements made by Talleyrand to Count Philip Cobenzl was regarded at Vienna as a cause for rejoicing; time was thus gained in which to ascertain the views of the court of St. Petersburg, and it was not necessary to come to a definite arrangement before these had been received. It was not expected that Russia would make any difficulties at the assumption of the imperial title by the ruler of the Austrian house, but rather that the authorities at St. Petersburg would demand, in return for the recognition of Napoleon's title, a price which it would be hard to grant. Three stipulations were expected: the evacuation by the French troops of Hanover and Naples, and the provision of a suitable province for Sardinia. From the beginning it was determined not to make common cause with Russia in this. There was one point which the Austrian statesmen had at heart: that was Italy, and they intended above all things to demand definite securities in this direction before the recognition of the imperial title; they wished that the Russian statesmen might also be active in the same direction.

Meanwhile, Napoleon was already impatient at the long delay, and when the Austrian reply was received in Paris Talleyrand did not dissemble his ill humor. "Count Ludwig Cobenzl," he said to the latter's nephew, the Austrian ambassador, "does not show his usual amount of amiability and his customary conciliatory spirit in negotiating. By what act will the German emperor assume the title of emperor of Austria? Bonaparte has done this because the nation has conferred it upon him; it was the result of a common wish and embodied in a law by the resolutions of the senate." "Oh," said Philip Cobenzl, "we also have constitutional forms, we have corporate bodies which represent the nation." However, when Talleyrand reported to Napoleon the decided wishes of the court of Vienna, Napoleon made no difficulties and declared himself ready to recognise the emperor at once, and Talleyrand did not let slip the opportunity to mock at the "double-emperor" Francis.

On the 7th of August Champagny submitted a secret declaration, which contained the promise of an immediate recognition, so soon as Francis chose to assume the title of emperor of his hereditary provinces; three days after-

wards a great council was called in which the ministers, the archduke Charles, the palatine of Hungary, Starhemberg, and several other great dignitaries were assembled and in their presence Francis announced that he had assumed the title of emperor of Austria. On the 11th of August he was proclaimed in Austria, on the 15th day of the month the change was announced to the diplomatic corps. At the same time Philip Cobenzl received two new credentials.

The 14th of August was the day on which Philip Cobenzl received the despatches which apprised him of the assumption of the imperial title. He had now to endeavour to arrange that the mutual recognition should take place at once. In an official note he informed the foreign minister, Talleyrand, of the event, which was already published in all the newspapers and had been announced at all the courts; according to this Francis now actually bore the title of emperor of Austria and was ready on his part to recognise Napoleon's imperial title. In Paris the fact of the recognition of the French Empire was published with all speed, and the business world received the news so favourably that paper rose two per cent. The Spanish ambassador called on Philip Cobenzl, and declared to him that his king also would now adorn himself with the title of emperor of Spain and Mexico, to which the Austrian ambassador raised no objection. Talleyrand delayed his reply to Cobenzl's note until immediately before the departure of Napoleon for Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), and the tenor of this answer, which had been previously communicated to him privately, was to the effect that he should immediately present himself at Aachen to deliver his new credentials did not arouse the least misgiving in the mind of the representative of Austria. That Napoleon should choose the old German imperial city for his reception did not at all surprise him. He hastened to pack his trunks in order to make his entry on the appointed day.ⁱ

THE THIRD COALITION AGAINST FRANCE (1805 A.D.)

When Thugut retired from office in September, 1800, his last word was of the hopelessness of the Austrian situation. But even more hopeless than the financial and military ruin with which Austria emerged from the war was the attitude of a government that could imagine salvation only in foreign politics and cast no eye inward. Francis himself, as minister of the interior (for there was no other), showed that with all his industry and good intentions he possessed none of the qualities which fit a man to rule a great state. Only one man concerned himself with reform, and it can hardly be said that the archduke Charles, as president of the council of war, improved either the finances or the fighting strength of the empire. Peace at any price—that was the only Austrian policy. It is true that Stadion, Austrian ambassador to Russia, signed an agreement with Russia against France; but he meant only to make sure of Russian and English help in case of an attack from France. England and Russia, however, without consulting Austria, made a compact (1805) against France which compromised Austria and brought the near prospect of war, like a sudden thunder cloud, upon astonished Vienna. Cobenzl, following the advice of archduke Charles, declared that Austria could not possibly declare war till the spring of 1806. The fighting force numbered at the moment forty thousand, and not a single battery was complete. And behold, there appeared in that dark hour a general who showed the troubled minister that in two months Austria could put 235,000 into the field—his name was Mack. Archduke Charles fought long against the proposal to place Mack at the head of the army; but or.

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April 22nd, 1805, Cobenzl got his way, Mack was given the post, and the war was thereby decided.

Mack marched into Bavaria (September 8th), to find that the elector was an ally, not of Austria but of Napoleon. He chose a remarkably strong defensive position at Ulm. Well-informed of the enemy's movements, he misread them all, feared for Bohemia when he should have feared for himself, imagined that Bernadotte's movements were intended to draw him away from Ulm, and that Napoleon's march in his rear (October 13th) was the beginning of a general retreat. On the 14th, however, every general but Mack saw that the cause was lost if an attempt was not made immediately to break out to the left bank of the Danube before they were completely surrounded. On the 15th, Mack received the first summons to submit, which he answered by declaring the other generals traitors, for there were still horses to eat. But on the morrow he condescended to treat, and on October 20th, at three in the afternoon, the Austrians laid down their arms, to the number of twenty thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry. The catastrophe at Ulm summoned Charles quickly out of Italy, and kept Prussia's sword sheathed.

THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ (DECEMBER 2ND, 1805)

Archduke Charles had been successful at Caldiero against Masséna (October 30th and 31st), when the news of Ulm necessitated a retreat into Austria. Napoleon entered Vienna November 13th and 14th. Meanwhile forces were gathering against him.^a

The great Russian army under Kutusov appeared at this conjuncture in Moravia. The czar Alexander I accompanied it in person, and the emperor Francis II joined him with his remaining forces. A bloody engagement took place between Kutusov and the French at Dürrenstein on the Danube, but, on the loss of Vienna, the Russians retired to Moravia. The sovereigns of Austria and Russia loudly called upon Prussia to renounce her alliance with France, and, in this decisive moment, to aid in the annihilation of a foe for whose false friendship she would one day dearly pay. The violation of the Prussian territory by Bernadotte had furnished the Prussian king with a pretext for suddenly declaring against Napoleon. The Prussian army was also in full force. The British and the Hanoverian legion had landed at Bremen and twenty thousand Russians on Rügen; ten thousand Swedes entered Hanover; electoral Hesse was also ready for action. The king of Prussia, nevertheless, merely confined himself to threats, in the hope of selling his neutrality to Napoleon for Hanover and deceived the coalition. The emperor Alexander visited Berlin in person for the purpose of rousing Prussia to war, but had no sooner returned to Austria in order to rejoin his army than Count Haugwitz, the Prussian minister, was despatched to Napoleon's camp with express instructions not to declare war. The famous battle in which the three emperors of Christendom were present took place, meanwhile, at Austerlitz, not far from Brünn, on the 2nd of December, 1805, and terminated in one of Napoleon's most glorious victories. This battle decided the policy of Prussia, and Haugwitz confirmed her alliance with France by a treaty, by which Prussia ceded Cleves, Ansbach, and Neuchâtel to France in exchange for Hanover. This treaty was published with a precipitation equalling that with which it had been concluded, and seven hundred Prussian vessels, whose captains were ignorant of the event, were seized by the enraged English either in British harbours or on the sea.

THE PEACE OF PRESBURG (DECEMBER 26TH, 1805)

The peace concluded by Austria, on the 26th of December, at Presburg, was purchased by her at an enormous sacrifice. Napoleon had, in the opening of the campaign, when pressing onwards towards Austria, compelled Charles Frederick, elector of Baden, Frederick, elector of Würtemberg, and Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, to enter into his alliance, to which they remained zealously true on account of the immense private advantages thereby gained by them, and of the dread of being deprived by the haughty victor of the whole of their possessions on the first symptom of opposition on their part. Napoleon, with a view of binding them still more closely to his interests by motives of gratitude, gave them on the present occasion an ample share in the booty. Bavaria was erected into a kingdom, and received from Prussia, Ansbach and Bayreuth; from Austria, the whole of the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Lindau, the markgrafschaft of Burgau, the dioceses of Passau, Eichstädt, Trent, and Brixen, besides several petty lordships. Würtemberg was raised to a monarchy and enriched with the bordering Austrian lordships in Swabia. Baden was rewarded with the Breisgau, the Ortenau, Constance, and the title of grand duke. Venice was included by Napoleon in his kingdom of Italy, and, for all these losses, Austria was merely indemnified by the possession of Salzburg. Ferdinand, elector of Salzburg, the former grand duke of Tuscany, was transferred to Würzburg. Ferdinand of Modena lost the whole of his possessions.

FRANCIS II ABDICATES THE IMPERIAL CROWN

On the 12th of July, 1806, sixteen princes of western Germany concluded, under Napoleon's direction, a treaty, according to which they separated themselves from the German Empire and founded the so-called confederation of the Rhine, which it was their intention to render subject to the supremacy of the emperor of the French. On the 1st of August, Napoleon declared that he no longer recognised the empire of Germany. No one ventured to oppose his omnipotent voice. On the 6th of August, 1806, the emperor, Francis II, abdicated the imperial crown of Germany and announced the dissolution of the empire in a touching address, full of calm dignity and sorrow. The last of the German emperors had shown himself, throughout the contest, worthy of his great ancestors, and had, almost alone, sacrificed all in order to preserve the honour of Germany, until, abandoned by the greater part of the German princes, he was compelled to yield to a power superior to his. The fall of the empire that had stood the storms of a thousand years, was, however, not without dignity. A meaner hand might have levelled the decayed fabric with the dust, but fate, that seemed to honour even the faded majesty of the ancient Cæsars, selected Napoleon as the executioner of her decrees. The standard of Charlemagne, the greatest hero of the first Christian age, was to be profaned by no hand save that of the greatest hero of modern times.

Ancient names, long venerated, now disappeared. The head of the Holy Roman Empire was converted into an emperor of Austria, the electors into kings or grand dukes, all of whom enjoyed unlimited sovereign power and were free from subjection to the supremacy of the emperor. Every bond of union was dissolved with the diet of the empire and with the imperial chamber. The barons and counts of the empire and the petty princes were

[1806 A.D.]

mediatised; the princes of Hohenlohe, Öttingen, Schwarzenberg, Thurn and Taxis, the Truchsess von Waldburg, Fürstenberg, Fugger, Leiningen, Löwenstein, Solms, Hesse-Homburg, Wied-Runkel, and Orange-Fulda became subject to the neighbouring Rhemish confederated princes. Of the remaining six imperial free cities, Augsburg and Nuremburg fell to Bavaria; Frankfort, under the title of grand duchy, to the former elector of Mainz, who was again transferred thither from Ratisbon. The ancient Hanse towns, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, alone retained their freedom.

The Confederation of the Rhine now began its wretched existence. It was established on the basis of the Helvetic Republic. The sixteen confederated princes were to be completely independent and to exercise sovereign power over the internal affairs of their states, like the Swiss cantons, but were, in all foreign affairs, dependent upon Napoleon as their protector. The whole Confederation of the Rhine became a part of the French Empire. The federal assembly was to sit at Frankfort, and Dalberg, the former elector of Mainz, now grand duke of Frankfort, was nominated by Napoleon, under the title of prince primate, president. Napoleon's uncle, and afterwards his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, were his destined successors, by which means the control was placed entirely in the hands of France. To this confederation there belonged two kings, those of Bavaria and Würtemberg, five grand dukes, those of Frankfort, Würzburg, Baden, Darmstadt, and Berg, and ten princes, two of Nassau, two of Hohenzollern, two of Salm, besides those of Arenberg, Isenburg, Lichtenstein, and Leyen. Every trace of the ancient free constitution of Germany, her provincial estates, was studiously annihilated. The Würtemberg estates, with a spirit worthy of their ancient fame, alone made an energetic protest, by which they merely succeeded in saving their honour, the king Frederick dissolving them by force and closing their chamber. An absolute, despotic form of government, similar to that existing in France under Napoleon, was established in all the confederated states. The murder of the unfortunate bookseller, Palm of Nuremberg, who was, on the 25th of August, 1806, shot by Napoleon's order, at Braunau, for nobly refusing to give up the author of a patriotic work published by him, directed against the rule of France, and entitled *Germany in her Deepest Degradation*, furnished convincing proof, were any wanting, of Napoleon's supremacy.ⁱ



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BOOK II

THE EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

INTRODUCTION

IN the final chapter of the preceding book we witnessed the nominal overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire. On August 6th, 1806, as we saw, Francis II, acting under the mandate of Napoleon, formally resigned the imperial crown. We have seen that for a long time the empire occupied a somewhat anomalous position, yet the traditions associated with the name had a certain power to the last. We shall see that efforts were made at a later day to revive the imperial title, but that these efforts never culminated in success. The abdication of Francis II, then, marked the final overthrow of the old empire. Francis retained the title "emperor of Austria." As we know, the house of Austria had long been dominant in the empire, and it is natural that in a sense the modern empire of Austria-Hungary should be regarded as the lineal descendant of the old empire.

Yet there were certain conditions prevalent that made the interests of Austria divergent from those of the other principalities of the empire, and some of these must now command our attention before we take up again the story of Germanic development. Let us then consider very briefly an outline of the Austrian retrospect, and, with equal briefness consider the conglomerate nations that, combined with the Austrians, make up the latter-day Austro-Hungarian Empire.^a

THE AUSTRIAN RETROSPECT

There was a time when it was the fashion to write Austrian history and to draw the map of Austria without the slightest reference to the relations between that country and neighbouring states. Austria was in a manner cut out of the panorama of Europe, and gummed by itself upon a blank background. The folly of this proceeding avenged itself in two ways: in the first place, being unnatural, it led to false conceptions of the development and character (historical and geographical) of the country; and in the second, it was no less harmful for practical purposes, since it severed the countless threads, the rich network of arteries, which secure Austria in her place as a living member of Europe as a political organism, just as her physical configuration forms an important feature of the varied surface of the European continent.

In history- as in map-making the contrary spirit is now increasingly and rightly prevalent. We take more and more careful account of states contiguous to Austria and organically connected with her; we strive to establish links where former historians were quick to mark a cleavage. In dealing with a state which presents so many frontiers for contact with others, ours is the wiser method.

From an historical point of view the nucleus of the Austro-Hungarian state is a steadily growing conglomeration of German provinces of the empire, which, remote from the centre of imperial authority, and obeying the general tendency towards the formation of dynastic territories, attained political autonomy relatively early, as compared with the electoral provinces in Germany itself. The bulk of the population was of the main German stock, the Bavarians being most largely represented, and next to them the Swabians; the several provinces were originally portions of the great Boyar dukedom, and the oldest territorial rights in the Austrian highlands bring them into relation with the whole of south Germany and even with the region beyond. The first founders of the dynasties of the princes of the empire are of middle and (for the most part) of south German origin. Such were the ancestors of the house of Babenberg in Austria, of Traungau in Styria, of Eppenstein and Sponheim-Ortenburg in Carinthia. The dynasty which welded the Austrian empire together, the Austrian house of Habsburg, had its roots among the Alamanni of Switzerland and held hereditary estates in Switzerland and in south and west Germany. For centuries rulers of this house wore the imperial crown, and, as the fount of imperial authority and the possessors of vast feudal dominions, occupied a curious double position, fraught with far-reaching consequences. The old German tribal or popular law obtained in the Austrian highlands; Austrian legal procedure during the Middle Ages was but a part of that common to all Germany, and Austrian development in all departments of social life, however tinged with local peculiarity, was merely a provincial form of the development (in its main outlines the same) proceeding throughout Germany. Thus in mediæval history the group of Austrian provinces is inseparably connected with Germany, and in modern times the connection is, if possible, even more strongly marked in the questions, great and small, which agitated successive periods. For the Reformation in Germany, the Thirty Years' War, and the struggle with France in the reign of Louis XIV, may be set to the score of German no less than of Austrian history, and the events from 1740 onwards are equally momentous for Germany and Austria, so that here the line of division almost disappears.

But, over and above all this, there is a noteworthy analogy in the development of the power of the two houses which were destined alternately to sway the fortunes of Germany, and for long periods to stand together as allies or strive with one another for predominance. The cradles of Habsburg and Hohenzollern are hard by each other, and both may be reckoned Swabians in the widest sense of the word. Both houses laid the foundations of their dominion in foreign soil, the Habsburgs in the highlands of the Danube, the Hohenzollerns in the region about the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula, in north Germany, and in both cases this new territory included a region that had to be won for the German race by wholesale colonisation on what had originally been Slavonic soil. And it was natural that, in the one region and in the other, this German population on the outermost confines of the empire should develop and retain a strongly marked individual character.

Stockpreusse and *Stockoesterreicher* (out-and-out Prussian or Austrian) are more than nicknames; taken seriously, they define the fundamental characteristics of the two. In the organisation of the eastern and western possessions of Habsburg and Hohenzollern we find the same conditions at work as we may see by comparing the Habsburg provinces in Swabia with the Hohenzollern territory on the lower Rhine, and the east German dominions of the latter family with the southwestern conglomerate of provinces ruled by the latter.

Hand in hand with the analogy, however, goes a significant contrast, more distinctly marked after the year 1526, the date at which Habsburg acquired her vast accession of territory in Hungary and Bohemia. However contemporary opinion may regard and interpret the present state of affairs in Austria and the political mission of that country, the historian cannot shut his eyes to the fact that an accession of territory three times as large as the original German provinces of Austria and consisting of two distinct districts in which the bulk of the population was not of German blood, must materially alter the centre of gravity in a state thus constituted, and give its policy quite another tendency from that which it had when the boundaries of the Habsburg dominions coincided with those of the Danubian highlands.

By the acquisition of East Prussia, and still more by the annexation of Poland, the Hohenzollerns, too, were thrust more and more into the vortex of east European politics; but they had at the same time made a series of purely German acquisitions, while the conquest of Silesia had given them a predominant position in east Germany.

The inevitable result of this contrast between the component elements of the provinces and races under Austrian and Prussian sovereignty was a political opposition between the two and a reversal of their relative position in Germany. This did not come to pass without a severe struggle, for the German element in Austria was sufficiently strong to assert her claim to predominance in the empire, while, on the other hand, Prussia's private interests, and, above all, her position with regard to Russia, withheld her even more decidedly than Austria from pursuing anything of the nature of an imperial policy. Out of the history of the German Empire we have to dig, so to speak, the mediæval history of Austria, as a member of that empire steadily advancing towards independence by a process of expansion.

The history of the other two groups of provinces before their union with German Austria is bound up with that of Germany by intimate reciprocal relations. Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia show this, both in their alliances and their national association with Germany; the history of Hungary-Transylvania offers quite as many points of contact with the policy of its German neighbour, and its colonisation is a no less significant memorial of a similar association.^b

Early in the eighteenth century Austria had united a portion of the German people with its interests to the peoples and interests of the East, and bound the German world in a union with one completely foreign. Within the wide boundaries of this kingdom, the Bohemians dreamed over the graves of their fallen heroes of a bygone happier day, and idly suffered the maimed life of the nation to drift at will under a foreign guidance. There, too, the noble nature of the Magyars strove restlessly for the favour of the government, whilst their persistence in half-barbaric lawlessness constantly destroyed every new start they succeeded in making. Germany had nothing in common with that extraordinary medley of Hungarians and Germans, of Wallachians and the most various Slav races, due to the immigration of different peoples from Asia, to the Turkish wars, to inward factions, and to later subjugations and incursions.

This state of things, in which several hundreds of thousands of straggling Wallachians and Servians, without any bond of cohesion other than the merely military, protected the borders against pestilence and against the murderous attacks and rapacity of the neighbouring Mohammedans, accepting land instead of pay — this state of things to the people of Brandenburg and Westphalia, of Swabia and Bavaria, seemed like tales of the *Thousand and*

One Night. It is true that at the heart of the realm there was a genuine German brotherhood, in which all these contradictions, all these nationalities and conditions were harmonised. But the circumstances in which and through which Austria had become great, were not of German but of European origin. The Thirty Years War, which ruined Germany, re-established Austria as a Power, and the reconquest of Hungary made this secure. From that time Austria took part in all European developments as a self-sufficing power. Such a kingdom as Austria had become, could not draw its impulse for political life from Germany, like Bavaria or Mecklenburg, but must feel the moving spirit within itself. History had cleared the way for this long ago. When, in the middle of the twelfth century, Austria separated from Bavaria and became a self-supporting dukedom, it assumed as one of its political duties an outward independence. The privilege acquired in 1156 by Heinrich Jasomirgott made Austria, the shield and heart of the Holy Roman Empire, a united dukedom, which descended according to the rules of primogeniture. Within these rules the duke is absolute liege lord, subject only to the necessary laws which even the emperor must not alter. It is true the duke is a vassal of the empire, taking rank immediately after the elector, having all rights of other princes of the realm, and being entitled in any danger to demand help from the empire; but he receives his fief only on Austrian territory, he is not subject to the jurisdiction of the supreme court of the empire, and is not compelled to furnish soldiers or aid in money, or to attend the imperial diet. All parts of the country were to share equally in any privileges which might in future accrue to the dukedom. This arrangement, which procured every advantage to be gained by union with the empire, without encumbering it with a single duty or burden of any kind, has been preserved by Austria through all times. Even at the end of the fifteenth century, when by a new measure the restoration of political union for all Germans was attempted, Austria remained exempt, not only from all powers exercised by the imperial chamber of justice, but once more received from Charles V the assurance of its privileges.

It was so self-supporting and so independent of the empire that Charles V, immediately after the election of his brother Ferdinand as Roman emperor, proposed to relinquish to him the five dukedoms of Lower Austria and to make him king of Austria. Nothing happened in the following centuries to draw Austria and Germany nearer together. Neither the jurisdiction nor the legislation of the empire discloses any application to Austria. Austria's contributions to the maintenance of the imperial chamber were in arrears, but this position had become legalised; in wars of the empire, the Austrian troops went into the field separate from the imperial forces and led by their own generals. Consequently the apparent union of Austria with the empire had its only real ground in the fact that the ruler of Austria wore at the same time the crown of Germany; should this crown at any time pass to another house, Austria would then, as Puffendorf had already pointed out, exist no more within the realm, but would stand by the side of it. As long as Charles VII was emperor, there was open strife between him and Austria.

Corresponding to Austria's political division from Germany was its increasing divergence in matters of spiritual development. The attempt made during the century preceding the revolution, to win the people to a newer and freer-spirited life, found no echo in Austria. The Reformation certainly took great effect in Austria, as it did wherever the German tongue was spoken. The nobility, the towns, the lowlands in Steiermark and in both Austrias, turned towards the newer doctrines, which even told in the kingdom of Ferdinand I,

though that was not German. In Bohemia, up to the time of Rudolf II almost all scholars of note sprang from the Reformation, and the well-ordered schools, to be found even in the smallest towns, were almost without exception evangelical. The Hungarians streamed in great numbers to the German universities and brought back with them German culture as well as evangelical doctrines, to which by far the most and the best of the numerous schools owed their existence.

In Austria, as in all Germany, Protestants and Catholics lived together in a mixed community, and here, as everywhere, the Reformation gave birth to new interest in science and revived the care for education of the people. It seemed as though from this time the Austrian Germans developed in the deepest and most important relations a living union with the entire German nation, and Magyars and Bohemians were swept along the same road.

Nevertheless Ferdinand I took steps to hinder this inward advance towards union between the Austrian powers and Germany, and these steps had a distinct effect that made itself felt for centuries. Determined to keep his country in the Roman Catholic faith, he sought to destroy the power by which the Reformation gained its mastery over the minds of the people. Because, wherever the Reformation was felt, science was reborn and schools were multiplied, Ferdinand contended that it was the scientific culture of Protestantism which attracted the people. Therefore he sought in these facts the roots of the undeniable strength of the Reformation, and, in order to deprive these roots of their sustenance he and his adherents turned their attention to placing a Roman Catholic system of education in opposition to the progress encouraged by the Protestants.

Bold and far-seeing as the scheme was, these great observers of mankind had not reckoned correctly. They did not realise that the sense of nationality is only to be destroyed with life, and that the national spirit, denied one form of life, would be capable of winning for itself another sphere of activity. The national strength of the Austrian Germans, hindered from seeking eminence in science and in culture, sought expansion in matters of the family, of the home, of the life of the community, in the creation and preservation of national songs and sagas, in the genuine German confidence and loyal submission to the imperial house. In these spheres the strength of the nation was preserved with childlike naïveté, not perhaps applied to the larger uses of life, but unwasted, unspoilt by the desolating winds, which, blowing over Germany from this side and that, threatened to dry up the earnestness and truth of the national spirit.

The political life of the German people in the preceding century was certainly indescribably small; but, unknown to the people, the inward force of things pressed forward a new development, towards a building up of the government of the more important territories, and towards a united confederacy, in order to find in that the needed complement. If now, with knowledge and consent, Austria should be led, by an unsuspected principle of life peculiar to itself, to a similar political goal, it nevertheless seemed to be united with Germany in the deepest relations of political life, from which it was debarred by its privileges and its Jesuits. In German territories and in Austria equally strong and unconscious powers of statecraft, granted that they existed in both countries, must soon awaken to the knowledge of their time, and then overcome the separation which kept Austria and Germany apart. But it is a question whether Austria's life principle could really follow the same road as Germany.

Peculiar powers of conquest, the weakness of the opponent, the greatness

of its generals, and the good fortune attending Austrian arms, European relationships and marriages of state — all these causes had given unity to the most foreign elements under the grand ducal house. But those peoples and territories brought together in this way were necessarily superior to a kingdom of barbarians founded by force on mere chance and hazard, because they were united by an inward principle which consecrated their policy. Longing for personal and political education, the Hungarians, the Wallachians, and all Slavonic races hung on the skirts of eastern culture. Unable to beget from themselves the gifts they desired, or to win them from the Russians, Poles, or Turks, they depended solely on Austria. Austria alone, for nearly a century, had been in a position to provide the desired spiritual aid, and in return demanded that loyalty and self-sacrificing courage which the children of nature with their fresh, invincible strength of life could give, and with this Austria, even without the added strength and power of Germany, could strike fresh roots in foreign soil. Seeking and giving culture, seeking and giving strength, the widely differing elements grew steadily to a union which had inward reality as well as outward form.

It is true that until the death of Charles VI the political federation of the united peoples and lands was evinced only in the persons of their princes, but with Maria Theresa awoke the endeavour to let it be felt also in jurisdiction and administration, in finance and in government. Austria appeared since the preceding century to have set herself, as one of the tasks of her political life, the business of getting free from the great German territories; but this was only in appearance.

Afterwards, as before, it remained an impossibility that in Austria from one political heart should pulse the life through all the various component elements and work them to a common political result. The king of Hungary was a different man from the grand duke of Austria, and from the lord of the Ruthenians and Croatians. An equal law and an equal cultivation for the widely differing cultures and the foreign nationalities was not to be. Already the slight attempt made by Joseph II had brought Austria to the verge of ruin. Entirely senseless however had been the attempt to make the ruler of Austria in all his countries appear as a German prince, and to acclimatise German officers, German diets, German government in the steppes of Hungary, in the wooded mountains of Siebenbürgen, and in the rocky fastnesses of Croatia. Austria could not be constituted as a state, but must be regarded as an empire; her ruler could not be king, and must be emperor. It was soon evident that even the German lands of this empire could not be conformable to the national German spirit which would accentuate their difference from the lands which were not German, and would therefore enhance the difficulties of that which Austria demanded and for which Maria Theresa had consciously striven — a united empire which should hold sway over all the differing nationalities.^c

THE HUNGARIAN RETROSPECT

Before we take up the story of the developments through which this unification was brought about, we must again turn back, and take a retrospective glance at the history of the most important of the non-German nationalities in question. The retrospect carries us back to the year 893 of our reckoning.^a In that year a strange and small nation, numbering scarcely half a million men, entered the east of Europe. They were the Magyars, called Hungarians by the Germans. They belonged to the Ural race of the Mongolians and Tatars; as the remainder of Europe was and is peopled only by Indo-Germanic

racés, the Hungarians were without relations with regard to their race and language; *sine matre et sororibus*, as is still said of their language. The land they entered was the Pannonia of the Romans, the Hungary of to-day, which showed a great majority of primitive inhabitants and colonists of the Roman, Slavonic, and Germanic races, who because they were European nations already enjoyed higher culture.

And now, on this territory, the small strange nation of horsemen accomplished during 634 years a series of wonders which must have astonished the objective historical philosopher, offering as it does an example of the inborn rulership of individual races, and of the inborn power of subordination of others scarcely to be paralleled in general history. Little by little these Magyars conquered an empire of almost six thousand square miles, almost two thirds as great as the present European France, in any case greater than the German confederacies of Austria, than Prussia, Great Britain in its triplicity, and the new kingdom of Italy. They subjected the tenfold greater number of primitive inhabitants. But in spite of the greatness of the territory and the majority of the subjected, the victorious little nation of horsemen did not introduce a military dictatorship: but before it crossed the threshold of the new empire it immediately founded a free constitution, all for one, and one for all, with the fundamental principle that all power and right lay exclusively in the people, and that the prince was only the first among them. And for 634 years the Hungarians developed this constitution so that all, even the subjected, without distinction of race or concession, had equal rights in it, and in 1222 as the written fundamental law it became the basis of Hungarian political life.

England and Hungary are the only two countries of the world in which a constitution has lasted historically and unbroken for six centuries; for the English Magna Charta dates from 1217, the Hungarian *Bulla aurea* from 1222.

All nations of the Hungarian crown have submitted for 634 years without opposition to the Hungarian hegemony, and had merged in the state and politically into Hungarianism. This was organised by the whole empire in the colossal building up of the constitutional principle. The base was formed by the free communities; every village was an independent state in the state as far as its internal affairs were concerned—it elected its own magistrates, controlled and paid them. In great missions the individual communities centralised themselves in counties. Fifty-six completely sovereign counties, their functionaries likewise chosen by themselves, maintained at their own expense, were still more independent than for instance the cantons of Switzerland, than the individual states of North America in relation to the government of the United States. For the communities elected the representatives of the county, the whole population of the county their representatives at the diets, and those only bound representatives who could decide nothing at the diet according to their individual opinions, but had to keep to the precepts of their primary electors.

The diets grasped and formed the resolutions prescribed to them, which the king never thwarted and to which he could only deny his sanction to a certain extent. For in Hungary the king was nothing more than the executor of the resolutions made by the nation, and the nation never swore fidelity to him; the king had to swear fidelity to the nation, and must still do so at the present day if he really wishes to be acknowledged as king. But the counties as chief guardians of the constitution were not content with the guarantee that resolutions could only be taken according to their will; they also reserved to themselves the highest sovereign right to be able to acknowledge, carry out or reject as they pleased, all resolutions raised to laws, made by their represen-

tatives, and sanctioned by the king. As this kind of constitutional life of the state with the exception of very few interruptions — from 1780 to 1790, and from 1849 to 1859 — existed for 960 years and exists still, it can be conceived that the constitutional consciousness of the Hungarian people was not artificially produced, but of necessity self-made, in transient flesh and blood.

This already created state was raised by the Magyars to a European power. From St. Stephen to the great Louis of Anjou, and to the still greater Matthias Corvinus, Hungary ruled at times from Poland to Naples, from the Adriatic to the gates of Constantinople.

By the alliance with the fourth Wladislaw the first Habsburg overthrew the powerful Ottocar and great Bohemia; and King Matthias Corvinus on his side resided in Vienna, which he had conquered. During the Middle Ages the kingdom of Austria was that great power on the Danube, the true "East Empire."

The ambitious Habsburgs as small neighbouring dynasties knew the importance of their geographical position and early learned to value the historical development which Hungary had already completed. The first Habsburg, Rudolf, won the victory over Ottocar only with the help of the allied Hungarians in 1278. After Matthias Corvinus' death, the emperor Maximilian I in 1507 formed the secret settlement of succession with Wladislaw Dobre, the Bohemian king on the Hungarian throne, which was invalid, as no king of Hungary had any personal rights to dispose of and least of all the crown. The same emperor then married his granddaughter Mary to the last Hungarian king, the unfortunate youth Louis II, and when the latter fell in the decisive battle at Mohács, with two archbishops, three bishops, five hundred nobles, and nine thousand men — some writers always maintain the accusation that Austria had a hand in it as also immediately after in the murder of Cardinal Martenizzi — the queen dowager Mary had already won over the palatine Báthori for the scheme of procuring the election of her brother Ferdinand I as king of Hungary. In consequence of these intrigues the people formed into two camps, two different diets met. One, under the palatine Báthori, assembled at Presburg, and against the fundamental law of the diet of 1505 that henceforth no foreign prince should bear the crown of St. Stephen, Ferdinand I, brother of the emperor Charles V, was elected king of Hungary; the other diet was opened at Stechlweissenburg, and the count of Zips, John Zápolya, was proclaimed king as John I. For thirteen whole years there were two actual and legitimate kings of Hungary, who not only divided the empire, but acknowledged one another, and made the personal treaty that the dynasty of the survivor should in the future become the legitimate one for the whole of Hungary. Zápolya died unexpectedly in 1540 and thus Habsburg won the great stake: for as Zápolya's son was childless he was soon done with. In 1547 the first Habsburg on the Hungarian throne, Ferdinand I, became sole monarch of the empire, and the succession of his dynasty in the male line was granted by the states.^d How the two nationalities got on together during the ensuing two centuries we have already seen, at least through occasional glimpses. How they were to fare in the sequel, after the overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire, will be set forth in the present book of our history.^a



CHAPTER I

SHAKING OFF THE NAPOLEONIC YOKE .

[1806-1815 A.D.]

WE have already learned that Francis II, the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was the first sovereign to bear the title of Emperor of Austria. The present chapter, dealing with the history of Ferdinand and his people after the fall of the old empire will, therefore, take up the thread of the narrative where the final chapter of the preceding book left it. Indeed, for a long time we have been concerned primarily with the affairs of Austria, so our present narrative proceeds with scarcely even a change in the point of view.

The old empire had been so loosely organised as to be susceptible of tolerably easy disintegration, and no doubt many of the principalities that it comprised were glad to be freed from their position of subordination to the house of Austria. But, on the other hand, the house of Austria itself naturally retained a desire for supremacy among the German states — a desire that was sure to lead ultimately to disastrous complications, for a new influence centred about the kingdom of Prussia at the north, and the rivalry thus engendered must one day be put to a conclusive test. The final test was not made, as we shall see, till 1866, when, as everyone knows, the last hopes of the remnants of the old Habsburg tradition were shattered. We shall follow, in due course, the details of this rivalry, through which the German principalities were finally to be aggregated into two important empires.

But for the present our concern is rather with the contest between Germany as a whole and the autocrat of France. We shall in the present chapter deal with such phases of this contest as had to do more particularly with Austria; and in succeeding chapters we shall follow the story of the Austro-Hungarian empire, leaving for subsequent treatment the history of the north German principalities. It will be understood of course that, since we have

treated in great detail the history of the Napoleonic wars, we shall not duplicate that history here. Some repetitions will be unavoidable, but, in the main, an attempt will be made to treat the subject from an Austrian standpoint. We have first to note what manner of effort was made to regain the prestige which had been lost in recent conflicts with Napoleon.^a

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES AND ARMY REFORM

When the archduke Charles assumed supreme control of the army system in 1806, he did everything in his power to strengthen and increase Austria's military resources. After the conclusion of peace a clearance was made in the army as in the civil service. Five-and-twenty generals were pensioned, and the ablest commanders were brought to the front. The archduke simplified the mechanism of the supreme department, and divided the army, according to the French model, into separate corps, each one complete in itself. Drill was simplified, the artillery was increased, *chasseur* battalions, and *dépôts* for recruits and horses were established. Much was done to raise the status of the officers, and the self-respect of the men. The regulations of 1808 forbade brutal treatment of soldiers in the ranks, "because it destroys the self-respect which should be the soul of the military calling." In 1806 the archduke began his two famous works, *Grundsätze der höheren Kriegskunst* (advanced principles of strategy) and *Beiträge zum praktischen Unterricht* (contributions to practical instruction), which became a repertory for intelligent officers. A new system of fortification was adopted. The line of the Inn and the town of Bruck in Styria were to be fortified, the valley was to be blocked at Altenmarkt; Olmütz and Komárom were more strongly fortified. Unfortunately very little of this project was accomplished.

The archduke created a national militia (*Heerbann*) for the defence of the country, and thus supplied the army with a standing reserve and placed war once more on the old national basis. A patent of May 12th decreed the formation of a militia force as a permanent reserve for the active army. Two reserve battalions were to be levied in each regimental district, to be trained to arms for two months and then to return to their callings; and from this reserve the regiments were to be recruited. Another regulation, dated June 9th, 1808, ordered that all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, capable of bearing arms and not at present serving in the army, should be organised according to provinces and districts into a "militia (*Landwehr*) for the defence of our native soil." The task of carrying out this truly national undertaking was committed to the archduke John. Commissioners were appointed for the provinces. In every district the able-bodied men were selected by lot. The men drilled on Sundays and holidays, and once a month they formed into larger divisions. The government supplied rifles, captains were appointed by the commissioners, and the commanders of the battalions by the emperor. The uniform was a grey tunic with red facings and a round cocked hat with a brass badge. The members of the militia remained amenable to civil law. All men from forty-five to sixty years of age were to be available for guard and transport duty. Old soldiers and those who were alarmed at any popular movement whatever might inveigh as they pleased against the "national armament" as they called it; but no government regulation was ever hailed by the country at large with greater enthusiasm and delight, or met by a readier spirit of self-sacrifice than this militia levy. It appealed to the manliness of the nation, to their love of their own country, and their hatred of France.

[1807-1809 A.D.]

Everywhere in Austria there was such life and stir as had not been known since the days of Maria Theresa. The Hungarian diets, which were held at Budapest and Presburg in 1807 and 1808, gave evidence of the unanimity of sovereign and people. Fiery speeches were made in the first diet (April 9th to December 15th, 1807), and the inclination to enforce limitations upon the royal prerogative was more manifest than ever; but the estates voted a levy of twelve thousand men to complete the establishment and assigned 200,000 florins for the recruiting of volunteers. The second diet (August 31st to November 5th, 1808) passed straight from the coronation of the empress Maria Louisa to the consideration of national defence. Without once mentioning their grievances the estates voted a levy of twenty thousand men for the standing army and granted the government for three years the privilege of calling out the *insurrectio*. The king was right when in his closing speech he said, "We were united — we are united; and we shall remain united till death us do part." In the Bohemian diet of 1808 the estates unanimously voted a million and a half for the equipment of the militia (October 31st); and those of Lower Austria undertook the clothing and provisioning of militiamen in that province.^b

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1809 BEGINS

Archduke Charles was named commander-in-chief in February, 1809, and commanded 170,000 men in Bohemia. The French and mediatised German troops in south Germany numbered perhaps 156,000; but they were scattered from Ulm to Ratisbon. Charles would not attack them at once, but spent four weeks in dividing his assembled army so as to attack from two sides. He began the great operations on April 8th, while a successful revolt in the Tyrol kept a large portion of Bavarian troops engaged. Eight days later, Napoleon appeared, and like lightning was between the divided Austrians with his whole army, and, thus outnumbering the individual divisions, he beat Prince Hohenzollern at Hausen (April 19th), General Rosenberg at Eckmühl (22nd), and flung Charles himself over the Danube near Ratisbon (24th). The effect of these reverses, in which the archduke had lost in all 50,000 men, was deplorable. The Tyrol was brought under by Lefebvre and Wrede; a rising in Hesse, and the Prussian major Schill's independent raid on Magdeburg, were checked; Prussia stopped arming; Archduke John was recalled on his way to Verona with 60,000 men and Archduke Ferdinand from Warsaw with 35,000.^a

THE BATTLE OF ESSLING, OR GROSS-ASPERN (MAY 21ST, 22ND, 1809)

Napoleon followed up his victory with the same rapidity and vehemence as in 1805; while the archduke Charles with the greater part of his army marched from Ratisbon through Bohemia, Napoleon pressed after General Hiller down the right bank of the Danube. Vienna was reached on the 13th of May, and after a short bombardment compelled to capitulate. In the meantime the archduke Charles had come up from Bohemia and arrived opposite Vienna on the left bank of the Danube in the wide plain of the Marchfeld with an army of about eighty thousand strong. Napoleon, who had now assembled about ninety thousand men in Vienna, and was impatient to close the issue, elected to cross the river as quickly as possible and to end the war in a pitched battle. For this purpose he chose a place where the Danube washes the large island of Lobau and the latter affords a favourable

spot for a crossing, with the broadest arm behind it and only divided from the eastern bank by a narrow channel. Here he established himself and began a bridge, although the river, swollen by the spring rains, was as rough as a mountain torrent and as wide as an arm of the sea. By the evening of the 20th the first Frenchmen were across, and occupied the two nearest towns on the river, Gross-Aspern and Essling. The archduke had purposely permitted this, in the hope of falling upon them when divided by the river and annihilating them in the dangerous retreat across the bridge. All in his host, down to the lowest soldier, were imbued with the feeling that the struggle was for house and home, for wife and child, for Germany and Europe; at midday on the 21st they attacked the two towns with terrible fury; Gross-Aspern was six times taken and lost and finally retained by the Austrians, while the French kept Essling. All night long Napoleon was hurrying the rest of his troops across, so that on the 22nd about seventy thousand men on either side were drawn up in order of battle.

The deadly struggle began with the first dawn of the summer morning. The French took the outlying streets of Aspern; the Austrians tried in vain to storm Esslingen, on whose possession depended the French line of retreat; attacks followed one another on this side and that: it is impossible to enumerate them. The efforts made, the losses sustained, were enormous; towards midday Napoleon collected in the centre a powerful attacking column with one hundred cannon, gained some ground, and hoped that he had broken through the Austrian lines; but the archduke Charles in person flung himself into the breach, charging against the thick hail of bullets at the head of the Zach regiment, and once more restored the balance. From this moment the day was decided, and the French gave way at every point. At the same time Napoleon received an urgent message that the force of the constantly increasing river was threatening the stability of the great bridge, and immediately afterwards that it had been broken by means of Austrian fireships and rafts. A part of his reserve was thus divided from the fighting army, and what was still worse the ammunition, which was gradually giving out, could not be replenished. A retreat to the island had become unavoidable. Only it could not well be done before dark and they dared not begin it in flight under pain of annihilation, for the only way of safety was across the narrow bridge of Lobau. The emperor himself went back over the river to make the necessary arrangements there, and entrusted Masséna with the continuation of the fight till nightfall.

And now a singularly terrible drama was enacted. Masséna disposed his troops round Esslingen and in the plain of Aspern that he might contest the ground, step by step, to the Austrians, who, pressing forward with ever-increasing successes, grew still more impetuous in their contempt of death; an officer called to a troop of grenadiers who were charging alone to know where their battalion was. "We are the battalion" — the rest were all lying dead, with their faces to the enemy. A trooper had his arm torn away by a cannon ball and another asked him: "How is it, comrade?" "It is well. The French are fleeing across the Danube." Against this glow of patriotic enthusiasm military prestige had to justify itself. The French, unable to return the enemy's fire, were mown down in ranks by the showers of Austrian grape; they could not advance and dared not go back. They stood firm, closing up over the dead bodies, whenever a gap appeared, and at least staved off utter destruction till at length the longed-for darkness fell, and Masséna gave the order to march away. Their loss was appalling — twelve thousand dead and twenty thousand wounded; the survivors crowded together on the island, disordered, hungry, and thirsty: Napoleon himself, completely exhausted, lay for twenty

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hours in a dead sleep at Ebersdorf, and could not be awakened, though the soldiers were plundering the town all round him. The marshals consulted in low whispers as to how the Rhine was to be reached if he should never wake again.

But so much the more triumphant was the rejoicing in the German camp over the victory. There too the day had been purchased at the enormous price of twenty-four thousand men; but the victory was won — face to face they had contended with the unconquered and had forced him to give ground. The beaten, exhausted troops, labouring under all the disadvantages of a rapid retreat, had met the haughty adversary in readiness for the fray and had mastered him in the open field. The archduke, but now under the shadow of the disaster of Ratisbon, stood once more in the brave light of victory; to the gallant and upright man to whom fate had assigned the struggle with a far superior enemy, a moment had come which might well repay him for all the hardship and disappointment of a sorely tried existence. The time had at last arrived in which the greatest things seem'd possible. For the thunder of Aspern reached throughout Europe as that of Ratisbon had done. Tyrol and Vorarlberg once more rose; from Bohemia, Duke Frederick William of Brunswick broke with his Black Legion into Saxony, and occupied half the country; a small Austrian corps pressed over the Fichtelgebirge into Franconia, where a patriotic rising started at the same time; Würtemberg was in a ferment; there were new disturbances in Hesse. What a chance it would have been had a Prussian army, 150,000 strong, risen in the common cause, setting all Germany on fire around it, whilst the archduke maintained the great struggle on the Marchfeld with the same energy as at Aspern, and held the Gallic emperor in an iron grip until the waves of a rising sea of the nations broke behind him.

Humanly speaking this was at that time possible. That it did not happen was mainly due to two things. In Berlin there was no one with stern authority who could have decided the king and urged him forward and in face of the stupendous danger he took no decisive action, but, to the great indignation of Napoleon, gave orders for a new armament and then did not dare to make the venture. But in Austria, where, during several weeks' suspension of hostilities, the two opponents vied with one another in supplying their losses, bringing up reinforcements and collecting new strength, neither the government's resources nor the archduke's talent were a match for Napoleon. In the beginning of July the French emperor had a superior force of 180,000 against 120,000 men on the spot, and decided the issue of the war by the great battle of Wagram fought on the 5th and 6th of July.

Austria emerged from the heroic struggle against half Europe with new forfeits of territory, but with a lasting accession of honour. Germany had still three years in which to endure the foreign yoke, and then, when she did rise, irresistible and conquering, she had to pay the full penalty for the mistakes and neglect of 1809. For in fortune and suffering, glory and disaster, a nation always receives exactly what she deserves.^c

BATTLE OF WAGRAM (JULY 5TH-6TH, 1809)

On July 4th, a stormy night, Napoleon took unopposed possession of a position on the left bank of the Danube. The first day of Wagram (July 5th) was not unfavourable to the Austrians, a powerful blow might have overthrown the French, but Charles projected a new plan for the battle, excellent in theory but difficult to carry out with effect, since it depended on precise manœuvring of separate bodies. Already by midday on July 6th, the

victory of the French was determined. On the 12th of July the armistice of Znaim was agreed to.

The defeat gave rise to bitter recriminations; but it was as unjust to accuse Charles' favourite, Count Grünne, of treachery, as it was to make the slowness of Archduke John in appearing on the battle-field responsible for the disaster. The moral effect on the Austrians themselves was sad enough. The hope, the enthusiastic spirit of self-sacrifice with which the country started another campaign, was replaced by a bitter and trivial spirit of unbelief and discontent. Stories of the emperor's indifference went from mouth to mouth; it was believed that, when the decisive moment came in the battle of Wagram, which he was watching from a hill, he turned his back with the chilling remark, "Now we will go home!" The educated classes who saw the gross faults of the ruling political system were apt to shrug their shoulders and shake off responsibility with a witticism. The following account which we give from Springer of the negotiations regarding the peace which followed Wagram is not sparing in strictures on the imperial house.^a

THE DECAY OF PATRIOTISM IN AUSTRIA (OCTOBER, 1809)

The sudden decline of earnest patriotism [Springer says] and the torpidity of political life can be most vividly studied at Vienna, where a French occupation of several months' duration had called more amicable relations with the enemy into being and had given the city itself an air half French. The lower classes, so sullen and resolutely hostile at first, gradually acquired the conviction that since — and, as they imagined, through — the French occupation their material prosperity had undergone a perceptible change for the better. Nothing could be more preposterous, nothing more provocative of ridicule, than the arrangements for the provisioning of the capital under the old Austrian system. Even in the course of the preceding war the perversity of the storehouse restrictions upon the baking trade had become clearly evident. The shutting off of Hungary had stopped the supplies, and a severe bread-famine ensued. The hungry populace stormed the bakers' shops, where of course they found nothing; and in the storehouses, which were at length thrown open by the paternal magistrate, nothing but mouldy flour was discovered. Immediately after their entry the French had suspended the storehouse regulations (*Magazinirung*), seen to the procuring of adequate supplies, and, with characteristic rapidity, had reformed the whole system of provisioning, to the high satisfaction of the inhabitants. Moreover the foreign troops, laden with booty, brought animation into the retail trade; they spent freely in gay soldierly fashion, and, as the paper currency actually rose somewhat in value, it was by no means with feelings of rage and abhorrence that the lower classes looked back upon the period of occupation, especially in the lean years that followed.

The educated classes availed themselves of the interregnum to regale themselves with all speed upon the forbidden fruits withheld from them by the Austrian censorship and, under the protection of the tolerant French police, to retrieve the loss of what their own German government had resolutely kept from them. The dusty productions of the days of Josephinian enlightenment were brought forth from their hidden corners, while at the same time the works of the greatest German thinkers and poets were made accessible to the people. The mythical "vicedoms" vanished from the stage, yielding place to living presidents; Franz and Karl Moor [in Schiller's play *Die Räuber*] recovered their father, who had hitherto been merely a distant

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relation; the marquis Posa [in Schiller's *Don Carlos*] was allowed to plead for freedom of thought; the Swiss were permitted to laugh at Gessler's hat — though this was subsequently prohibited as improper and illegal. The advertisements in the Vienna papers of all the books which might not be read under the Austrian censorship and were now openly offered for sale, presents a picture, instructive in many respects but infinitely sad, of the intellectual condition of the times. We are amazed at the things which earned liberal praise and charmed the popular taste, still more amazed at the narrow-mindedness of the government, at the number and character of the books it fancied dangerous, at the way in which it sniffed out poison everywhere. Literary piracy also began to flourish during the occupation; it devoted its attention particularly to classic German poetry, and sad as the confession may be, the fact remains that the credit of having diffused the German classics, with Schiller at their head, among the educated classes of Austria, is due to these thievish pirates and the police of the national enemy.

Matters in Vienna looked less hopeful; there was no confidence in a happier future, no strength to follow the dictates of sound judgment; everywhere men shut themselves up in the narrow circle of private life and turned passing events to account for personal and selfish ends. Wholly wretched is the spectacle presented by the court at Totis, near Komárom, whither the emperor Francis had withdrawn after the battle of Wagram. The enormous difficulties of the situation cannot be denied. The enemy occupied the third part of the monarchy and ruled in the capital of the empire; the German provinces, where the clearest understanding of the ideal aims of the war prevailed and the spirit of self-sacrifice was strongest, had been left in the hands of the French by the hard conditions of the armistice, and the Austrian government was reduced to relying upon the enthusiasm of Slavonic and Magyar tribes, which had nearly touched freezing-point, and on the material resources of Hungary, of which the most fertile districts, including Presburg, Raab, and Ödenburg, had also the enemy to feed. The bloody fields of Aspern and Wagram had cruelly thinned the ranks of seasoned and efficient soldiers. If a new army was to be called to arms the great gaps must be filled by raw recruits or by a militia intimidated by Napoleon's threats and disheartened by many defeats. And even if the ranks of the army had been completely full, where were leaders to be found to inspire that army with confidence and offer some guarantee for at least the possibility of victory? The archduke Charles was out of the question. By squandering his troops and making preposterous dispositions he had done all that lay in his power to render the prosecution of the war impossible; and even if the chief responsibility for the disastrous issue of the war had not been laid at his door in military circles, his own resolve was fixed to take no farther active part in the struggle.

All the other archdukes, however, appeared even less capable of assuming the supreme command, and in the case of the other generals the doubt of their capacity was complicated by the question as to whether they would meet with willing obedience on the part of their immediate subordinates. And in truth there was not one of them who coveted the responsibility of supreme command: no, not Johann Liechtenstein, nor Bellegarde; they all expressed without disguise their opinion of the necessity of concluding peace. But how could serious negotiations for peace be set on foot, complaisant as the Austrian government might be, while Napoleon demanded conditions which must of necessity end in the complete disintegration of the empire and the absolute annihilation of the power of Austria?

TREATY OF SCHÖNBRUNN, OR VIENNA (OCTOBER, 1809)

Unfortunately, to meet difficulties so undeniably great, Austria had none but petty measures and pitiful expedients. The emperor, ill-informed, as usual, concerning the course of events and ignorant of the state of his own resources, pronounced in favour of the prosecution of the war, as did the empress, who had by this time changed her mind; but not in favour of such a method of warfare as Stein and Gentz already had in mind, the only one that offered the remotest prospect of a favourable result. If they had vigorously and without reservation set themselves to accomplish what had been feebly and half-heartedly begun at the commencement of the war, if they had kindled a German national war, for which the stubborn resistance of the Tyrolese and the bold raid of the duke of Brunswick constituted a most promising introduction, and which the long-prepared but ill-conducted English expedition was intended to assist; then, for all his material advantages, Napoleon's position would have been gravely compromised. Instead of so doing the Austrian court came to the following decision. The emperor Francis was to be nominally in chief command of the army, the despised Duca was to undertake the office of quartermaster-general, Bellegarde to remain *ad latus* to the emperor, Johann Liechtenstein was actually to wield the baton of commander-in-chief, but the plans of the campaign were to be worked out by a committee upon which Bubna, Radetzky, and Mayer were to sit. These preposterous schemes and senseless arrangements could not possibly proceed from genuine martial ardour; yet if peace was unavoidable, as became evident during the course of the month of September, what irresponsibility was displayed by the disjointed and contradictory doings at court.

The emperor Francis, with his adjutants Wrba and Kutschera (*les deux animaux*, as Gentz maliciously nicknamed them) always by his side, accessible to the influence of inferior persons, suspicious of the sagacious and well-intentioned, could arrive at no definite resolution; he had no feeling for the miseries of war, but was all the more sensitive on the subject of the sum of money which the enemy would demand as an indemnity on the conclusion of peace. Averse from peace, he nevertheless lacked strength of purpose to declare resolutely in favour of the prosecution of the war. He was a man of whom it was to be expected that he would thrust upon others the responsibility of the most momentous political transactions, that he might be able afterwards to complain of the defective obedience rendered by his servants; and there was no one at hand to take such responsibility upon himself for the public good. Stadion kept aloof from all official business; he had lost not only the confidence of the court but his confidence in himself and felt the ground insecure beneath his feet; Count Metternich had neither the knowledge nor the authority required to bring about the decision; and lastly, Thugut, to whose advice the emperor had also given ear, seems, first and last, to have preferred the semi-obscurity of his position in relation to the emperor to open action and the responsibility it involved.

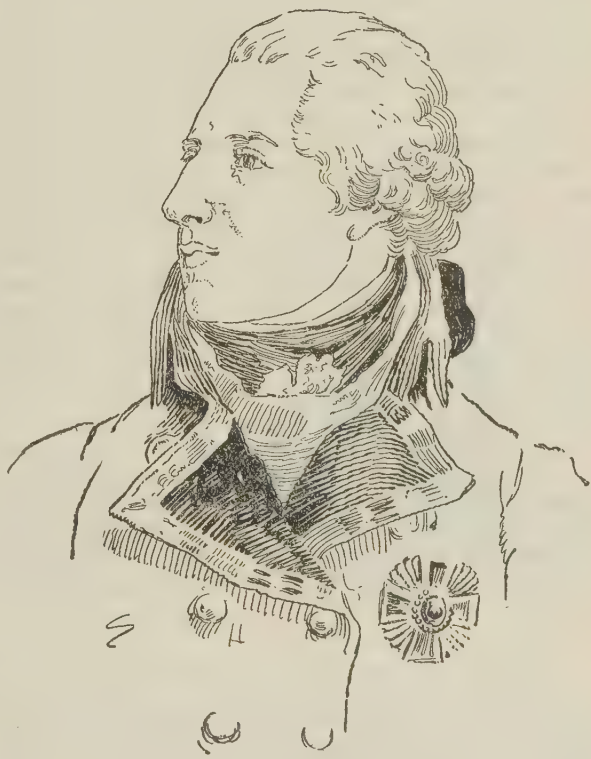
Thus it came about that Austrian statesmen, like Austrian generals, themselves destitute of definite ideas and independent force, invariably took the course prescribed by Napoleon, and delivered themselves over, bound hand and foot, to the power of that astute individual. While the official agents, Metternich and Nugent, were labouring to no purpose at Altenburg to settle the basis of a peaceful arrangement with Champagny, a military embassy was despatched direct to Napoleon and a new kind of negotiation attempted in this manner, without the slightest reference to what was going

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on at Altenburg. It was never known in Austrian diplomatic circles, who had drawn up the instructions for the military ambassadors, Bubna and Johann Liechtenstein. It is possible that they had no instructions, that all they had to do was to bargain and haggle over the exorbitant demands made of them. The cession of territory and subjects was at length agreed to by the emperor Francis, after it had been reduced to more moderate compass; but on the question of the amount of the war indemnity he proved obdurate, and refused to go beyond the sum of 50,000,000 francs, the French demand being 100,000,000.

Of earnest intercession for the unhappy Tyrolese, of a clear understanding with them, there was not a single word. What a change had taken place in public feeling in the course of a few months! When war was declared the national spirit had been invoked in eloquent phrases to enforce the summons to arms, and now the government acted as though there had never been independent nationalities in the world, and completely forgot the poor Tyrolese, who had obeyed the summons and set their trust upon the oath of the Austrian emperor. Austria had ventured upon the struggle with none but the loftiest aims—to protect the liberties of Europe and to restore the independence of Germany; and now the emperor Francis had no thought but for the money question. As a matter of fact the newly knit bond of peace was near to being severed by his obstinate determination to pay no more than 50,000,000 francs. At length Bubna, prevailed upon by the most influential personages about the court, ignored the emperor's prohibition and came to terms with Napoleon for a contribution of 85,000,000. The emperor made no protest when the document with this condition was presented to him for signature, but revenged himself upon the "disobedient" Bubna by petty slights. This gallant and highly cultured general was appointed to superintend the stud.

On October 14th, 1809, the roar of cannon proclaimed the conclusion of peace. Austria lost nearly two thousand square miles of territory and more than three million inhabitants, and her annual revenue was curtailed by about 11,000,000 gulden. Every province, with the exception of little Moravia,



FRANCIS II
(1768-1835)

suffered a loss of territory, and heavy blows were inflicted upon the commerce, industry, and wealth of the empire by the cession to Russia of the salt works of Wieliczka (to the extent of one-half) and to France of the productive quicksilver mines of Idria and the great iron and steel forges in the Villach district. [An entire new state, that of the Illyrian Provinces was formed by Napoleon from the cessions on the Adriatic and included Trieste, Carniola, parts of Carinthia and Croatia and the maritime territories of Hungary. The districts of Upper Austria known as the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel, together with Salzburg and Berchtesgaden were handed over to the confederation of the Rhine. Russia received part of east Galicia, and the duchy of Warsaw west Galicia. Austria was also compelled to accede to the continental system and to recognise the territorial changes in the Spanish peninsula and in Italy.]

The moral consequences went even deeper. In the war of 1809 for the last time the whole of Germany stood by Austria, and for the last time the empire was conscious of its German character and alive to its purely German destiny. To all men — and the thought found most energetic utterance among the north Germans — it seemed a matter of course that Austria existed in and for Germany, and in like manner thinking men in Austria were aware of no political spirit except the spirit of Germany dominant in themselves. By the unhappy issue of the contest these hopes were destroyed and these convictions rendered frustrate; the Germans learned to conceive projects for a happier future without reference to their connection with Austria, while in Austria the leading men (and by degrees a still larger circle) accustomed themselves to regard German interests as alien from their own and Germany itself as an indifferent body, which might be made useful indeed, but with which they were by no means indissolubly united.

Externally Austria renounced her connection with Germany on the 6th of August, 1806, when the emperor Francis abdicated the crown of the German Empire; but the internal rupture was not consummated until the Peace of Schönbrunn, on October 14th, 1809. From thenceforth the German nation went its own way, and an independent Austrian policy was inaugurated at Vienna.^d

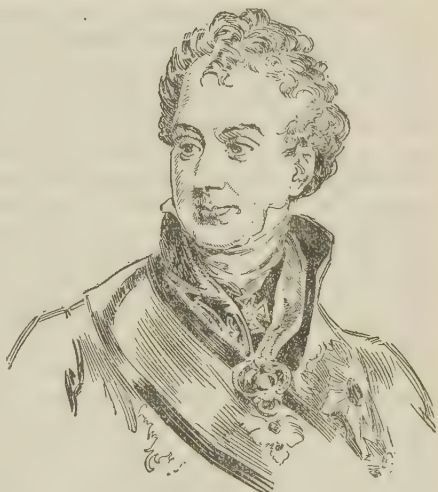
METTERNICH AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PEACE OF SCHÖNBRUNN

There is no doubt that, had the war broken out again, Alexander of Russia and his army would have been on Napoleon's side. This being so Francis did well to make peace, especially as such important results followed. The treaty added but another leaf to the history of Napoleon's fame and at the same time prepared the way to an alliance with a Habsburg archduchess, with one of the oldest ruling families of Europe, which it was intended should give just the desired touch of nobility to his dynasty. No matter what important and successful results this peace may have had for Napoleon personally, he kept them strictly to himself from the very beginning of the disputes which later on became fatal to this favourite of fortune. If at that time a contemporary expressed a by no means unfounded fear that with this treaty disappeared the last hope of freeing Germany, we can now safely affirm that the same Peace of Schönbrunn was the first step to Napoleon's downfall. Owing to the affair of the duchy of Warsaw, enmity between the French emperor and the Russian czar was finally determined forever. The events which followed, up to the war of 1812, and the subsequent rising of Europe were but the natural consequences of the disputes which arose between Alexander and Napoleon immediately after the peace of 1809.

[1809 A.D.]

The Treaty of Schönbrunn was the turning point in French and universal history, and also in that of the Austrian monarchy. Its importance, however, does not lie in the great losses sustained by the Austrians but in the fact that, with the defeat in 1809, the spirit of free judgment, which the archduke Charles and Stadion maintained throughout, was opposed as a dangerous sentiment. One of the chief advocates of this new course was Metternich, and this is therefore the place to note the rise of the man who originally provoked the war, at the conclusion of which he received, unopposed by Napoleon, the post of minister of foreign affairs as his due. The actual circumstances under which he became minister are still unknown.

It is said that when Stadion first retired, the emperor in a weak moment promised the post to Metternich. It was whispered, even amongst those who might be supposed to know, that Metternich would never be the successor of Stadion, who was forced to retire from office at the beginning of October, while many said that, though Metternich had been the cause of Stadion's disgrace, he (Metternich) had declared that it would be much against his will to accept the control of foreign affairs. This and all like statements which he made sounded distinctly unnatural and did not carry conviction with them.



METTERNICH

According to his own account he was not ambitious and it needed a great deal of persuasion, almost force, before he could be made to accept any public post. It was thus when he entered his diplomatic career and remained so even when he became ambassador, first in Dresden and then in Paris. But had Metternich's been a retiring nature it would have been extremely difficult for him constantly to declare, as he did, that had he but been given absolute control of the negotiations for peace, far different provisions to those obtained by Liechtenstein and Bubna would have resulted. Whether he became minister without any personal effort or through deep intriguing does not alter the importance of the fact that to give him the control of a monarchy was to hand it over to a man under whose directing influence the destiny of the nation would begin to unfold itself. Yet half the honour should be his of having raised Austria, at least outwardly, to the position of a power of the first rank. But the neglecting of the inner needs of the country was a fault of which even this mighty minister felt the consequences in his later days. Had he but followed the path so plainly marked out by the archduke Charles and Stadion his fame would have been everlasting. As the bad luck of the monarchy would have it, there were no like successors to these two noble men, who had the whole interests and needs of the people at heart.^e

NAPOLEON MARRIES AN AUSTRIAN ARCHDUCHESS (1810 A.D.)

Like the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, Metternich now believed it to be more to the advantage of Austria to procure friendship with France,

and Napoleon was therefore able to accomplish his long-cherished plan of allying himself by marriage with one of the ancient dynasties of Europe. In December, 1809, he divorced his first wife, Josephine, who had borne him no heir, and at the end of the following January he began negotiating for the hand of the emperor's daughter, Marie Louise; the betrothal followed as early as February, 1810, and in April of the same year the marriage took place. With the Peace of Schönbrunn the hopes of Germany had perished, and despair was in every heart. It was even to be feared from the evidence of frustrated, or timely discovered attempts on Napoleon's life that the prolonged servitude to France was undermining the old, honourable German spirit; and that fanaticism, secret conspiracy, and political murder were striking root in Germany.

THE STRUGGLE IN THE TYROL (1809)

The general awakening of patriotism was evidenced in 1809 by fairer tokens than such abortive attempts of criminal folly. The subsidiary events of the great Austrian war are almost as important as that war itself, since they show the change of temper and the beginnings of the revival of the German nation. By the Peace of Presburg in 1805, the Tyrol, which for centuries had been united to the house of Austria, had been severed from it and handed over to Bavaria. The Bavarians introduced many innovations after the French pattern, some good, some evil, but all alike opposed by this mountain people in their attachment to the past. The Bavarian government was displeasing, both because it was foreign and because it had been imposed on them, but they especially detested the conscription, for under Austria the province had hitherto been exempted from military service. The priests, who exercised great and indeed almost unlimited power over the minds of these staunch Catholics, detested the Bavarians as innovators and allies of the revolutionary French, the enemies of the church. Thus, with silent indignation, the country endured the yoke of the confederation of the Rhine until the spring of 1809. Secret understandings were continually entertained with Austria, and even with the archduke John, and the hope of returning to their native rulers was never abandoned.

When the great war of 1809 began, the emperor Francis summoned all his people to arms. The Tyrolese joined in the response to his call. True to the father of their country as to their faith, simple and unused to foreign ways, they lived and moved only in the idea of the independence and liberty of primæval Germany. There the boy soon learns to stand alone; with him the youth and the man climb the steep Alpine wall to the line of eternal snow, in the pursuit of the flying chamois. Thus, the warlike spirit, coolness in danger, above all an inward confidence in the sacred mountains and ravines, is found in every child of the country. Since Austria could calculate on the fidelity of the Tyrol, she hastened to occupy the province at the beginning of the war. Scarcely were her first troops visible in the border passes than the population rose and expelled the Bavarian garrisons. Soon the tocsin rang through the farthest clefts of the mountains, every commune, every valley took arms and chose itself leaders, in the ancient German fashion, from the most determined and proved men. Hunters, inn-keepers, priests led the hosts; the ex-poacher Joseph Speckbacher, the inn-keeper Martin Teimer, the Capuchin Haspinger, and many such. But at the head of all appeared a man who, like Saul of old, towered a full head above the crowd, whose magnificent black beard descended to his belt, Andreas Hofer, the *Sandwirt*, of Passeier [so called from his father's tavern the Sandhof], a pious, simple, humble man but, in his single-hearted

[1809 A.D.]

fidelity, a true type of the people he led to the war — a holy war, for his religion and his emperor, for his mountains and his liberty. As in Spain, small bands soon appeared throughout the country, all of which pressed towards the centre, Innsbruck, which was compelled to surrender with all its Bavarian garrison (April 12th, 1809). The same day a Franco-Bavarian army marched up. Though fired at by the peasants from every ravine and every height it had nevertheless crossed the Brenner and now stood on the Iselberg, close before Innsbruck. But here it found itself surrounded on all sides and it likewise had to surrender itself prisoner. Then, amidst the ringing of bells and huge rejoicings, the first Austrian soldiers under General Chasteler again entered the town. No cruelties had stained this fair struggle for liberty; in the frenzy of their rejoicing it now seemed to the victorious Tyrolese “as though the sun shone by day and night,” as though heavenly angels and saints had fought in front of their ranks.

Then, like a thunderbolt came the news of the disaster of Ratisbon. In the retreat of the Austrian main army which followed, the Tyrol was left without support or stay. Napoleon, to his dishonour, regarded the war as a rebellion and set a price on the head of Chasteler as on that of a robber. Neither the latter, nor the army of his fellow Austrian commanders, knew how to value the peasant struggle, and the Tyrolese were already left almost entirely alone. Nevertheless, they determined to defend their mountains, but the Bavarians under Wrede again advanced from Salzburg. On Ascension Day (May 11th), they took the Strub Pass on the borders of the Tyrol, and Salzburg after a hard struggle, and then descended by St. Johann into the valley of the Inn. Their way was everywhere marked by traces of a cruel vengeance. At Schwarz there was a sanguinary struggle; the Bavarians burned the town and pressed on to Innsbruck; Chasteler retreated, and Wrede, with his Bavarians, Lefebvre, with his French, marched into the capital. The province seemed to be again subdued; but the cruelty shown had enraged the people, and when Wrede and his corps were summoned away by Napoleon, Hofer and his southern Tyrolese again crossed the Brenner. Once more the alarm bell called, the leaders summoned the people to arms, and again every pass, every rocky wall, every narrow road was alive. Again the struggle commenced round the Iselberg (May 29th). The enemy, seven thousand Bavarians, at last gave ground with heavy losses. Then for several months, so long as the military operations at Vienna lasted, the Tyrol remained unmolested.

After the fight at the Iselberg and after the battle of Aspern, an imperial autograph letter had solemnly promised the Tyrolese that their country should never again be separated from the Austrian empire, and that no peace should be signed which did not provide for the indissoluble union of the Tyrol with the monarchy. In confident reliance on the imperial word the Tyrolese lived peacefully until the armistice of Znaim. In this armistice the Tyrol was not considered and now the enemy mustered his forces to punish the faithful and abandoned province. Lefebvre again marched into it with French, Saxons, and Bavarians, and took the capital without resistance. But for the third time, and more furiously than before, the Tyrolese people rose (August, 1809). A body of troops approaching from the north, and consisting chiefly of Saxons, was almost buried in the narrow gorges of Eisack, beneath the rocks and tree-trunks that were rolled down upon it; “it might seem to those struck as though the mountains had fallen together over them.” Another column was annihilated in a similar fashion in the upper Inn valley, above Landeck, and the French marshal himself only escaped with difficulty

from "the accursed land" after yet another fight at the Isel mountain (August 13th). Hofer, as "chief commander in the Tyrol" entered the citadel of Innsbruck.

But now came the Peace of Schönbrunn, which sacrificed the faithful province. Napoleon sent fifty thousand men to the mountains. Hitherto the imperial court had rather encouraged than calmed the rebellion; now these brave men were suddenly called upon to submit voluntarily and the greater part of the people did actually bow to stern necessity. Even Hofer had at first abdicated his command and bidden the people go home and lay down their weapons. But, deceived in his honest heart by foolish dreamers and roused to a fresh struggle, he once more took arms. The country, however, was already subdued. Only around the Passeier valley attack and defence still went on (end of November, 1809). Excited to the highest pitch, bewildered and despairing, Hofer had let the time go by in which he, like others of his comrades, might have found safety in flight or by voluntary submission. Even the most faithful dispersed. Speckbacher lay all the winter through, hidden in a cow-shed under straw and manure, until he found an opportunity for flight. Haspinger got away and as late as 1839 was able to join in celebrating the dedication of Hofer's monument in the cathedral of Innsbruck. Hofer himself had escaped to the mountains, where he took up his abode in a herdsman's cottage which had been deserted for the winter. But unhappily a traitor was forthcoming. In January of the following year a troop of soldiers mounted the snowy slopes and brought down the hero, bound. They treated him with brutal harshness, made him go barefoot through the ice and snow, and tugged at his beard so that the blood flowed; he bore it all with smiling patience. At Mantua a court-martial passed on him the death sentence, and on the city walls, by the bullets of the soldiers, he met his death — "the death he had so many times sent forth from the Iselberg into the valley" — and which he faced with unbandaged eyes; on the 20th of February, 1810, a few weeks before the marriage of the emperor's daughter with the haughty enemy, this deed of blood took place. The Tyrol was again subdued; but the martyr's blood had not flowed in vain.

STATE BANKRUPTCY

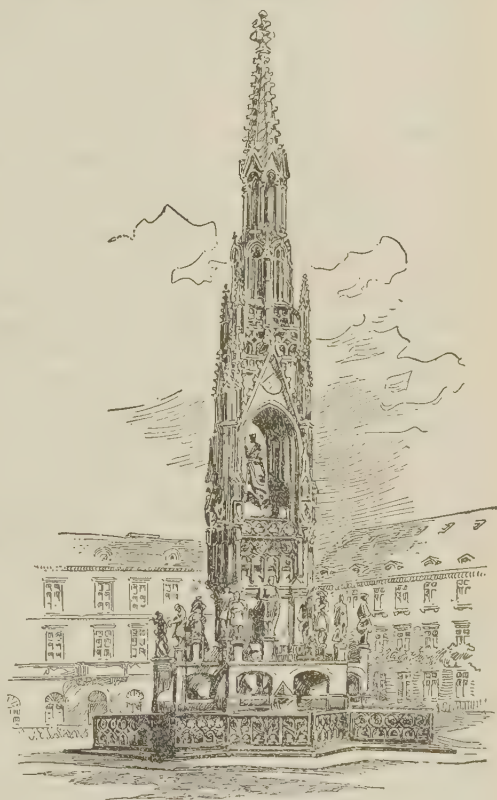
The struggle of 1809 had also culminated in Napoleon's victory. The first uprising of the German nation had ended in destruction, and the general feeling was one of sadness and hopelessness. Since Metternich had taken Stadion's place Austria seemed to prefer the old diplomatic craft to enthusiastic patriotism and to have no other desire than to show anxiety to please Napoleon. It is true that in spite of the matrimonial alliance neither the emperor nor the higher nobility had any leanings towards the arrogant parvenu. But, even if there had been, as the most zealous patriots wished, a disposition to sustain a new contest with Napoleon, the shattered state of the finances would have prevented any great undertaking: for just at this time embarrassments were rapidly accumulating towards state bankruptcy. The continuous war had so impoverished the land that the government could but look forward to the future with anxiety and dread. From 1793 to 1810 the national debt mounted from 377,000,000 to 658,000,000 gulden, with more than 39,000,000 gulden interest: 1805 added 30,000,000 to the deficit, 1807, 66,000,000, and the preparations for the war of 1809 alone cost 60,000,000 gulden. Year after year everything possible was tried in order to get a little real money in the army. From 1792 to 1795 receipts were negotiated and

[1785-1810 A.D.]

from 1794 to 1797 the war loan was contracted by the intervention of some provincial deputies. From 1798 to 1809 fief and lottery loans were raised. The government increased the rates and taxes, introduced a class tax, put up the rates of interest, and even made use of the people's savings. In 1806 all gold and silver had to be recoined. The so-called delivery patent of December 19th ordered that all gold and silver should be called in. That which was not privately sold was soon melted, weighed up and made good by state shares and winnings in lotteries. The chief thing which helped the government out of the difficulty, at least for the time being, was the regular issue of paper money.

During 1785 to 1792 to 300,000,000 gulden in coin there were but 20,000,000 in bank-notes. In 1805 there were, however, 675,000,000, in 1807 over 700,000,000, 1809, 900,000,000, and in 1810 there were more than 1,000,000,000 cheques in circulation. On the introduction of this money silver soon disappeared, as also did the small coinage of 1801, and the government was forced to coin 300,000,000 gulden in 30 and 15 kreutzer pieces (a kreutzer = $\frac{1}{2}$ d or one cent). Owing to the sudden increase in paper money its value decreased, for in 1799 one received for 100 florins in silver 103 in cheques; in 1803, 130; 1805, 133; 1806, 147; 1807, 190; 1808, 204; 1809, 221; 1810, 469, so that 4 florins in notes only valued 1 of silver. Only after the battle of Aspern and the marriage of the archduchess with Napoleon did the premium fall somewhat. The quantity of bank-notes which streamed into Austria from the deserted provinces lowered their value still more. The natural consequence of this overflow of paper money was that all provisions went up in price, the capital became raised, and that usury and swindle of all kinds were openly practised.

In France, Prussia, and throughout the whole of Germany with the exception of Saxony things were no better. To those who beheld the prosperity of the people, and knew of the economical management at court and of the abundant resources of the country this state of things was a veritable mystery. Although the ruin of the finances was brought about by the threatened political position, bad management and the mistaken financial policy did much to help it. The finance ministers or presidents of the exchequer, as they were then called, were in 1796 Count Lazansky, 1797 Count Saurau, 1802 Count Karl Zichy, 1808 Count Joseph O'Donnell, 1810 Count Joseph Wallis. They all individually tried to relieve the financial



MONUMENT OF FRANCIS I IN PRAGUE

difficulties of the country, but could make only superficial amendment laws against the practice of usury and stock-broking; the committee of economy, the raising of postage rates, and the edicts forbidding the exportation of grain and colonial products all did but little to check the evil. Neither the government nor the people had a very clear idea of the actual importance of paper money nor of its retrospective effect on the credit and welfare of the country. During Count Zichy's term of office there was the least worry with the paper money, and coinage was at its highest value. Count O'Donnell tried hard to bring about a payment of at least a portion of the notes, but an equalisation of value could be obtained only by a lasting peace and the greatest economy. The patent of September 14th proclaimed that the government had decided to hold cheques at their proper value. A fresh loan was to establish a sinking fund for the redemption of the bank-notes, but the war of 1809 soon put an end to it all.

In order to pay the contribution of 85,000,000 francs the most beautiful church ornaments were melted down and the families of Schwarzenberg, Jobkowitz, Liechtenstein, Harrach, and others handed all their family silver over to citizens and peasants. Whole bars of solid gold and silver were sent to France. The real gold had no sooner disappeared than the depreciation of paper money began again with alarming rapidity. From October to December, 1809, the nominal value increased from 320 to 463. The amount of bank-notes was given out as 950,000,000 gulden worth but in reality they equalled 1,060,000,000. Count O'Donnell called a committee which assembled and united with him in working out a fresh plan. The patent of February 26th, 1810, announced a new system of finance: "Bank-notes shall all be gradually withdrawn in exchange for bills of payment, 300 florins in cheques valuing a bill of 100 florins. This will represent convention money. Until redeemed, bank-notes will be accepted at all banks and offices. In order to pay off the national debt a fund will be founded for which a tenth part of all properties and the landed estates of the clergy will be claimed." The patent, however, was never properly carried out. Goods of the church were not taken nor other properties taxed. The future was doubtful and the government trembled. As the premium was fixed at 300, though it stood really at 360, travellers and agents in the surrounding districts bought up all bank-notes, and the stock-jobbing increased more than ever. O'Donnell with his steadfastness of purpose might have eventually attained his object had he not died in May, 1810. His successor, Count Wallis, formerly chief burggraf of Bohemia, made minister of the exchequer on July 15th, 1810, was a powerful and much feared man, but one knowing little of matters concerning credit and the paper trouble. In the beginning he carried on O'Donnell's system. The redemption committee assembled and, on September 8th, new laws appeared for the execution of the February patent. The liquidation tax on all movable and landed estates was imposed and a month later many public properties were put up for sale. A board of court commissioners was to draw up a land register and tax reform. The scarcity of money became so great that the government was forced to issue a respite for all payments then due. The tax of 10 per cent. on all estates ruined the value of landed property and especially that of the small land-owners, who composed 90 per cent. of the proprietors and who cultivated 80 per cent. of the ground.

Even after the charter of 1810 the realisations fell one third, the credit was amortised, and the welfare of the people greatly impaired. On the 4th of December, 1810, the premium stood at 1240 and the people fully expected a complete depreciation of the paper money. With the produce of their lands

[1810-1811 A.D.]

peasants bought gold chains and rings in order to possess something, and many lit their pipes with cheques. The scarcity of provisions was appalling. A peck of corn cost 50 florins and a cord of wood 90. In consequence of the continental blockade there was no trade in coffee, sugar, cotton, wool, silk, or foreign wines, and their substitutes were not satisfactory. This brought privation of every description, discontent increased among the people and their confidence and trust were broken. The redemption committee announced on February 23rd, 1811, that the value of bank-notes then existing was 1,060,798,753 florins. The government declared itself bankrupt. On February 20th was signed and sealed the finance patent which with one mighty blow was to put an end to all difficulties with the paper money. A copy was sent out to all the provinces and on March 15th on the same day and same hour it was to be proclaimed in every town and village. The first words gave out that the circumstances demanded great sacrifices. Bank-notes would be reduced to one fifth their nominal value and be exchanged for bills of payment. By February, 1812, cheques were out of circulation and the bills of payment were decreased to 212,159,750 florins. Henceforth this rate was to be considered as the Vienna valuation and all contracts were to be made accordingly. Engagements entered upon before 1799 were to be fulfilled at the same rate and contracts of 1799 were to be reckoned according to the exchange of the day on which they were made. To help in the carrying out of this plan a scale was given with the fixed circulation from year to year and from month to month; for a loan of 100 florins in February, 1803, the debtor paid 129 florins in paper; in 1806, 148 florins; in 1809, 234 florins; in 1810, 398 florins, and in 1811 a cheque of 500 florins. After March 1st all drafts on banks or offices were paid in bills of payment or in bank-notes at the five-fold rate of value as declared. Copper coinage realised one fifth its nominal value; 30 kreutzer pieces equalled 6 kreutzers and pieces of 15 kreutzers equalled 3 kreutzers. Interest on all notes of hand was reduced by one half, but in September all fixed property taxes were done away with.

During the winter of 1810-1811 it had certainly been rumoured that the government was making a reform, but such severe and sweeping measures had not been expected. The ministers of finance explained the need and justice of the steps they were taking and asserted that the actual properties and possessions of the nation were not lessening, but that they were only being differently divided. Nevertheless the finance patent was universally condemned. Its system was primitive and unsound and made no provision for the future. It had no special object and was both unjust and unnecessary. It confiscated the fruits of work and industry, upset all codes of debit and credit, and sanctioned a complete change in the relationship with one's own property. They who had 5 florins possessed now but one, whoever had bought an estate for 10,000 florins on the 14th of March now had 2,000 florins, 60,000 florins' worth of inherited property fell to 12,000 florins, and he who had mortgaged one fifth of his estate was now a beggar. Troubles and complications quickly arose, families were ruined, and many put an end to their lives.

In Hungary the greatest confusion reigned, because the patent had not yet been accepted and debtors wanted to pay but creditors would not accept and nobody gave credit. The government wanted the state assembly, opened by Emperor Francis on August 31st, 1811, to grant a guarantee for 100,000,000 gulden in bills of payment, a yearly contribution of 12,000,000 for the sinking fund and the introduction of the scale. After a hard fight the assembly granted the yearly contribution but the scale was rejected. The consultation

lasted ten months until May 20th, when the government closed the assembly, and on September 1st they introduced the scale as a provisional law of justice.

The Austrians had shown their patriotism throughout the war, had paid every tax imposed, suffered the depreciation in interest and the losses caused by the fluctuating standard, but they would not submit to the finance patent as they saw it had no definite end. The national debt was not lessened and the deficit, the famine, and the scarcity of money remained. Then, as a change in the affairs of Russia disturbed Austria again, back came the paper trouble with all its fearful consequences. Count Wallis was dismissed from office. His successor Count Ugarte circulated a new paper money consisting of bills of advance to the value of 45,000,000 gulden. The sum was soon doubled and this system remained until Count Stadion, in 1816, brought order into the finances of the country and re-established them on a secure basis, without proclaiming a bankruptcy.^b

INCREASING AGGRESSIONS OF NAPOLEON

On the occasion of Napoleon's second marriage the court of Vienna had been not a little astounded at his absolute refusal to allow the archduchess Marie Louise to give that pledge which was required of every archduchess on her marriage, and without which, according to an Austrian family law, the marriage could be dissolved—we mean the pledge by which the bride resigns all her claims to the monarchy. Some hidden design was suspected; it was feared lest, in the event of a still possible conflict between Austria and France, Napoleon might found claims on this marriage. To this fear, affecting Austria alone, was soon joined another which freed the world from any delusion that Napoleon would halt on the path he had hitherto followed. Up till now he had bestowed more care on his family than was consonant with equity, but now dissensions broke out; his brother Louis, king of Holland, seeing the ruin of his country, refused to enforce the continental system to the extent which Napoleon regarded as necessary for the overthrow of England; unable to withstand Napoleon's power, King Louis resigned the crown of Holland, which he had worn uneasily for four years, in favour of his eldest son Louis Napoleon, handed over the regency to his consort, Hortense, and returned to Gratz in Austria. But Napoleon did not recognise the transfer. Holland was declared to be an alluvial deposit which had been formed from the French rivers, and was incorporated with France. Soon followed other accessions of territory for France. Not only the Valais, but the Hanse towns also, were annexed to France, princes expelled from the confederation of the Rhine, and their lands united to France; thus the duke of Oldenburg, yielding to Napoleon's might, went over to Alexander, the emperor of Russia; a considerable portion of the grand duchy of Berg, the provinces which had been handed over to Westphalia only in the beginning of this year, 1810, the domains of the duke of Arenberg, were incorporated with France. Thus the central and southern parts of Germany were cut off from Denmark and the North Sea, and the frontier of France was advanced to the Elbe.

All this must have caused the greatest anxiety to the Russian emperor, since the Prussian fortresses on the Oder were still occupied by French troops, and the duchy of Warsaw, erected after the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807), increased by a part of Galicia after the Peace of Schönbrunn, and obedient to Napoleon's most faithful ally the king of Saxony, afforded a fruitful source of disturbance for Russian Poland as well as a dangerous point of attack, a most dangerous basis for military operations; besides this the emperor Alex-

[1812 A.D.]

ander refused to enforce the continental system¹ in his dominions to the extent that Napoleon wished. There were also other causes of quarrel between Russia and France, and war between them threatened.

AUSTRIA IN THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1812

The two courts of Vienna and Berlin at last perceived that their interests were the same; that their policies must go hand in hand. Both now endeavoured to preserve neutrality; but to remain neutral in the full sense of the term was impossible. When Napoleon went to Dresden, the emperor Francis also repaired thither, but neither he nor the king of Prussia managed to hold aloof from the war. Neutrality for the imperial state of Austria Napoleon did indeed concede, but Austria, like Prussia, had to put in the field an auxiliary corps of thirty thousand men for the Franco-Russian war; the Prussians formed the extreme right wing of the gigantic French army, the Austrian corps was under the leadership of Prince Schwarzenberg and had one privilege over the rest of the allies, namely that Prince Schwarzenberg had to take orders from no one but Napoleon himself.

Napoleon led 400,000 infantry, 80,000 cavalry, and 1,700 cannon across the Russian borders. Never had the world seen such an army since the time of the Persian king Xerxes. Napoleon's victorious advance to Moscow, the firing of that city, the retreat of the French, their defeat at the Beresina, the annihilation of the huge army by the treble forces of the pursuer, hunger, and cold, belong to the history of Russia and of France. The Austrian auxiliary corps fought unwillingly for France, but from discipline it fought with that courage and that submission to the command of its emperor which has ever distinguished the Austrian army.

Prince Schwarzenberg rescued the Saxon corps under the French general Reynier, whereupon it was placed by Napoleon under Schwarzenberg's command. When the French began the retreat from Moscow, which was the destruction of their army, a Russian official appeared before Prince Schwarzenberg with full powers to conclude a three months' armistice; he demanded the surrender of Warsaw and instanced, as an example, the Prussian general York, who, with his corps, had forsaken the French; and in exchange he offered the house of Austria west Galicia, which had been lost at the Peace of Schönbrunn. Prince Schwarzenberg answered that he did not indeed doubt that there was not a single man amongst his troops who had not entered against his will into the war for the cause of France, but he was convinced that, if he were capable of taking such a step as York had taken, even those who had been most dissatisfied with the outbreak of the war with Russia would be the first to condemn him. The Austrian was accustomed to obey the orders of his monarch and not negotiate on his own responsibility. But, acting on the principles of his emperor, he was prepared, in order to avoid further bloodshed, not to advance again in a hostile fashion, but he would declare that his emperor's protection must extend to Saxony, and that he could in no wise sacrifice Reynier.

To this the Russians would not agree and the armistice was not concluded, but the Russians showed themselves no longer hostile to the Austrians, so that when soon afterwards the Saxons were attacked by the Russians, and Schwarzenberg had the Saxons relieved by Austrians during the night, the

[¹ In accordance with the continental system, instituted by Napoleon's decrees issued from Berlin in 1806, all trade and intercourse with the British Isles was forbidden to France and her allies.]

Russians abandoned the fight the next day when they perceived that the Austrians were opposed to them. The Austrian auxiliary corps left the seat of war when the Russians had penetrated to Prussia. In accordance with Napoleon's wish the emperor Francis made Prince Schwarzenberg a field-marshal; certain persons who had especially distinguished themselves in the campaign were rewarded by Emperor Francis at Schwarzenberg's request. The decorations which Napoleon had intended for the Austrian army corps had been declined by Schwarzenberg in the course of the campaign with the declaration, "The emperor of Austria will know how to reward his servants." This promise was now fulfilled.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION, AND AUSTRIA'S ARMED INTERVENTION (1813 A.D.)

With the annihilation of the French army in the ice-fields of Russia the first act of the war was ended; the second began when the Russians set foot on German soil. All Prussia rose in arms against France; for six years she had felt the yoke of French arbitrary rule. The king had gone to Breslau and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia; the confederation of the Rhine was declared dissolved, the return of German liberty proclaimed. But Napoleon had hurried to Paris to rouse the might of France to the continuation of the struggle. With marvellous rapidity he raised a new army, to which only cavalry were wanting, for, though all France was called on to supply volunteer horsemen, and though the call was responded to with alacrity, yet the number of riders was still too small in relation to those of the allies. In infantry he was superior to the allied Russians and Prussians. In the spring of 1813 the armies stood opposed to one another in Saxony, ready for a fresh contest.

In the meantime Austria had offered her intervention.⁹ The French ambassador wanted to ascertain the condition of the Austrian auxiliary corps. So his master declared that to this corps as a component part of his army he would despatch special orders. Metternich replied that the auxiliary corps would be too weak, compared with the Russian force, to engage in fresh battle. "So then," persisted Narbonne, "in spite of the alliance and of the responsibilities upon which you have entered, you will not fight?"

When Narbonne brought this fact before Emperor Francis at an audience, "I cannot allow my troops to be extirpated," said the emperor. "Your majesty then regards the alliance as at an end?" "It is your master who annuls it, and forces me to propose an armed intervention. I will assemble two hundred thousand men, that they may co-operate with the French army." "You have then decided to go with us?" "Yes, on condition that your master listens to reason, as I hope he will. I am responsible to my subjects for all the blood that I cause them to shed and I shall not alter my decision. My conscience demands this of me. If I acted otherwise I should have to bear the blame before God." Emperor Francis had already determined to take up an independent position, so that he might act in accordance with his own judgment. To do this it was necessary in the first place to annul the treaty of March 14th, 1812, the provisions of which were no longer adapted to circumstances so completely altered.

Meanwhile it was really France that facilitated Austria's transition from its fettered position to one of greater independence. Even before Schwarzenberg's arrival in Paris, Count Bubna had proposed that the existing treaty of alliance should be altered so that Austria might be able to "mediate" with greater effect; there being no longer any question of a mere "intervention" —

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Russia and Prussia could never believe in the impartiality of Austria as long as intimate relations continued between the mediator and one of the hostile parties. To Metternich's great satisfaction, Maret fell in with this proposal: "Austria may play the principal part," he wrote on April 9th, to Vienna. "As they wish for peace, let them equip themselves with the means of imposing it upon the enemies of France; let them threaten Russia and Prussia with the despatch of one hundred thousand men upon their flanks."

Metternich declared his acquiescence; only desiring Narbonne to inform him what the basis of this peace was to be. As Narbonne could give him no information, Metternich decided to make a beginning himself, and first of all to make clear Austria's new position in relation to France. "The march of events" so it appeared in a verbal note which Schwarzenberg, on the 21st of April, 1813, gave to the French minister of foreign affairs, "the advance of the theatre of war from Czernowitz to Eger, the most important point, throughout a distance of more than four hundred hours, on the Austrian border, no longer admits of his majesty the emperor taking part in the war merely as an auxiliary power. In the situation now approaching, Austria finds her only course to be armed intercession. The emperor of Austria desires peace. He will propose this to all the courts of Europe and will not fail to give it its full weight. In this course he will not confine himself to mere words of peace; if exaggerated views should triumph over sense and moderation, he will without hesitation throw a deciding weight on the side of that power which he recognises as his natural ally."

At this time Napoleon was no longer in France. Immediately after his departure, the empress granted an audience to Schwarzenberg, who tried to show her the seriousness of the situation. Marie Louise's eyes were still full of the tears she had shed at the separation from her husband; she begged they would treat her position in France with consideration. As regards Napoleon and his minister, it did not occur to them, that Emperor Francis might desire to break off his alliance with France. The duke of Bassano (Maret), in his negotiations with Schwarzenberg constantly spoke of "the alliance" and "the marriage" till at last the prince said: "The marriage, always and always the marriage! It was made by policy and policy could unmake it" (*La politique l'a faite, la politique pourrait la défaire*).

Schwarzenberg's warnings were not without grounds. At the seat of war Napoleon's cause looked in more than one respect, anything but favourable. Since his absence the French arms had suffered one reverse after another. On April 2nd, General Morand had been defeated by a skirmishing party under Cerniseu; on the 5th [of April, 1813], Prince Eugene had fought, and lost, against the united Russians and Prussians at Möckern; Czenstochowa, Thorn, and Spandau had already fallen. Moreover even the old allies seemed to be on the eve of a schism. Mecklenburg had already withdrawn from the confederation of the Rhine. The conduct of King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, appeared equally remarkable, although on the 23rd he had again given an assurance, "that he would faithfully abide by the French system, to which alone Saxony owed its recovery and advancement."

Between the 19th and 20th of April he suddenly forsook Ratisbon, in dread lest he should be taken prisoner while on the road with his money and treasures. The gunners with lighted lunts, the cavalry with drawn sabres, marched in this fashion on a journey which resembled a war-march, first to Linz and then to Prague, whence on the 27th of April Frederick Augustus sent General Langenau to Vienna to arrange general rules of conduct, at the same time informing the king of Prussia, that he had quite agreed to the armed

intervention of Austria. When in Vienna Narbonne requested an explanation of the king of Saxony's appearance, Metternich feigned astonishment. "He appeared in Bohemia like a flash of lightning." "Yes, like lightning." Narbonne answered sarcastically, "but it seems that you have had the skill of Franklin to turn the lightning in the direction you desired." At this time Austria also tried to draw Bavaria into a share in the armed intervention; but the negotiations were terminated by the demand of Austria for the restoration of that part of Bavaria which she had lost in 1809, without being able to offer Bavaria any equivalent.

On the 15th of April Napoleon had left St. Cloud, in order to take command of his newly gathered army. It was no longer the "grand army" of the year before, but not inconsiderable for all that; in fact a force fit to make head against all his enemies. It was certainly formed, for the most part, of young men, inexperienced in warfare; but Russia, too, had been compelled to fill up the frightful gaps which the campaign of 1812 had made in the ranks of veteran soldiers, with young men, while the Prussian troops, too, consisted of a very large majority indeed of almost untried recruits. So, as far as the heart of the army was concerned, things were about equally balanced on each side; the majority in numbers and the advantage in the genius of its leaders were, however, unquestionably on the side of the French.

Russians and Prussians together scarcely mustered 90,000 men. Against these till now the viceroy of Italy with his 30,000 had been worsted. But now Napoleon brought fresh troops to the number of 120,000 men, so that his adversary was considerably outnumbered. On April 26th Napoleon was in Erfurt. Here he was met by despatches from Paris and Vienna, the contents of which greatly enraged him. It was the idea of the armed intervention of Austria, now once more in an independent position, which so infuriated him. He felt that the Austrian policy was drawing closer and closer around him a circle through which his arrogance struggled in vain to break. Wishing to ascertain how far the autoeracy of his former ally had prospered, he communicated to the Austrian auxiliary force the order to proceed against the Russians, jointly with Poniatowski. Precisely the reverse of this, however, happened. The auxiliary corps, which, now that Frimont was ill, was under the leadership of Major-General Bianchi, had, since the 23rd of April proceeded entirely to withdraw from the left bank of the Vistula.

The Poles, however, fell into a state of the greatest excitement over this command from the French headquarters; they dreamed of reconquering Warsaw. But, as the Austrians continued their work of withdrawal undisturbed, Poniatowski, whose force could not possibly make head against the Russians, was also obliged to evacuate Cracow. The Poles, with the united remnants of the Regnier corps and a battalion of French light horse, were sent over the Austrian territory after disarmament, in order to meet on the other side with the French army which now under Napoleon's personal generalship was making rapid progress.

THE DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES AT LÜTZEN (1813 A.D.)

On May 2nd the Russo-Prussian army under Wittgenstein — Kutusov was killed on the 28th of April — fought at Lützen and Grossgörschen, but after a sanguinary contest they had to abandon the field. On the 8th, Alexander and Frederick William forsook the capital of Saxony, which Napoleon presently entered in triumph. For King Frederick Augustus there was now no possibility of staying longer in Prague. On the 3rd of May Napoleon had

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already sent him word through the duke of Weimar: "If he is against me, he will lose everything he possesses!" On the 5th and 6th of May, news came to Prague of the victory at Lützen; and close upon that, came Minister Serra, despatched thither direct by Napoleon, to demand, with the threat of returning the same evening in case of a refusal, that the king should immediately go back to Dresden. Frederick Augustus, intimidated, weakened in health, and naturally plastic, dared not resist such pointed instructions. He broke off negotiations with Austria, and under cover of the night, on the stone bridge of Prague, Langenau destroyed all papers bearing upon them. On the morning of the 10th the king travelled by way of Teplitz to Dresden, whilst the queen and other members of his family remained behind in Prague. Napoleon, however, insisted further that they should follow with the treasure, and accordingly they left Prague on the 20th, a part of the transport carrying the treasure having started for Saxony two days earlier. Langenau, who could no longer remain with the king, went to Vienna and entered the Austrian service.

The tone the Austrian cabinet had adopted towards the French during the last few weeks was clear and decided; there was no longer any doubt as to Austria's position and firm resolve. But it was not yet the custom of the time to print the foreign news of one day in the newspapers of the next; indeed it was a part of the statecraft of that day carefully to avoid premature hints of any matter which was not absolutely settled. So the great public still in doubt as to the views of the Austrian government, continued to blame Metternich for weakness and indecision. In hot heads alternated the most extraordinary schemes — now of ways to get rid of him, now of ways to use him against Napoleon. There was an organised conspiracy of the anti-Bonapartists within and without the imperial state, formed with the intention of furthering what they called "making Austria honest." On the other hand the imperial government did its utmost to destroy Napoleon's suspicion that it was fostering fresh negotiations for an alliance with his opponents, its efforts naturally inspiring the opponents of France with renewed bitterness and doubt.

England's diplomatic agents, King, and Alexander Horn, were obliged to quit Vienna. General Scharnhorst, wounded at Lützen, had accepted a commission from his king, to endeavour to persuade Emperor Francis to join the Russo-Prussian alliance. But two post stations before Vienna he was met by the news that neither the emperor nor Count Metternich could receive him, and consequently he had to return to Prague, where he soon afterwards succumbed to the effects of his wounds. In Vienna it was intended by the authorities to keep a free hand, and not to allow themselves to be hampered or diverted from their self-imposed task of independent intervention.^b

Nevertheless the army was strengthened by recruiting and by the militia (*landwehr*) battalions. The emperor Francis had calculated on eight thousand horse, but so keenly was the need of great efforts felt throughout the country, and so ready was the country to meet the emperor's wishes, that within a month sixteen thousand horsemen were offered. They received the name of *Veliten*, and were divided amongst the regiments of Hussars; the strength of the Hussar regiment was thus raised to twelve squadrons, two Hussar regiments — the imperial and palatine Hussars — even counted fourteen squadrons; the strength of these regiments reached two thousand horse.

Napoleon now concluded a six weeks' armistice with the allies. He needed it to complete his armament, for it was now clear to him that Austria would sooner or later join his enemies. The situation of Europe was in the highest degree difficult. An offer which Napoleon had made to hand over Silesia to

Austria, and his angry declaration that the house of Brandenburg-Hohenzollern must be expelled, was entirely opposed to the views of the emperor Francis, for he regarded the preservation of the Prussian monarchy in its previous extent as necessary for the good of Europe. It was also plain, from the latest events of the war, that Russia and Prussia in spite of all their heroism, were not equal to conquering Napoleon. If the present moment were lost, Napoleon's solitary rule would be established, and the opportunity to win the liberty of Europe would be lost forever. If Austria watched the struggle without taking part, she must expect that she would subsequently be dismembered and perish. Emperor Francis therefore pursued his armaments with redoubled effort, but in order to try one more attempt at an agreement Count Bubna was sent to Napoleon, Count Stadion to the allies. Emperor Francis himself left Vienna and went to Gitschin in Bohemia to be nearer the seat of war.

THE CONGRESS OF PRAGUE (1813 A.D.)

To keep his opponents occupied Napoleon had announced through the French newspapers, soon after the battle of Lützen, that he had proposed a peace congress at Prague, in which plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, Denmark, and the other friends of France would appear on the one side, and those of England, Russia, Prussia, and the rest of the allies on the other, to determine the principles of a long peace.

The suggestion had not been submitted by Napoleon to a single court; but the glamour which surrounded him was now so great that this journalistic notice sufficed to bring the congress into existence. It was actually opened at Prague. It was, however, soon evident that Napoleon was not in earnest about the peace negotiations. The passports promised to the English deputies were first kept back, then refused altogether, and the French plenipotentiaries did not arrive in Prague till sixteen days after the opening of the congress and then without full powers; over this and over the forms of the negotiations time was lost and the armistice prolonged to some weeks. The allies would have left France her Rhine frontier, but have restored Prussia and abolished Napoleon's influence in Germany and Italy. In order to get at Napoleon's views in the shortest way, Metternich himself went to Dresden. A heated discussion ensued between him and Napoleon during which the angry emperor threw the hat which he held in his hand on the ground. On any other occasion any other foreign ambassador or minister would have picked up the hat, but Metternich did not and went on speaking in a determined manner. The result of the interview was the knowledge that peace was impossible. At midnight, on the last day of the prolonged armistice, war was declared by Austria also (August 10th). An ably written manifesto gave an account of the reasons which had determined the emperor to this step. Soon after Austria formally entered the confederation of the northern powers.

The Allies under Austrian Leadership

Already during the armistice, when the hope of a peaceful accommodation had disappeared, the three great powers at Trachenberg in Silesia, had determined the plan of operations. The entire conduct of the war and the supreme command over all the armies was given to the Austrian field-marshal, Prince Karl Schwarzenberg. He also held immediate command of the main army, composed of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, which was stationed in Bohemia on the Eger. It was 230,000 strong; in Silesia, Blücher commanded

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95,000 Prussians and Russians on the Katzbach; on the Hamel and Spree the ex-French marshal Bernadotte, now crown prince of Sweden, led 150,000 men. According to the plan, whichever army Napoleon should march against was to avoid a battle, whilst the other two were to overpower the divisions sent against them and march against Napoleon in flank and rear. An Austrian army stood opposed to the Bavarians on the Austro-Bavarian border. On the Italian frontier an Austrian army under Hiller lay opposite the Franco-Italian army of the viceroy.

Napoleon's forces between the Oder and the Elbe and in Franconia were 360,000 men, that is 100,000 less than those of the allies, but he had a concentric position, had to consider no one in command, and what general could show such military experience, so many astounding campaigns, so many brilliant victories? In calculating the opposing forces an inspired general like Napoleon counted for 100,000 men. The war was therefore by no means so easy a matter, the victory by no means so sure as it was then represented to the nations, and as they, partly in the frenzy of enthusiasm, partly in the hatred of the French, believed.

As soon as war was declared Napoleon started for Silesia with a superior force to annihilate Blücher, but the latter retreated before him in order to avoid the battle which Napoleon desired.

THE BATTLE OF DRESDEN (AUGUST 26-27TH, 1813)

In accordance with the general plan the main army of the allies under Schwarzenberg now marched on Dresden. On the fourth day (August 25th) it stood before Dresden. Owing to exhaustion, and because all the troops had not yet come up, the attack was deferred till the next day. This caused its failure, for in the night Napoleon came back from Silesia with a great part of the troops. All attacks of the allied arm failed; the weather was bad and added to this the news arrived that the French general, Vandamme, had reached the main line of retreat. This compelled the main army to a retreat which had to be executed in disjointed masses in the face of the enemy. The army had lost several thousand in prisoners and slain, amongst the last being the French general Moreau, who had come from America to fight against Napoleon. Only the long marches and the heroic courage with which the Russian general Ostermann made head against the wild fury of Vandamme averted the ruinous consequences which might have resulted from the mishap of Dresden.

A whole day long (August 29th) had Ostermann offered resistance to the superior forces of the French at Kulm, not far from Teplitz. This gave the troops who fought unsuccessfully at Dresden time to come up. Vandamme had calculated that Napoleon would hasten to his support and therefore continued the contest on the following day. But Napoleon came not, and so the day ended with the complete defeat and the capture of Vandamme (August 30th). For a long time it was not known why Napoleon had not himself made haste to cut off the retreat of the allied army. He himself at last solved the riddle. He had meant to, but at Pirna he had been attacked with sickness which made him fancy he had been poisoned. By this means all operations were brought to a standstill, Vandamme was lost, and the main army of the allies was out of danger. The Prussians meantime had won the victories of Katzbach and Grossbeeren and the French defeats at Dennewitz and other places soon followed.

BATTLE OF LEIPSIK, OR BATTLE OF THE NATIONS (1813 A.D.)

Napoleon marched in person against the main army in Bohemia and here several brilliant skirmishes were fought, but no great battle. By the partial defeats which Napoleon's marshals had suffered, his army had been weakened in numbers and shaken in *morale*; Schwarzenberg now appeared in time to deal a decisive blow. Blücher had joined the northern army, the main army advanced from the Erzgebirge, and Napoleon was threatened in flank and rear. The king of Westphalia had been expelled from Cassel by Chernicheff. Napoleon had to make up his mind to abandon his position at Dresden. He hurried to Leipsic; Schwarzenberg despatched Blücher and Bernadotte thither. Never since the encounter of Attila and the Roman general Aëtius, had such masses been led to the fight as in the battle of the Nations at Leipsic. It lasted four days [October 16th-19th, 1813] and ended with Napoleon's complete defeat; 300 cannon, 1,000 ammunition carts, 3,000 waggons, 15,000 prisoners including 13 generals and 23,000 wounded fell into the hands of the allies.¹ With the relics of the army Napoleon hastened to the Rhine; but had once again to fight during his retreat. Bavaria had joined the allies, the Bavarians and the Austrians opposed to them had united and under Wrede had occupied Hanau in order to stop Napoleon. After a fierce contest the French broke through and crossed the Rhine without further opposition.

Soon the allied army also came in sight of the river. They stood on the frontiers of that kingdom whence during many years victorious armies had so often marched; now it was its turn to cross, in the triumph of victory, that stream which Germany would no longer regard as her frontier but her river. Wherever they turned their eyes mighty images arose. Looking back they saw Germany liberated, before them the land, where, to their glory or death, further contests awaited them. They were to seek the lion in his den.

Schwarzenberg wished to cross the Rhine at once, but the negotiations of the cabinets prevented the execution of this plan. From Frankfort the allied monarchs declared that it was their wish to see France great, strong, and successful, and that the greatness and strength of France was a fundamental principle of the European state system. They assured France an extension which she had never possessed under her kings, but Napoleon refused their offers and prepared himself for a despairing resistance. He could not believe that fortune and victory had forever turned their backs on him. The war had to begin again. The allies decided not to observe the neutrality of Switzerland which would have been solely to the advantage of Napoleon, and determined to cross the Rhine through Switzerland.

AUSTRIAN SUCCESSES IN ITALY; THE OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON (1814 A.D.)

Meantime the fortresses in Germany had capitulated one after the other though not without a brave resistance. In Italy Hiller had driven the viceroy back on the Adige, and Laibach, Trieste, and the Tyrol as well as Dalmatia had been occupied. Bellegarde now took command in Hiller's place and there was a short suspension of hostilities. Murat occupied Rome (January 14) and concluded an alliance with Austria against his brother-in-law and benefactor. The viceroy Eugène, resisted so long as Napoleon held his own with his fall Eugène also abandoned the struggle and left Italy.

[¹ See volume xii, p. 607, for other estimates of the losses.]

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The allied army, disregarding the neutrality of Switzerland, crossed the Rhine, and a month later 120,000 men under Schwarzenberg stood on the heights of Langres; Blücher was on the Maas with 50,000 men, 30,000 Austrians threatened Lyons, Napoleon assembled his forces at Châlons-sur-Marne to the number of 120,000. The campaign which he now began was one of the finest in his life, but the momentary advantages gained were his ruin, for they induced him not to enter frankly into the peace proposals of Châtillon.

In this town the allies had met Napoleon's ambassadors to negotiate a peace (February 5th to March 19th, 1814). The advantages gained by the French induced Schwarzenberg to offer Napoleon an armistice. But he refused it. He hoped to divide Austria from the northern alliance by a separate agreement. But in this he was unable to succeed, because the allies had already concluded at Chaumont an offensive and defensive alliance aimed directly at Napoleon in case the congress of Châtillon should lead to no results. Each power pledged itself to place 150,000 men in the field and England undertook in addition to pay £5,000,000 in annual subsidies. Her only privilege was that instead of her own army she might send foreign troops or pay increased subsidies instead of sending any forces; should one of the contracting powers be attacked the other powers must come to her aid with 60,000 men each. In view of such an alliance Napoleon's hope of winning over Austria by herself was necessarily futile and since he was determined not to agree to the allies' conditions the congress dissolved itself. Napoleon appealed to the sword, but twelve days later he had to lay it aside, vanquished.

The course of the campaign in France is in brief as follows: Napoleon lost the battle of Brienne to Blücher (February 1st); then he turned against the main army. When he failed to break through he once more faced round on the Prussians who did not on this occasion advance with the circumspection they had hitherto shown. He flung the individual corps apart. They drew back and joined the northern army which was advancing under Bülow. Whilst this was being effected Napoleon again marched against Schwarzenberg. After the indecisive battle of Bar-sur-Aube, he threw himself by a bold manœuvre on the allies' line of communication and thought by this means to make sure of victory. But the allies paid no heed, and, marching on Paris, defeated the French division which had been stationed to guard the city. Paris capitulated and the allied army with the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia marched in. The emperor Francis followed later. Louis XVIII was proclaimed king. Napoleon abdicated and was taken to the isle of Elba, (April 11th). Louis XVIII concluded with the allies a preliminary treaty by which France was confined to the frontiers she had possessed before the Revolution. Treaties of peace with the allied powers were concluded with each separately (May 30th).

Emperor Francis returned to his own dominions and made a brilliant entry into Vienna. Thousands and thousands surged through the streets, drunk with joy and rejoicing in the wildest ecstasy; victory at last, after twenty years of war. The happiness of the world seemed founded.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1814 A.D.)

The allies had completed the great work of conquering Napoleon with extraordinary harmony and constancy. It now remained to regulate the conditions of Europe with a view to a permanent peace, and to this end a great congress had been summoned to Vienna; in the autumn it met. Almost all the monarchs appeared there in person while those absent were repre-

sented by their most trusted servants. The splendour and state which then reigned in Vienna, the joyous excited life and movement cannot be described. Those who did not see, who did not share it, can form for themselves no satisfactory picture. A hundred thousand foreigners streamed thither; the tales of the *Thousand and One Nights* seemed to have become truth.

The negotiations themselves offered many difficulties, for the allied monarchs had bound themselves by promises during the course of the war. The emperor of Russia had promised Poland an independent kingdom under his protection; Austria had undertaken to secure Murat in the possession of Naples, and, in the Treaty of Ried by which Bavaria declared against France, had promised the king of Bavaria complete compensation for everything which he might have to resign in favour of Austria. Finally the king of Prussia was justified in expecting the restoration of his former power.

The congress of Vienna fell into a series of negotiations between the powers according to the measure in which this or that dominion was affected by the subject in hand. The main subjects of negotiation were Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and Germany.

In Italy, where Austria was chiefly interested, everything was easily arranged. The Austrian Netherlands devolved on the king of Holland, though even at this time there were voices which called attention to the differences of nationality and religion in the two countries and prophesied that no good would come of this unnatural alliance; but no attention was paid to them and it was thought that by this union a bulwark had been raised against France, all the more so since the duchy of Luxemburg also served to strengthen Holland. Great Britain was especially active in bringing about this enlargement of Holland in order to compensate for the loss of the cape of Good Hope which England was unwilling to return, but this arrangement deprived the congress of a great source of compensation and made the solution of the critical question more difficult.

In Germany the kingdom of Westphalia had fallen to pieces of itself and the old rulers had everywhere returned to their former rights and possessions; on this occasion the king of England also received the title of king of Hanover. The question of the restoration of the old imperial dignity was agitated, but Emperor Francis did not respond to the idea, and it would have been a mere playing with forms since the ancient might of the German emperors could never be restored. The difficulties of effecting an arrangement in Germany lay in the claims of Bavaria and Prussia. The difficulties with Bavaria were such that the question was raised of handing the whole of Bavaria over to Austria, in exchange for which the house of Wittelsbach would receive the kingdom of Italy. But the exchange was not effected. Finally, Austria received from Bavaria, besides the Tyrol in the possession of which she had established herself, Salzburg, the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel, which had been resigned to Bavaria in the last unhappy war. Bavaria was indemnified with her old palatine territories, Würzburg, Aschaffenburg, and the present Rhenish Bavaria.

The greatest complication lay in the indemnification of Prussia. If it had been possible to give her her former territories all would have been easy; but this was impossible, for a great part of the old Prussia had been incorporated after the Peace of Tilsit with the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the emperor of Russia had, as we have seen, promised Poland the restoration of the kingdom under his protectorate. Prussia, therefore, wanted the whole of Saxony as compensation. Austria was not in favour of either the restoration of Poland or the dethronement of the Saxon house. Prince Metternich (the emperor

[1814-1815 A.D.]

Francis had raised him to the princely rank during the war of liberation,) did his utmost to induce the two powers, Russia and Prussia, to change their minds. France maintained that the restoration of legitimate government was a main task of the congress and that one of the most legitimate of rulers, the king of Saxony, could not be declared to have forfeited his throne merely because in the general upheaval of Europe he had lost his kingdom. England, Austria, and France, stood on one side; Russia and Prussia on the other. A new European war seemed on the point of breaking out but finally both parties gave way. The emperor of Russia resigned the duchy of Posen to Prussia, to Austria the salt-mines of Wieliczka, and those districts which in Austria's last unhappy war had been torn from Galicia and handed over to the Russians. The town of Cracow with a territory of nineteen square miles was recognised as a free city. On the other hand Austria agreed to a sort of partition of Saxony. The Prussians had already occupied a part of the country but were not satisfied with this; they wanted the whole. War appeared imminent. Hanover, Bavaria, Holland, and Sardinia also joined with Austria, England, and France. Finally the Prussians abated their demands. About a third of Saxony and the present Rhenish Prussia formed the Prussian compensation. If we add Posen, Prussia was now quite as powerful as before the last unsuccessful war with France.

THE WAR WITH NAPOLEON IS RENEWED (1815 A.D.)

Thus the main difficulties had been partly overcome, partly evaded, when suddenly, during a court festivity, the news came that Napoleon had quitted the isle of Elba, and had landed in France. The congress now came to a hasty conclusion. The German Confederation was brought into existence, the outstanding matters were hastily disposed of, the final act prepared. The powers armed for a fresh war.

The first step of the allied great powers was to declare the outlawry of Napoleon. They announced that he had deprived himself of all claim to the protection of the law by entering French territory with arms in his hands. They added that with him there could be neither armistice nor peace. All available forces were called into play for the struggle with Napoleon. He might say with truth that his eagles were flying throughout France, from tower to tower to settle on that of Notre Dame.

The prelude to the war took place in Italy. So soon as Murat received news of the acclamation with which Napoleon had been received in France, he came forward as his champion and, breaking through the papal territories, fell on the Austrians. The pope protested and left Rome. The outposts had already begun skirmishing when Murat sent to Vienna to declare that his intentions were wholly peaceful. But Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Ferdinand IV, who had been expelled from Naples ten years before, and was now living in Sicily. Murat had advanced to the Po before he encountered serious resistance but the Neapolitans were overthrown in every fight and at last defeated at Tolentino (May 2nd); ten thousand Austrians had beaten Murat's army which then numbered thirty-four thousand fighting men. The Neapolitan army was broken up; there was no further question of resistance; the Austrians pressed on unchecked to Naples. Before they arrived the queen had been compelled by an English fleet to deliver up the whole Neapolitan sea power (May 11th). Murat fled to the isle of Ischia and from thence to France. The queen, Murat's wife, was, at her own request granted permission to live in the Austrian monarchy. When the

Austrians had entered Naples, Ferdinand IV, appeared in the capital and again mounted the throne of his fathers.

THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON

It was not till after the Neapolitan conquest that the greater and more serious struggle began with Napoleon. The armaments on both sides were extraordinary. According to the general plan of operations the English and Prussians were to advance from the Netherlands, and the Austrians through the south of France. But before the latter could undertake anything of importance the whole war had been decided in a three days' fight in the Low Countries. Napoleon had attacked the Prussians at Ligny (June 16th) and after a brave resistance had overthrown them, whereupon he turned on the English and fought against the duke of Wellington, the world-renowned battle of Waterloo (June 18th) which Napoleon lost because the Prussians, whom he believed to be in full flight, had collected and attacked him in rear and flank. The results of this extraordinary defeat were first that Napoleon, seeing his way of flight to America barred by English ships, surrendered to the English and, in accordance with the unanimous decree of the allies, was taken as a prisoner to the island of St. Helena; secondly the return of the Bourbons; and lastly the second Peace of Paris.

The second Peace of Paris changed the frontiers of France only on the side of the Netherlands, and not to a considerable extent; but the works of art which during the revolutionary wars and under Napoleon had been gathered together from all quarters of the world and carried to Paris had now to be given back. A war tax of 700,000,000 francs was imposed on the country, and, in order to secure the tranquillity of France, 150,000 men of the armies of the allied powers were left in France under the supreme command of the duke of Wellington; his army occupied several fortresses. The period for its retention in France was fixed at five years.⁹

THE NEW AUSTRIA, AND THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION (1815 A.D.)

On the 9th of June the document was signed which contained all the agreements relative to the reconstruction of Europe, the final act (*acte final*) of the congress of Vienna. At this point we may insert a brief summary of its provisions as they affected Italy. The king of Sardinia, received all the territory of the whilom republic of Genoa, while Austria got (besides the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice) firstly, Modena, Reggio and Mirandola for the archduke Francis of Este; secondly, Massa and Carrara for the archduchess Maria Beatrix of Este; thirdly, Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla for the empress Marie Louise; and fourthly, the grand duchy of Tuscany for the archduke Ferdinand of Austria. The infanta Maria Louisa, widow of the king of Etruria, received the principality of Lucca. The states of the church were restored, contrary to the wishes of Austria and by the instrumentality of Russia and Prussia, who were anxious to please their Roman Catholic subjects. The Marches, with Camerino and its dependencies, the duchy of Benevento, the principality of Pontecorvo, the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara (exclusive of the portion left of the Po) returned to the dominion of the papal see. The emperor of Austria, however, retained the right of garrisoning Ferrara and Comacchio. Finally, after King Murat had forfeited every claim on the forbearance of the powers by his wanton breach of the peace on March 22nd, and had staked and lost crown and kingdom in a hope-

[1815 A.D.]

less struggle with Austria and England, the whole kingdom of the Two Sicilies was restored to King Ferdinand IV.

By this arrangement Austria became the one great power dominant throughout the Apennine peninsula, and the autocratic rule of Austria was the lot of the Italians so long as the territorial distribution of the 9th of June remained in force.

In this new trans-Alpine Austria, which included, according to the original scheme, the three legations of Ravenna, Bologna and Ferrara, Metternich sought compensation and more than compensation for all that he sacrificed or resigned without remonstrance and without regret on the hither side of the Alps; thus abandoning the traditions of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, of Kaunitz and Thugut. Metternich's Austria finally renounced her claim to Silesia and Bavaria, to anterior Austria and Belgium, to the crown of the Roman emperor and the status of the Roman empire. The Austria thus reconstructed was a southern Austria, which had cast the anchors of her sovereignty on the lower Danube and to right and left of the Adriatic, and had thus voluntarily withdrawn from a multitude of arduous duties and irksome complications which were bound up with her former frontiers and prerogatives. The emperor Francis decisively refused to assume the crown of Roman emperor which he had once worn, because he had neither the wish to fulfil imperial duties nor the power to exact imperial rights. But in this renunciation he gave up nothing but a mockery of valueless privileges and void possession. It did not by any means imply that he withdrew from German politics or surrendered the management of them to other powers. Quite the reverse. At the very moment when Austria laid her iron hand on Italy she instituted the German Confederation, in order to maintain in Germany an influence by which her ancient sovereignty should be revived in a modern form, and to prevent Russia from taking the place she desired. For this the German Confederation was her guarantee, and for this sole purpose she instituted it. But it was a triumph of diplomacy that this motive was never laid bare, that others worked for her without being aware of it, and that she was never forced into any utterance that must have betrayed it.

The nature of the body which the act of confederation was meant to create is tellingly expressed by a single phrase at the beginning of that document: "The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany have agreed to unite in a permanent confederacy." The word sovereign says all there is to say. It implies the denial of any federal authority, of any power of coercion on the one hand or obligation of obedience on the other, in a word, the denial of every kind of unity involved in the conception of a federal state. This word is enough to stamp the creation of the 8th of June, 1815, as a mere confederation of states, and when it was superseded — in 1866 for the north and in 1870 for the whole of Germany — by a federal state, the word sovereign dropped out of the vocabulary of German state law. As long as it stood, two points were incontestable — equality of privilege amongst all members of the Confederation, and the impossibility of deciding questions that involved alterations in these privileges by the vote of the majority. But, obvious as they are, these two consequences are nevertheless specially emphasised in Articles 3 and 4. In the one it is stated, that "all members of the confederation have equal rights," and in the other, that "when it is a question of accepting or altering the fundamental laws of the confederate body, of *jura singulorum*, or religious affairs, no decision can be arrived at, either in select committee or *in pleno* (in the diet) by a majority of votes." The object of the confederation is stated as well as its character. Concerning

this point Article 2 says: "The aim thereof is the maintenance of the external and internal security of Germany and the independence and inviolability of the several German states," which means, as far as it refers to internal concerns, the maintenance of equal rights and protection against decisions of the majority, by which they might be imperilled.

In Article 5 it is baldly stated that "Austria presides in the assemblies of the confederation." Nothing is said of the privileges accruing to this presidency, one duty only is mentioned. Austria must "submit the proposals of members of the confederation for general consideration within a period hereafter to be determined." But she had other duties of which the act of confederation says nothing and needed to say nothing; in particular that of using the military resources of the confederation in general and of Prussia in particular for the benefit of Austria as far as might be, while at the same time preventing Prussia from taking a leading place in the confederation. Briefly, the whole was an instrument for exalting Austria and keeping Prussia down, a confederation of states with Austria at its head, created to prevent the rise of a federal state with Prussia at its head. So we judge today, arguing back from the result that we know, to the purpose which was not realised at the time. But is this conclusion correct? Is it necessary to suppose that the subsequent occurrences were desired, known, and calculated beforehand?

Metternich's Policy

That is the question to which we have to find an answer in Metternich's words and actions. We will start from an avowal made by him in the strictest confidence at Smalkald to Lord Aberdeen, the English ambassador, on the 30th of October, 1813, as they were travelling from Leipsic to Frankfort. As a corollary to the declaration that the emperor Francis would never consent to the complete incorporation of Saxony with Prussia and that a division was the utmost he would allow, he said, referring to the future of Germany in general, that the emperor knew it would be easy for him to proclaim himself emperor of Germany without more ado, and that such a step would probably be received with no great astonishment. But it would not bring the German Empire back to life, and the practical difficulties that must inevitably ensue might perhaps irreparably prejudice the advancement of the common cause. His imperial majesty desired to unite the states of Germany in the bond of mutual independence, and thus to establish a kind of union in which the strong should protect the interests of the weak, a sort of *fœdus perpetuum*, in which his rank would assure to him to a certain extent the position of suzerain, but without the grave drawbacks of an unworkable system. This question, however, was one which the emperor wished to have left quite out of consideration for the nonce. The future organisation of Germany was not necessarily bound up with the immediate object of the present struggle. His majesty was of opinion that if all the German states were actuated by the powerful motive of maintaining their individual independence no other incentive to the exercise of all their powers would be needed. He desired to see release from the domination of France put in the foremost place, and regarded the discussion of any other question as premature.

Here we find at the outset an acknowledgement of the design which we have subsequently learned to know by its fruits. To accomplish this purpose Metternich employed various methods, one of which is here mentioned, to wit, his abstention from touching upon the German question while the war was yet in progress, and in particular the avoidance of any explanation with

[1813-1815 A.D.]

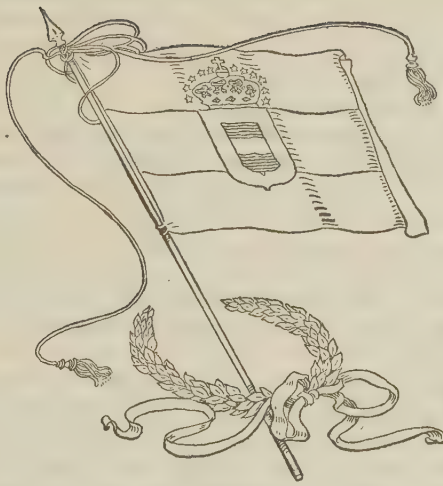
Prussia, who must not be displeased or set on her guard so long as there was such need of her incomparable army. On April 11th, 1813, Count Hardenberg urgently entreated an interview with Metternich, that he might come to a verbal understanding with him concerning German and Polish affairs. Metternich declined the interview and put Hardenberg off with references to the instructions he was going to send with Count Stadion to the headquarters of the allies. Stadion's instructions, however, contained no mention of the German question, any more than of the Polish. Thus, even when he was at headquarters with Hardenberg, Metternich contrived to wrap his own views throughout the war in impenetrable obscurity as far as Prussia was concerned, and meanwhile by his actions to frustrate the Prussian schemes, which were frankly communicated to him, at all points. Hardenberg's project, which he never attempted to conceal, was to raise Prussia to the position of the sovereign power of north Germany, first by rounding off her territory east of the Elbe (extending it if possible to the Weser), and secondly by a constitution which should bring the minor north German states, great and small, under her influence in matters political and military. In exchange Prussia was prepared to yield to Austria a similar position in south Germany. Such was the project which Knesbeck conveyed to Vienna on January 4th, 1813, and to the Russian headquarters on February 8th.

This Prussian project completely traversed the scheme of Metternich, who repudiated the notion of any such partition of Germany, not because he wished to save the body of the German nation from dismemberment — in his eyes the German nation had no more existence than had national rights, when they ran counter to the good pleasure of the cabinet — but because he wished to secure for the Austrian cabinet an undivided ascendancy in Germany. To maintain this ascendancy intact he had recourse to an infallible expedient. He set up the magic word "sovereignty" as a formula for the rights of German states, and made Austria the patron of the minor states, great and small, which prized this sovereignty above all things. On March 23rd, 1813, he commissioned Ritter von Lebzeltern to advise the emperor Alexander, then at Kalish, to proclaim openly to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine that they should forfeit nothing of their present status but should be allowed to enjoy "all sovereign rights in absolute independence." Nothing came of this advice, for the Kalish proclamation dated March 25th, contained threats only and no promises at all. But the emperor Alexander privately authorised Count Metternich to come to an agreement with the princes of the South German Confederation of the Rhine on what terms he pleased, undertaking to sign whatever contract Metternich presented to him ready for signature. Prussia abandoned south German affairs to her Austrian friend, but it was in the south that the fate of all Germany was decided. By the treaties of Ried (October 8th) and Fulda (November 2nd) Metternich granted the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg respectively not only the full and entire independence stipulated for in the Treaty of Teplitz, but the "sovereignty," concerning which (so far from coming to an agreement with Prussia) he had purposely avoided giving any sort of explanation. And with this word the whole German question was settled.

The word sovereignty implies the right of repudiating every kind of subordination. To confer this right upon princes who may possibly have ruled tyrannically because they themselves were subject to a ruthless tyranny, now past away, was not to pardon but to reward them. And if this reward were granted to princes who, to say the least, had rendered no service to the allied cause, how could it be withheld from others who had been the

victims of tyranny and whose cause was one with that of the allies? Even had the elector of Hanover not held an exceptional position as king of Great Britain, he and the elector of Hesse, who had just returned from exile, could not rightfully be put in a lower place than the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg. In short, by the spell of the word sovereignty Metternich determined beforehand that Germany was to have, not a constitution, but a mere treaty of confederation, that she should be neither state nor empire, but a confederation of states, in which there existed neither lawful predominance nor legal subordination, but only the practical suzerainty of the emperor of Austria. The employment of this spell of sovereignty was the chief instrument of Metternich's German policy. With it he destroyed Prussia's federal state of north Germany even before the first steps could be taken to establish it. Another instrument was the prevention of the incorporation of Saxony, which would certainly have turned the balance in north Germany in favour of Prussia, and he thus saved a minor state of north Germany which was in no case to be gained for the north German confederation. And, lastly, another was to give a show of support to Prussia's project of a federal state, which was foredoomed to failure but which issued in negotiations that stirred up ill-will in all the minor states against Prussia and Prussia alone, because as a matter of fact it was she who was the deadly opponent of what was described in Bismarck's notorious phrase as "the godless and lawless sovereignty-dodge." This last expedient Metternich employed at the congress of Vienna so skilfully as to deceive not only his contemporaries but posterity also. The emperor Francis expressed his objection to resuming the imperial dignity in the words: "To no German emperor will I submit, nor am I made for a new emperor myself. Such an emperor would have the princes, and the people devoted to them, against him, and the political humbugs on his side. I do not feel capable of managing such a crew." Every sentence of this sort was interpreted as a token of absolute unselfishness on the part of the emperor, and in the transactions of the German commission at the congress the minister posed as equally unselfish, seemingly demanding everything for Germany and nothing for Austria. Bavaria and Würtemberg were alone to blame if no good came of it. Metternich had fought for the good cause shoulder to shoulder with Hardenberg, Humboldt, Münster, and Stein. Such [concludes Oncken] was the impression he conveyed at the time, and by this view we have continued to abide to this day, and have consequently misconstrued the vital facts of the situation.^h





CHAPTER II

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS TO THE MARCH REVOLUTION

[1815-1848 A.D.]

THE wars, which with little intermission filled the first three-and-twenty years of the reign of the emperor Francis, were in the main a struggle for national independence. On their first invasion of France, Austria and her allies declared their intention to quell the revolutionary spirit, and to uphold the cause of hereditary monarchy; but, having failed in the attempt, they soon abandoned, tacitly at first, and afterwards in express terms, all pretensions to interfere in the domestic concerns of an independent state, or to prescribe its form of government. They fought against French aggression, not for abstract ideas, but in defence of their own rights and territories. After the last fall of Napoleon, however, the great powers of the continent reverted to their original policy, and constituted themselves the champions of the principle of absolute monarchy. The maintenance of that principle ultimately became the chief object of the so-called Holy Alliance established in 1816 between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and was pursued with remarkable steadfastness by the emperor Francis and his minister, Prince Metternich.

The determination to resist all demands for constitutional rights, both in their own dominions and in every continental state, was then an after-thought of the allied sovereigns, who had previously made very liberal professions, and apparently with perfect sincerity. The treaty of alliance concluded at Chaumont in 1814 between Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, contained the following declaration:

“The sovereigns recognise as the fundamental principle of the high compact now existing between them the unalterable resolution, neither in their own reciprocal concerns, nor in their relations with other powers, to depart

from the strictest obedience to the maxims of popular right; because the constant application of these maxims to a permanent state of peace affords the only effectual guarantee for the independence of each separate power, and the security of the whole confederation." In the early part of the first congress of Vienna, Austria, had declared that "the subjects of every German state under the ancient empire possessed rights against their sovereign which had of late been disregarded, but that such disregard must be rendered impossible for the future." Prussia deliberately proposed a scheme of almost the same constitution, which, thirty-two years after, was revived by Frederick William IV; and Austria, Prussia, and Hanover concurred in placing on record a note (November 16th, 1814), in which was maintained the necessity of introducing universally constitutional estates, and giving them a voice in questions of "taxation, public expenditures, the redress of public grievances, and general legislation."

Such was the disposition of the leading members of the German Confederation immediately after the first Treaty of Paris; but the events of the Hundred Days appear to have produced a total change in their views. When the congress of Vienna resumed its sittings after that period, the question of constitutional rights underwent a discussion of four weeks, and the result, effected chiefly through the influence of Austria, was the concise expression of the thirteenth article of the Act of Confederation, viz., "A representative constitution shall be adopted in all the federative states" — a phrase which committed its authors to no very definite issue, and of which the true meaning has been to this day a subject of dispute. It became the avowed policy of the chief sovereigns of Germany to maintain the rights of dynasties in an adverse sense to those of their subjects. The people, on the other hand, deeply resented the breach of those promises which had been so lavishly made to them on the general summons to the war of liberation. Disaffection took the place of that enthusiastic loyalty with which they had bled and suffered for their native princes; the secret societies, formed with the concurrence of their rulers, for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of the foreigner, became ready instruments of sedition; and Germany became possessed by a revolutionary spirit, working through hidden ways inscrutable to the police, compressible only by an enormous preponderance of military force, and always ready to break forth with devastating violence whenever that pressure was removed.

The antagonism thus briefly indicated constitutes the dominant fact in the history of Austria, and of every German state, in the succeeding years. Its nature is thus portrayed by the philosophical historian Niebuhr, as reported by the chevalier Bunsen:

"Europe is threatened with great dangers, and with the loss of all that is noble and great, by two opposite but conspiring elements of destruction — despotism and revolution; both in their most mischievous forms. As to the former, the modern state despotism, established by Louis XIV, promoted by the French Revolution, and carried out to memorable perfection by Napoleon, and those governments which have adopted his system, after having combated its author, is more enslaving and deadening than any preceding form; for it is civilised and systematised, and besides the military force, has two engines unknown to the ancient world or to the Middle Ages. These are, first, the modern state-government, founded upon a police force, which has degenerated into a gigantic spy system; and secondly, a thoroughly organised and centralised bureaucracy, which allows of no independent will and action in the country. So likewise modern revolution is more destruc-

tive of political life and the elements of liberty, than similar movements in former ages; for it is a merely negative, and at the same time systematic reaction against the ancient régime, of which it made the despotic part universal by carrying out uniformity, and by autocratic interference in the name of the state; whereas it gives no equivalent for the real, although imperfect liberties, which the old system contained in the form of privileges; and in condemning such privileges under the sanction of democracy, it destroyed the basis of liberty under the pretext of sovereignty.”^b

THE NEAPOLITAN AND SARDINIAN REVOLTS (1820 A.D.)

As regards the Italian provinces constituting the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom which had been assigned to Austria by the congress of 1815, while the Vienna government remained deaf to the well-grounded complaints of the people, let even the proposals of its own adherents pass unheeded, and only deigned to get through the scantiest routine of necessary work in the most important branches of administration, it lent ear all the more readily to the whispers of the police, and fancied that by perfecting this instrument it could ensure lasting quiet in the Italian provinces. But although the police took all possible pains to get copies of the rules of the various secret associations and to guess at the members who belonged to them, conspiracies continued to flourish rankly. Nor was any remedy supplied by the severe measures taken by a government which invariably lacked full and timely information. The increased rigour of the censorship availed nothing, nor the prohibition of attendance at foreign seminaries, nor the menaces of penal measures against the carbonari which were issued by the express command of the emperor—during his journey through Italy in 1819—nor impressive warnings against the pernicious political doctrines of the secret societies. The tales of horror told by officials and official journals concerning the doings of “the sects which walk in the darkness” and their programme to murder all kings, to extort agrarian laws, to build human society up again on a new basis, heated the imagination of immature youth and constantly brought fresh auxiliaries to the conspirators. The ferment and agitation waxed day by day till it discharged itself in the year 1820 in the Neapolitan and Sardinian revolution.

Grievous was the disappointment of the ease-loving Austrian minister. Coming home from the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (October, 1818) in the secure hope that “now everyone might go and grow his cabbages in peace for a long while to come, and that if the ambassadors could be forbidden to report to their governments the only cause of differences would be removed,” he suddenly and unexpectedly saw the public order, which he claimed as his own work, in peril, and the commonwealth of Europe a prey to violent agitations. The Spanish revolution of 1820 did not directly affect Austrian interests; the cabinet of Vienna was content for the moment to launch against it the doctrinaire opinions of a spectator. The doctrine of spurious equality—so it said—was the worm that was eating into the heart of Europe, true peace and safety were no longer to be found upon earth; no, nor morality, nor religion, nor patriarchal customs; and it could never be required of princes that they should give way to every caprice of armed representation and transfer to the political system of Europe the forms of government that obtained in Tunis and Algiers. But when the movement spread to Italy, and in Naples the old system crashed down at a breath; when the revolution was begun and the constitution resolved upon within

four days, then Austria could no longer look on with folded arms. Revolution in its worst form of military revolt here stared the emperor in the face; the ascendancy of Austria in Italy was broken down, her power there, possibly her possession, imperilled. The Neapolitan revolution took the cabinet of Vienna by surprise; when it broke out there was no great body of troops in Italy at Austria's disposal, nor could she, with her slow and clumsy military system, collect such a body quickly enough. The struggle was consequently delayed. But from the outset the cabinet of Vienna, "the natural guardian of order in Italy," was firmly determined to present a resolute front to the revolution.^c

THE EVENTS OF 1821-1832

Prince Metternich immediately convoked a congress at Troppau. The czar Alexander, who had views upon the East and was no stranger to the designs of the party who were preparing a revolution in Greece against the Turks, was at first unwilling to give his consent unconditionally to the interference of Austria; but in 1821, on being informed to his great surprise by Prince Metternich of the existence of a revolutionary spirit in one of the regiments of the Russian guard, he freely assented to all the measures proposed by that minister. The new congress, held at Laibach in 1821, was followed by the entrance of the Austrians under Frimont into Italy. The Neapolitans fled without firing a shot, and the Piedmontese, who unexpectedly revolted in Frimont's rear, were, after a short encounter with the Austrians under Bubna at Novara, defeated and reduced to submission. Meanwhile, the Greeks had risen in open insurrection against the long and cruel tyranny of the Turks; but Russia now no longer ventured openly to uphold them, and the influence of Austria was successfully exerted against them at the congress of Verona in 1822. Notwithstanding the professedly Christian spirit of the Holy Alliance, and the political advantages which would accrue to one at least of its members from the subversion of the Turkish Empire, the revolt of the Greeks was treated as rebellion against the legitimate authority of the Porte, and was strongly discouraged. On the same grounds, it was decided that a French army should be despatched into Spain to reinstate Ferdinand in his legitimate tyranny, and this was accomplished in 1823. The duke of Wellington, who represented England at the congress of Verona, protested, in the name of his government, against this violation of the constitutional rights of Spain; the protest was disregarded, and Portugal would have been likewise coerced, but for the landing of a protecting English force upon its shores.^b In 1825 the czar of Russia died and, after a short struggle with his next brother, Constantine, the third brother, Nicholas, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne. The duke of Wellington was deputed by the English government to present its congratulations to the new sovereign and it was on this occasion (April, 1826) that an agreement known as the St. Petersburg protocol was made between Russia and England by which the two powers entered into a mutual engagement to mediate a reconciliation between the Porte and the revolted Greeks.

A year later, July, 1827, a triple alliance based on this protocol was formed between England, Russia, and France, and led to the battle of Navarino, in which the allied fleets defeated that of the Porte (October, 1827). The result was^a the establishment of the kingdom of Greece under the protection of England, France, and Russia, which was regarded with no favourable eye by Austria; but she did not interfere with the proceedings of the other powers, nor was the harmony between her and Russia disturbed

until the invasion of Turkey by the latter had excited her alarm. In 1828 England and Austria peremptorily intervened to prevent the impending fall of Constantinople. France expressed her readiness to unite with Russia, and to fall upon the Austrian rear in case troops were sent against the Russians. Prussia, however, presented herself as a mediator, and a treaty was concluded at Adrianople in 1829, by which Russia, though compelled for the time to restore the booty already seized, gained some considerable advantages, being granted possession of several of the most important mountain fastnesses and passes of Asia Minor, a right to occupy and fortify the mouths of the Danube, so important to Austria, and a protectoral authority over Moldavia and Wallachia.

The piratical seizure of an Austrian trading brig in 1828, occasioned a petty war with Morocco and the appearance of an Austrian fleet in the Mediterranean. Satisfaction was obtained, and peace was concluded at Gibraltar in 1830.

The commotions that pervaded Europe after the French revolution of 1830 affected Austria only in her Italian dominions, and there but indirectly, for the imperial authority remained undisputed in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. But the duke of Modena and the duke of Parma were obliged to quit those states, and a formidable insurrection broke out in the territory of the church. An Austrian army of eighteen thousand men quickly put down the insurgents, who rose again, however, as soon as it was withdrawn. The pope again invoked the aid of Austria, whose troops entered Bologna in January, 1832, and established themselves there in garrison. Upon this the French immediately sent a force to occupy Ancona and for a while a renewal of the oft-repeated conflict between Austria and France on Italian ground seemed inevitable; but it soon appeared that France was not prepared to support the revolutionary party in the pope's dominions, and that danger passed away. The French remained for some years in Ancona, and the Austrians in Bologna and other towns of Romagna.^b

THE FATE OF "NAPOLEON II"

The July revolution of 1830 by expelling the Bourbons from the throne of France had not failed to revive a party whose interests were bound up with the Napoleonic dynasty represented by Napoleon's young son, once king of Rome, now duke of Reichstadt, who had been brought up at the court of his grandfather the Austrian emperor. The Bonapartist schemes increased in cunning in proportion to the condemnation with which they were viewed by public opinion and in official circles. As the direct and more open way did not lead to the desired goal, the schemers engaged in the devious and intriguing ways of secrecy. The Austrian cabinet having refused to surrender the duke of Reichstadt to the apostles of the Empire, they endeavoured more boldly and imprudently to allure him away and abduct him. He was constantly found surrounded by prowling individuals who had never belonged to his entourage before; he was ever more and more urgently pressed to escape to France or Italy with the help of the agents and to place himself at the head of an adventurous enterprise.

There is no doubt that ambitious and daring members of the Bonaparte family secretly held the threads of this intrigue. The most venturesome was the countess Napoleone Camerata, niece of the emperor Napoleon, daughter of his eldest sister, the princess Elisa Bacciochi. She, of all the relations of the emperor, most resembled him in features and in her whole nature. She

possessed the most fabulously lively fancy, she was energy itself; she was also a past mistress of manly accomplishments, such as riding and the handling of weapons.

Weary of her weak and sanctimonious husband, for a long time she led a restless, wandering life until the July revolution, reviving dynastic hopes, induced her to go to Vienna. There she took up her quarters for several weeks in the Kärnthner Strasse, and endeavoured by means of a secret correspondence to rouse her cousin, the duke of Reichstadt. She begged him not to act as "an Austrian archduke," but rather "as a French prince and a man." She adjured him "in memory of the terrible torments to which the European sovereigns had condemned his father, in consideration of the long death agony of the exile, by which he was made to expiate the crime of having acted too magnanimously towards them, to bear in mind that he was his son, and that his father's dying gaze had been fixed upon his portrait." The letter containing these words, the third of the series, bears the date of November 17th, and reached its destination on the 24th.

The duke of Reichstadt did not enter into all these challenges, on the contrary he kept to the following statement: "I cannot return to France as an adventurer! Let the nation elect me and I will find means to succeed." But in his soul he suffered real torture, the outward signs of which were visible to all his entourage, but the nature of which was only partially revealed to two persons, the prince of Dietrichstein and Prokesch von Osten. To the former the duke turned of his own free will in order to take counsel with him, the well-known, unbounded admirer of Napoleon, and to receive comfort from him in his heart's distress.

The written account of these conversations, set down by the prince of Dietrichstein himself for the duke, forms the foundation of Montbel's ^e communications. The prince took great pains to demonstrate that the party in France which aspired to the restoration of the empire was a very weak one; that it was evident, besides, that on account of the heterogeneous nature of its constituents it was instinctively striving towards its downfall, it was in fact daily dwindling and would soon quite disappear; and that finally if the duke placed any dependence on this party he would have but little chance of success. On the other hand he did not fail to recommend to the youth, so eager to achieve great deeds, to emulate the great career of Eugène of Savoy.

Prokesch von Osten found the duke at this time, "sad, thoughtful, and *distracted*." He often noticed in the middle of a conversation "that under the appearance of outward calm he was a prey to a continual inward agitation of extraordinary violence. The inclination to seclude himself from everyone, and to treat the outer world "with distrust and bitter prejudice" became more and more apparent in the duke. He conversed often exhaustively with Prokesch concerning the future of France; and expressed his conviction that "she would henceforth be subjected to great changes which would powerfully affect Europe." His lurking distrust on one of those occasions was very plainly expressed thus: "General Belliard has requested to see me since he arrived in Vienna," he said, "his request has been refused and this was very wise. What could Louis Philippe's envoy extraordinary have to do with me? Did he by any chance wish to obtain my assent to what has occurred in France?" It is hardly necessary to recall Belliard's loyalty to Napoleon, nor how he suffered on that account at the restoration, in order to point out the ambiguity of the suspicion as well as the curiosity evinced by his words.

The warlike preparations occasioned in Austria as well as everywhere else

by the July revolution, formed another topic of conversation. The duke betrayed a passionate desire, should war really break out, to take an active part in it. "But," he said to Prokesch, "to take part in an offensive war against France! How could I do it, what would everyone think of me?" He added, with evident pain, "I would take up arms only should France attack Austria." But immediately after seized by fresh doubts he continued in a troubled voice, "And yet no! my father's will clearly lays down my duty, and this command shall guide my actions throughout my life." He was referring to the words of the testament of April 15, 1821: "I command my son never to forget that he was born a French prince, he shall never fight against France in any way or do her an injury."

In the meanwhile the outward condition of the prince reached a crisis. Since the July revolution, he had had no more ardent wish, than to be able to rejoin his regiment in Prague. Did he then find Vienna such a gloomy place? Was he more oppressed than ever by the feeling of unbearable dependence at a time of such powerful excitement? And did he really believe, as he frankly confessed to Baron Prokesch, that in that desired change lay the way to his "emancipation," the means of attaining at last the "complete exercise of his will?" "It is necessary," he said, "that I should accustom myself to see and to be seen." Not only Prokesch, however, but Metternich and even the emperor, looked upon such a change of condition in those disturbed times "as a false kind of emancipation." Even if at first they had hesitated to carry out the earlier plan, it was certain that at the beginning of September, since Louis Philippe had been recognised, it had already been determined that Napoleon's son should not return to his garrison, but should spend the next winter and perhaps longer still in Vienna. In order to compensate him for his disappointed hopes, he was in November raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the infantry regiment of Nassau.

At the same time efforts were made to win him from his brooding by means of all kinds of distractions. He was allowed to witness in the second half of September the brilliant ceremonies and festivities in Presburg, which accompanied the coronation of the heir to the Austrian throne as king of Hungary. He was purposely drawn into all the pleasures, assemblies and balls at court, where he was — especially among the fair sex — the object of universal attention and sympathy, and where his wit, his facility in expressing himself, the vivacity of his repartees, the elegance of his dress and manners, the charm of his tall person and the beauty of his features insured him considerable success. Judging from contemporary portraits, his face was rather round than oval, with a very prominent nose and pouting underlip; the forehead was open and high, the cheeks somewhat hollow, thoughtful eyes looked out from beneath the curly, carefully parted hair, and increased the interest awakened by his appearance.

At last he was given the entrée into diplomatic circles, for the first time on January 25th, 1831, when he appeared at a social gathering at the residence of Lord Cowley the English ambassador. This was for him a kind of turning point in his life. It is true that no distraction had the power to dispel his sadness. In spite of the good will with which he was welcomed in diplomatic circles, and the charm this intercourse possessed for him, it nevertheless left him depressed. He railed at the parties as being "dreary and painful." He made the most bitter remarks upon the singular contrasts to be found there; here the exiled heir to the Swedish throne and the very minister who procured his exile; there the former ambassador of Charles X, and the actual ambassador of Louis Philippe; finally he himself, in such

close intercourse with two Bourbons. One circumstance, however, compensated for all this. "It does me good," he asserted "to feel that I am keeping in touch with Frenchmen; I did not wish to remain quite unknown in France."

His meeting with Marshal Marmont was evidently very beneficial to him; the former had sought a refuge in Vienna after his sad defence of Charles X in the streets of Paris and had been there since November. They first met at that gathering at Lord Cowley's and out of this grew more intimate intercourse. Metternich sanctioned this in the name of the emperor on one condition: that the marshal should tell the duke the whole truth without concealing either "good or evil" from him. Marshal Maison, the accredited ambassador of Louis Philippe, obtained an introduction to the duke who tactfully received him with these words: "You were a distinguished general under my father, that is at the present moment the only circumstance which is at present in my mind." It is evident that the duke was and consciously remained, in spite of all attacks, only the son and heir of Napoleon.

The Destruction of the Government of Parma (1831 A.D.)

Another excitement, the most powerful of all, was in store for him; when in February, 1831, the revolutionary movement in Italy came to a head and in the first rush his mother's government in Parma was swept away. His cousins, Napoleon Louis and Louis Napoleon, unconcerned about this Austrian archduchess threw themselves into the movement in that adventurous way which was so repugnant to him, grew enthusiastic over liberty, in order to make capital out of it as a power, and to dare everything in order to turn popedom upside down, convinced that the ruins of overturned worlds was the surest cement of Napoleonic throne building—the duke of Reichstadt, however, was impelled by quite opposite feelings and convictions. In Marie Louise he only saw his mother, and the wife of Napoleon; and in the duchy of Parma the last remnant of Napoleonic dominion, which ought not to be allowed to perish. He felt impelled on this account to take the field in defence of his mother and against the Italian revolution, not as the leader of a troop, however, but at the head of a European army.

The idea seized him like an electric shock. He hurried to the emperor Francis in order to win his consent. He besought him with prayers, he conjured him with tears; but in vain, his request was denied. Protesch testifies that the prince had never been more excited; his imagination revelled in a thirst for war; he seemed tortured by an ever increasing fever, and incapable of settling down to any work. When he gave vent to his torments in words, in moments of greater confidence, it was always to complain that the "first opportunity" of distinguishing himself had been taken from him; that nothing could have been more honourable for him than to draw his sword for the first time in the interest of his mother and to punish those who had dared to insult and threaten her." Full of anguish, he wrote to his mother: "For the first time it has been painful to me to obey the emperor." And as Prokesch cheerily advised him to perfect himself first by further studies, he exclaimed angrily: "Time is too short! it marches forward too rapidly to waste it on a work of preparations! Has not the moment for action evidently come?"

Austria's intervention damped the feverish ardour of Italy and that of the duke of Reichstadt. But two sparks glimmered among the ashes in the latter. The result of one of these was a constant vehemence and want of

[1831 A.D.]

consideration in speech which aimed at making an impression and gloried in it; the result of the other was a thirst for achievement which led him to take up the military career with a zeal that would brook no curb. The first we take more particularly from a description by a foreign diplomat: "The duke of Reichstadt, who lives at the court of his grandfather and in the bosom of the imperial family, as soon as he had completed his twentieth year took up a more and more independent and public position. Endowed with a very favourable outward appearance, full of spirit and fire, filled with the military glory of his father, rather lively than thoughtful or circumspect, he seems to regard the impression he makes, especially on strangers, with anything but displeasure."

The emperor was very willing to encourage the military ardour of the duke. But the idea of allowing him to live elsewhere than in Vienna was now entirely given up. When he entered his twenty-first year he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Hungarian infantry regiment, Ignaz Ginlay, on garrison duty in Vienna. On June 14th, he entered active military service and at the same time he was drawn into a military circle. By this circumstance the whole of his entourage was changed; his head tutor, Count Dietrichstein, and his former tutors left him; and General Count Hartmann von Klarstein, a man of science and culture and a deserving officer, and captains von Moll and Standeiski were appointed in their place.

The duke had now obtained what he longed for: standing on the threshold of a career whose vastness seemed incalculable, he did not dream that he was really at the entrance of the valley of shadows. It would lead us too far, were we to attempt to describe all the conflicts into which he was drawn by his passionate devotion to the duties of his calling, and by the state of his health. According to the reports of Doctor Malfatti, who had been appointed his doctor in May, 1830, disquieting symptoms of a consumptive tendency were already then apparent, which had been increased by his alarmingly rapid growth; at the age of seventeen, he was already five feet eight inches tall. For this reason his entering active service was postponed, and later on he was repeatedly prohibited from attending military duties. The more decided the doctor's advice became, the more he feared it in the interests of his military passion, and the more violently he began to repel it and the more obstinately he endeavoured to conceal from the doctor the progress of the disease. More than once he exclaimed "I abhor medicine!" and to all inquiries he would reply: "I feel perfectly well!"

But repeated attacks of complete exhaustion actually revealed what he refused to put into words. He was then for the time being condemned to inactivity by a command of the emperor based on the doctor's report, or rather, as he expressed it in his bitterness "placed under arrest by the doctor;" he fell back again in consequence into brooding fancies, which at times were of a scarcely less exhausting nature than the exertions of military service. It was while he was in this condition that he wrote to Prokesch on October 2nd, 1831, as follows: "So many thoughts run riot through my brain concerning my position, politics, history, and our great science of strategy which destroys or maintains kingdoms." On the same occasion he gave his attention for the first time to Lamartine's poems. One meditation he considered more especially beautiful; he was never tired of studying it, he read it aloud with delight to Doctor Malfatti. But it was evident that one passage had above all electrified him, because it appeared as though it had been specially addressed to him; with a voice trembling with emotion he recited the following lines:

*Courage, enfant déchû d'une race divine;
 Tu portes sur ton front ta céleste origine.
 Tout homme en te voyant, reconnaît dans tes yeux
 Un rayon éclipse de la splendeur des cieux.*

The state of the sufferer grew worse from month to month. He began himself to be conscious of its gravity, but no complaint ever crossed his lips, a settled sadness took possession of his soul.

Little joys and great illusions lightened it momentarily, as for instance when the emperor raised him in the spring of 1832 to the rank of colonel, and when a journey to Italy for his health was proposed. But he felt himself so dependent. He was filled with anxiety at the thought that perhaps Metternich—the emperor was absent—would not consent to the journey. How great was his joy when he received the desired sanction.

But his end was approaching rapidly; he helped to hasten it himself by the imprudent risks he ran as soon as he seemed a little better, so that Malfatti exclaimed in despair, that a fatal impulse was at work within him urging and driving him to murder himself. On July 21st, when the last agony had begun he acknowledged to the doctor for the first time that he was suffering. He was weary of life. "When will my life of torture be at an end?" he exclaimed. Early the next day, he breathed his last in the presence of his mother who had hurried to his bed-side, and in the very room of the castle of Schönbrunn, where his father, at the zenith of his power, had dictated terms of peace to the world.

Hardly any personality in the nineteenth century has been the subject of so many arbitrary assertions as the duke of Reichstadt. On the one hand they culminated in the accusation, that the Austrian cabinet had purposely driven him to his doom. On the other they took the form that Austria had reserved him as a pretender with whom to threaten first this party then that according to circumstances. It is evident that these assertions contradict and neutralise each other.^f

PROGRESS UNDER FRANCIS I

On the 2nd of March, 1835, the emperor Francis I died, after a reign of forty-three years, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand I. During the last twenty years of Francis I, and the whole reign of his successor, the care of the government was directed with assiduity, and with no inconsiderable success towards improvements in the industrial resources of the empire. Two great companies were formed for the conduct of steam navigation, the one operating from Linz on the Danube to the Black Sea, the other, the Austrian Lloyds, effecting communication between Trieste and Egypt, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. The state planned a net-work of railways, extending over the whole empire, and undertook the construction of a railway from Trieste to the Saxon and Prussian frontiers. A private company began the railway from Milan to Venice, and being favoured with extraordinary aid from the government, was enabled to complete the colossal viaduct across the lagunes, connecting Venice with the main land. Other important undertakings, supported by private capital, are the railway from Debreczen to Pest, and the noble chain-bridge over the Danube between Pest and Buda. But the solicitude of the Austrian government for the material welfare of the people was in a great degree neutralised by the erroneous policy which almost prohibited commercial intercourse with foreign countries, and even between Austria and Hungary. In 1838, however, a commercial treaty was concluded between

Austria and England, by which the Danube was freely opened to British vessels as far as Galatz, and all British ports, including Malta and Gibraltar, as freely to Austrian vessels.^b

[The principal axiom of the government in the days of the emperor Francis, a principle which was still upheld by Metternich under Ferdinand was the maintenance of the exclusive authority of the sovereign and the refusal of any share in it to the representatives of the people.]

If the principal effect of the system of government was that it fostered the private egotism of individuals by giving no scope to any wide conception of political life and thus excluded the possibility of genuine national sentiment, we may see another and yet more disastrous effect of the same cause in the fact that the several nationalities within the empire wrapped themselves up in a similar egotism, and lived and laboured for separate aims and a separate development instead of for the interest of a common fatherland. And, as the government closed the dual monarchy against external influences, so in like manner did it allow the several races to isolate themselves one from another; thus strengthening the diversity of their national elements, aggravating their differences, and ending by making the parts, formidable enemies to the whole. This perilous state of things had its root in conditions for which the present government was not to blame, but which it failed to understand and manipulated without due consideration.

Since the decaying Turkish empire had ceased to be a menace to Europe, the first and principal cause which had conduced to unite the most diverse and discordant national elements into a single Austrian Empire had passed away. Joseph II, meditating upon these altered circumstances, seems to have been seized with a presentiment of the dismemberment of the empire, when, by means of enlightenment and education, liberty and progress, he endeavoured to substitute for the previous external unity an internal bond of union in which the various races might prosper together as a harmonious whole. But he made a mistake in the means which he employed to this end, aiming too eagerly at a mark which, had it been set farther off, might have been attained with fuller certainty and without prejudice to the nationalities. The consequence of his centralistic extravagances was the rise of a national opposition, which showed itself first in the Slavonic and Magyar provinces. They were seized with a fresh enthusiasm for the revival of the Hungarian and Bohemian languages, though at the time those who knew the latter best, classed it with dead tongues.

The government of Francis I, on the one hand averse from all independence of action, and therefore ill disposed towards nationalist pretensions, and on the other inspired with a natural opposition to all Josephinian aspirations, slipped in this matter of the treatment of the nationalities, the most difficult of all Austrian political problems, into just the same slack and indeterminate policy which it pursued towards the estates. It gave with one hand and took away with the other. It abandoned Joseph's arbitrary attempts at centralisation — a tribute to nationality, the credit of which has sometimes been given to the emperor himself and sometimes to Metternich. The government imagined that it could obviate all danger by suppressing the temper of political inquiry, and it therefore reduced corporate representation to an unsubstantial phantom; or by lulling national sentiment to sleep, and it therefore forbade the teaching of national history in the schools. It mixed up the various portions of the army and transferred troops from station to station, it resisted the encroachments of the Germans and balanced one party against another, believing all the while that it was ruling most securely by dividing.

It watched with indifference the linguistic and literary exercises, the harmless milk on which the dangerous political temper waxed strong, and even assisted them by various enactments for their benefit, meanwhile excluding the teaching of the German language from the curriculum of German schools. The conservative system, which based the most frequent argument for the necessity of its continuance in Austria, on the combination of such diverse national elements within the empire, erred in the most important of all respects when it deviated from the path of logical consistency and, by permitting the disengagement of its component elements, lapsed into the very innovation of all others most characteristic of that spirit of the age which it desired most carefully to exclude.

The Growth of Nationalities

Thus it came about that in the apparent torpor of Austria there grew up in certain non-German races a self-confidence which gradually overtopped that of the Germans. In 1818, at the



MAXIMILIAN JOSEPH II

(1811-1864)

very time when the Bohemian diet was opened in the Bohemian language, the first steps were taken (mainly through the agency of the nobility) for founding the national museum which was opened in 1822, and which exercised the most far-reaching influence upon the scientific and national temper of Bohemia, and gave an impulse to the foundation of other polytechnic, agricultural, and industrial institutions, and to the study of Slav literature throughout the monarchy. Thoughtless frivolity there gave place to strenuous intellectual activity, and Prague was the sole spot where the German, in the midst of the full tide of Bohemian tendencies, felt somewhat in touch with the German spirit; just as in the transactions of the Society of the National Museum of Bohemia we meet with more

virile capacity and scientific earnestness than in most intellectual productions of contemporary Austria. This energetic action on the part of the Bohemian nobles was imitated in a few instances in the German provinces, but in no case with the like success. On the other hand it found a rival in Hungary, where (although Metternich imagined that he had sent the whole country to sleep) a storm was slowly gathering and where the particularist party in the opposition soon grew so strong that concessions had to be made to it at the expense of the Slavs and Germans. In Italy the national literature continued to flourish in defiance of tyranny; and the Italians began to assume more and more definitely that attitude of proud aversion which rendered it hopeless for the government to attempt to form a party and provoked the nobility to hold aloof from the public service, to withhold its sons from the army and refuse its daughters to German suitors, which induced the upper ranks of society to close their doors completely to Austrian officers and officials,

and which Metternich himself characterised as one of the most baneful evils of the empire. Prejudice here stepped in to consummate so much of the rupture as had been left incomplete by divergent interests and inclinations; jealousy grew into sheer incompatibility, diversity into the extreme of hostile opposition. Foreign domination, which Foscolo had called a hateful but indispensable necessity for Italy, seemed gradually to work the beneficent miracle of stanching ancient feuds. This slowly growing opposition, and the self-confidence of the various nationalities that kept pace with it, reacted by arousing the self-consciousness of the Germans themselves, who began to realise with shame that they lagged behind. Was not the German forced to pass on the humiliating tale of how the emperor had himself confessed that he could not impose upon the Italians the corporal punishment to which no one objected at home? And even in the twenties was not the English traveller struck with the proud, self-confident bearing of the Hungarian as compared with the listless Austrian, with the loftier sentiments and nobler intellectual endeavours of the Bohemians, and with the many historical reminiscences that were vivid amongst both races, while in Austria the people were wholly lifeless in this respect?

This feeling of humiliation, together with the apprehension of a dismemberment of the empire, spurred on Austro-German patriots to an opposition, unanimous in this, that it made the strengthening of the idea of unity, that is of Teutonism, the pivot of their reform proposals. For they fully realised the disadvantage at which this sudden rise of the nationalities would place the Germans, who were in the minority and dispersed in various provinces, possessing no political centre like the Hungarians, nor any such close connection with German literature as that which linked the Lombard to Italy, and who found no parallel to the national ambition of the Bohemian nobility amongst their own nobles, many of whom spoke French more readily and better than German. The trend towards political unity, however, brought the German reformers back to the Josephinian point of view, to which the course of events ultimately led the government likewise; they became more strongly absolutist on this great national question, while becoming increasingly compliant in the details of the administrative system. And yet even in Joseph's reign experience had proved how vigorously, even in this state, the very stronghold of conservatism, the new impulse of the age made itself felt, tending perpetually toward the substitution of organic for mechanical form and relations in states.

So clearly manifest was this characteristic that even in 1810, Gentz had expressed the conviction that "language and nationality are the only true frontiers of political division," and that "an organisation on this basis will yet take place." If this verdict contains a truth, it is to be feared that the antidote against dissolution may prove as questionable and dangerous as the evil which it is intended to cure, that this innate tendency of the age will give permanent efficacy to the nationalist opposition to efforts at unification, and will finally drive the unifying power in its extremity to proceedings against all the nationalities similar to those that were taken in the single case of Italy, if not more arbitrary. But even at the congress of Verona, at the earliest stage of these proceedings and long before their consequence had become apparent, they were recognised as futile and dangerous, not by the hostile opponents of the would-be infallible system, but by its own creatures, who charged the central administration of Italy on an Austrian basis and as an Austrian province with having made her "the object of the calculations of all revolutionaries." *g*

GOVERNMENT BY THE STAATSKONFERENZ

After the death of Francis, Metternich obtained possession of the power which Kólowrat disputed with him. In order to win over the dowager empress, Caroline Augusta, and her sister Sophie, wife of the emperor's brother, archduke Francis Charles, the Jesuits were granted toleration in 1836. The struggle for the rule was finally terminated by the appointment of the *Staatskonferenz*, the members of which were the emperor, his brothers (both were figureheads), Archduke Ludwig, the emperor's uncle, Metternich, and Kólowrat.^h

THE OLD MACHINE AND THE NEW TIMES

[Under the reign of Ferdinand] the old engine of the state puffed along in the old beaten track, guided by no one, unchecked by any restraining power, and impelled by nothing but its own force according to the law of indolence. Metternich, Kólowrat, and many other statesmen recognised how rickety it was, but from recognition they did not proceed to action; and as Count Hartig says, "What is wanted is not executed, partly owing to the power of custom, partly from indecision and want of unity." And Count Ficquelmont traces the continuation of the evil to similar causes. "I do not know the shoulders," he declares, "which with the strength of Atlas could carry the Austrian state structure. I do not know the man who would have presumed to wish it. Many hands were summoned to raise and hold this structure aloft, it was owing more to the want of unity than to the weakness of these hands that it fell to the ground." He reproaches those on whom "it devolved to take thought for the preservation of the existing state of things," with "want of foresight," they had "not chosen to see what was already visible to all," that "it had long been impossible to avoid a change," but "possible enough to give it shape." And at last he goes so far as to declare that "the whole state edifice is finally doomed to destruction."ⁱ

WAR IN THE LEVANT (1839 A.D.)

Once only during the reign of the emperor Ferdinand did the foreign relations of Austria assume a threatening appearance. War had broken out, in 1839, between the sultan of Turkey and his powerful vassal, the pasha of Egypt, whose son, Ibrahim Pasha, wrested Syria from the Porte, overran Asia Minor, and threatened the very existence of the empire. In 1840 the five powers — England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria — interfered. While their envoys consulted in London, the French and English fleets cruised in the Levant to keep the truce. The case was now much perplexed by the Turkish admiral having carried his ships to Alexandria, and put them into the power of the pasha. A strong suspicion was entertained that the French government encouraged the pasha to retain this fleet, when he would otherwise have given it up. The four other powers demanded its surrender by a certain day, and this not having been done, they signed a convention on the 15th of July, to the exclusion of France. That power was jealous, and remonstrated through her minister, Guizot; and war seemed imminent in Europe. The only way to prevent it was to extinguish the war in the Levant by a sudden blow before the conflagration spread farther; and this was done by the British fleet, aided by a few Austrian ships. They blockaded Alexandria and the Syrian ports; and in September they bombarded Beirut. The Egyptians lost ground everywhere; and in November Acre fell before

the attacks of the allied squadrons. Jerusalem returned to its allegiance to the Porte, and the Egyptians had no other hope than that of getting back to the Nile with the remnant of their force; Mehemet Ali delivered up the Turkish fleet, resigned his pretensions to Syria, and in return received the firman which gave the dominion of Egypt to himself and his heirs. A change of ministry took place in France, and peace was preserved.^b

METTERNICH'S ORIENTAL POLICY

The oriental policy of the Austrian statesman has found many admirers, and quite recently he has again been applauded for having scented the designs of Russia at the time of the Greek revolt. It may fairly be questioned whether he deserves great credit for so doing; persons who had not his opportunities for looking over Russia's political cards arrived at the same conclusion. The real question in debate is, whether Prince Metternich succeeded in setting bounds to the commanding influence of the northern empire in the East and in securing a pre-eminent position for Austria. It can hardly be answered in the affirmative. The opinion, which he himself frequently expressed, that he had succeeded in bringing over the Russian cabinet to his views on the necessary permanence of the Ottoman empire, was sheer self-deception. The pursuit of Eastern schemes was never for an instant abandoned on the Neva, though, with marvellous sagacity, their accomplishment was delayed till a favourable opportunity should present itself, and the fiction of having no other object in view than the maintenance of the *status quo* was kept up in the meanwhile.

By Russia's exertions the rudiments of fresh political organisms had been called into existence in the Balkan Peninsula. Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia had obtained an autonomous administration, Greece had become absolutely independent. It must have been evident to all men that the relation of these organisms to the Porte was in the long run untenable, and that Greece was confined within all too narrow limits. A well-considered policy should have taken these facts into account, and assumed an attitude of good will towards the aspirations which began to make themselves manifest in these provinces, in order to counterbalance Russian influence. Even from the material point of view, Austria's interests were very seriously involved.

Metternich applied to oriental affairs the standard that was valid for the West. The thing that was justified in his eyes, he had no comprehension of that which was to be. Metternich is largely to blame for the facts that habits of thought hostile to Austria effected a lodgment on the Timok and the Morava, at Bukharest and Jassy, and that Russia took and kept the position of chosen adviser in all important questions, while the Vienna cabinet was regarded with profound distrust. Neither did Austria make any friends at Athens, although Vienna statesmen cannot have been blind to the fact, that by means of diplomatic relations they had the opportunity of promoting traffic and opening an important market to Austrian trade and industry in that kingdom, small though it was. It is easy enough to understand that Austria should have opposed the expansive tendencies of the Greeks, because she wished to avoid everything that might provoke a fresh conflict in the East. But even their endeavours to obtain a share in legislation and administration found no sympathy in Vienna, and Austria supported the king, Otho, and his environment in their determination to retain absolute power. As long as Otho gave ear to the counsels of Metternich, the latter's prejudice against the young state appeared to give place to more amicable sentiments.

There were moments when he opened before Greece a significant prospect. "I have made my plans," he said to Prokesch in December, 1839, "Constantinople must not be anything but Greek." "And all the country between Athens and Constantinople?" asked the Austrian ambassador for the time being. "All of it," was the answer, "as far as the Greek language prevails; Athens must be transferred to Constantinople." So the king hoped, observed Prokesch, and he pinned his hopes upon Austria — hopes that he, Prokesch, had never wished to destroy or diminish. And Prokesch was perfectly right when he insisted that in the nature of things the Austrian minister had the most advantageous position in the country, if only he would avail himself of its advantages.

Metternich recommended "a sensible Greek policy" to the king, and elucidated this advice by saying that such a policy would keep itself remote from all extremes, would be Greek conservative and not aggressive, that it would hold aloof from the diplomatic game and never offer an opening, never deviate from the paths of reason. He flattered himself that the French cabinet was acting in harmony with the views that obtained at Vienna, and that the czar was of one mind with him respecting the "English constitutional and French political doings." He urgently warned the king to keep aloof from the "Candiot doings." The Greek kingdom was revolutionary by origin, and had received the baptism of legitimation by the force of circumstances; it was therefore the interest of the king as of every enlightened Greek to hold by the baptism rather than the birth. The claim of birth was the sovereignty of the people with all its brainless applications, that of baptism was the monarchical principle.

A complete justification for Metternich's oriental policy might be put forward if he himself had believed in the possibility of a regeneration of the Porte. But in this respect he differs from the English statesman to whom he was diametrically opposed on almost every question. Palmerston justified his attitude towards Mehemet Ali by the remark that all the assertions concerning the inevitable and permanent break-up of the Ottoman Empire were purely visionary; no empire, he thought, would fall to pieces so readily if let alone, the foundations, at least, of a better state of things had been laid during the last few years, and intercourse with other countries would bring progress in many respects to light.

The Austrian chancellor's views with regard to the Porte are set forth in a note to Meysenburg, dated May 14th, 1841: The Ottoman Empire is a body politic in a state of decay, which has its origin in the radical evil of Islam, a system devoid of all creative energy, in the conglomeration of heterogeneous races, in the defects inherent in the oriental mind, and in the defeats which Turkey has suffered in every war for the past hundred years, but the measure of this evil has been filled up by reforms undertaken after European models without any other basis than absolute ignorance and a vast multitude of illusions. The Austrian cabinet has resolved to give the Porte the following advice: Base your rule upon respect for religious institutions, which constitute the foundations of the existence of your empire and the principal bond between the sultan and his Mussulman subjects; give ear to the times and take counsel with the needs they bring; remain Turks; give the fullest protection to your Christian subjects, exercise genuine toleration towards them, do not allow them to be molested by pashas or subordinate officials, do not meddle with their religious concerns, but, on the other hand, be the strictest guardians of their religious privileges; and observe the pledge you have given in the Edict of Gülhanè.

Metternich appeared to be convinced that he had done the right thing when a complete agreement with the principles thus set forth was expressed on the part of the czar and the sequence of ideas contained in the Metternich document was repeated in the instructions issued to Count Medem on June 24th, 1841. But to those who were in his confidence he made no secret of his conviction that the prevention of the fall of the whole political structure by acts of reform was merely a temporary expedient, and that the problem was solved for the moment only. In his opinion Turkey was like one of those people who are never well, for Islam does not admit of a sound political organism. Inflammatory diseases break out from time to time, and if they are cured the condition that ensues is not health but the old chronic malady.^d

THE REVOLT IN GALICIA (1846 A.D.)

The province of Galicia began early in the new reign to occasion uneasiness to the government. The congress of Vienna had constituted the city of Cracow an independent republic — a futile representative of that Polish nationality which had once extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. After the failure of the Polish insurrection of 1831 against Russia, Cracow became the focus of fresh conspiracies, to put an end to which the city was occupied by a mixed force of Russians, Prussians, and Austrians; the two former were soon withdrawn, but the latter remained until 1840. When they also had retired, the Polish propaganda was renewed with considerable effect. An insurrection broke out in Galicia in 1846, when the scantiness of the Austrian military force in the province seemed to promise it success. It failed, however, as all previous efforts of the Polish patriots had failed, because it rested on no basis of popular sympathy. The nationality for which they contended had ever been of an oligarchical pattern, hostile to the freedom of the middle and lower classes. The Galician peasants had no mind to exchange the yoke of Austria, which pressed lightly upon them, for the feudal oppression of the Polish nobles. They turned upon the insurgents, and slew or took them prisoners, the police inciting them to the work, by publicly offering a reward of five florins for every suspected person delivered up by them alive or dead. Thus the agents of a civilised government became the avowed instigators of an inhuman *jacquerie*. The houses of the landed proprietors were sacked by the peasants, their inmates were tortured and murdered, and bloody anarchy raged throughout the land in the prostituted name of loyalty. The Austrian troops at last restored order; but Szela, the leader of the sanguinary marauders, was thanked and highly rewarded in the name of his sovereign.

In the same year the three protecting powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, took possession of Cracow, and, ignoring the rights of the other parties to the Treaty of Vienna to concern themselves about the fate of the republic, they announced that its independence was annulled, and that the city and territory of Cracow were annexed to, and for ever incorporated with, the Austrian monarchy.

From this time forth the political atmosphere of Europe became more and more loaded with the presages of the storm that burst in 1848. It was the Italian quarter of the horizon that first attracted the anxious gaze of statesmen. For more than thirty years after the final settlement of Europe by the Treaty of Vienna, Austria exercised a peremptory control over the affairs of all Italy. From every sovereign of that country she exacted the strictest maintenance of the established order of things in his own dominions; and hence she became for all Italian malcontents the object of their supreme enmity, the

common cause to which they ascribed all their political and social grievances. Agreeing in little else, they were unanimous in hating their northern masters; and gradually this communion in hatred led them to fix their desires also upon one common object, the achievement of Italian nationality. But they looked upon Austria with no less dread than aversion, and plainly acknowledged to themselves the impossibility of coping with her in arms. They busied themselves only with conspiracies to harass and annoy the Italian sovereigns, her subordinates. "During these last thirty years," says a judicious Italian writer,^m "the Italians had only been feeling their way. They cared very little, and understood even less, about the representative forms of Transalpine freedom. The thorn in their side was plainly the foreigner. They tried him by indirect attacks, by a feint upon the Bourbon, or the pope, at Naples, at Rome, at Turin. Before they were fairly on their guard, down he came upon them; and this ubiquity of the Austrian, this promptness and decision of his movements, this omnipresence and omnipotence, ought, if anything, to have, as it actually had, the effect of simplifying the question and identifying Italian interests."

Ever preludeing a levy of bucklers against Austria, but ever indefinitely postponing the moment of action, Italy was prematurely overtaken in the midst of her preparations by the fair-seeming but fallacious opportunity of 1848. Shortly before that period, the Italians had become conscious from fatal experience of the total inefficiency of secret conspiracies and violent measures, and they had adopted a more cautious and discreet policy, the watchword of which was "conciliation, union, and moral force." This change of conduct led to concessions on the part of the princes, the first example of which was given by Charles Albert of Sardinia, to whom the foreign yoke was even more galling than to the meanest of his subjects. Some trivial differences with the imperial government in 1846, on the subject of railways, and about some matters of custom and finance, afforded him a pretext for repudiating the dictation of Austria, and assuming the tone and attitude of an independent sovereign. This beginning was dexterously improved by the leaders of the national party, and three more of the principal Italian monarchs — the grand duke of Tuscany, the pope, and the king of the Two Sicilies — were brought by clever management to adopt, with more or less reluctance, a course opposed to the wishes of their imperial protector.

Italy was now fairly launched in what was vaguely called "the way of progress," and which simply meant, rebellion against Austria. A peculiar significance was attached to the mustering of the Italians in literary and scientific associations. A trade and customs union was largely discussed, and was finally concluded at Turin on the 3rd of November, 1847. After the accession of Naples, it seemed an easy step to convert that merely commercial agreement into a political compact, an offensive and defensive alliance; but this was not attempted until after the declaration of war in April and May, 1848, when it was too late.

Austria was by no means indifferent to these tokens; she resolved to surprise the Italians in the midst of their too-leisurely deliberations; but in the execution of that purpose, she forgot her usual discretion, and made a false move, which she was constrained to retract with discredit. She struck the first blow and failed. Upon the publication of the pope's decree of July 6th, 1847, for the organisation of a civic guard, the Austrian garrison in the citadel of Ferrara marched into the town, and took possession of it. Against this violation of his territory the pope protested in what the friends of Austria called at the time "unusual and intemperate language," but the act which

had provoked it was condemned by the whole civilised world, and Austria felt the expediency of amicably revoking the step she had taken, and withdrawing her troops within the citadel. She had put herself so palpably in the wrong on her first aggression, as to make it difficult for her to venture soon upon another attempt of the same kind; and so conscious was she of her false position, that she tacitly abdicated the high protectorate she had been used to exercise over the minor Italian states, and even refused the benefit of her advice to the sovereigns of Lucca and Tuscany in their perplexities. It was fortunate for her that she had not to do with a pope like Julius II to head a national crusade, which would have leagued all Italy against her. As it was, she was compelled to endure, at the hands of Pius IX and his minister, Cardinal Ferretti, a flat and harsh refusal of a free passage to the troops she contemplated sending to the succour of her Neapolitan ally. Never was Austrian influence in Italian affairs at a lower ebb since the coronation of Charles V in 1530. Modena and Parma alone adhered to her unreservedly; even Naples was wavering in its attachment.

Everything favoured the hopes of the Italians and tended to make Austria's position in the peninsula increasingly precarious. But that condition of things was reversed in a most unexpected manner. Events, which portended nothing less than the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy, proved the means of consolidating its power and restoring its lost influence. "All the Italians wanted was time, and this was not given them. The success of their enterprise rested on their consciousness of the magnitude of its difficulties, and fortune made it appear portentously easy." The temptation offered by the Vienna catastrophe of March, 1848, lured the Italian patriots to their ruin.^b

THE PRELUDE TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Already in the last years of the emperor Francis it had been the conviction of a majority of Viennese politicians that Austria must unavoidably pass through a tremendous crisis in the immediate future. When, on the accession of the emperor Ferdinand, that large circle which had built expectations of timely reforms on the change of ruler found itself completely deceived, the indignation which already existed increased with truly dreadful rapidity.

Only the prevailing discontent was now more loudly expressed. The obstinate, unbending will, which would have suppressed and maimed in its first stages the political movement that was slowly preparing, was now missing from the throne, and, since the frequent dissensions and lack of cohesion amongst the members of the Staatskonferenz were no secret, men soon ceased to be afraid to let their discontent likewise be no secret. The views and temper of the educated classes became daily more unfavourable to the government, and the latter had absolutely no following, no party, amongst the people. A stigma was cast upon every attempt to speak in its favour, and it became the prevailing fashion, amongst all who considered themselves in harmony with the spirit of the times, to honour every enemy of the government as a friend of enlightenment, progress, and humanity, and to afford encouraging support, both publicly and privately, to every opponent of the existing order; for expressly or tacitly the principle was accepted, that truth and independent thought were to be found only in the ranks of the government's adversaries.

Down to the middle of the forties there was indeed little evidence in the external life and movement of Vienna of the revolution in the national spirit. With the exception of the *Wiener-zeitung* and the *Beobachter*, neither of which interested anyone, and of the *Augsburger allgemeine Zeitung*, which had a fair

circulation, regular political journals did not exist, and the public and secret police also took care that the public should not feel disposed to discuss politics to any great extent. But in the early forties the government itself roused eager discussions in the whole world of trade, industry, and commerce by the negotiations concerning the question of the accession of Austria to the German *Zollverein*. A sudden animation was now infused into the trades-unions; and in industrial circles large and small assemblies now took place in which the commercial policy of the government was discussed, so that it became quite impossible to entirely avoid treading on the domain of pure politics.

The issue of the negotiations carried on within the heart of the *Staatskonferenz* was notoriously extremely unfortunate for Austria. The accession to the customs system of Germany, which would at that time have demanded little sacrifice from Austria, was not effected, although it was warmly championed by Prince Metternich, Kübeck, (a man who had raised himself from the humblest circumstances to be *freiherr* and finance minister) and by other influential statesmen. It was not effected, for one thing, because some, like the archduke Ludwig, nourished a dread lest the economical union with Germany might introduce a change of system into Austria by which the statesmen at the helm would find themselves ousted, and which it was desired to avoid at any price as generally dangerous to the existence of the state; and for another thing because it was thought needful to yield to the agitation of a large section of the trading and industrial classes, who were never weary of assuring the government that they would be completely ruined by an accession to the customs union, and who were supported with the utmost fervour and zeal by Count Kólowrat, less indeed from conviction than from rivalry with Prince Metternich.

The movement for and against accession to the customs-union kept the industrial classes more than four years in suspense. This movement reached its zenith in the last months of 1844, when List, the memorable *Zollverein* agitator came to Vienna, in order to work on the government, as well as on the industrial classes in favour of accession to the customs-union. List put the German national side of the tariff question in the foreground, so that now the united intelligence took part in the debate espousing the cause of accession. At this time, the 23rd of December, 1844, the trades-union arranged in the Casino on the Hoher Markt a banquet in honour of List, which for contemporaries was of the utmost significance, as it was the first political meeting in Austria.

At this banquet, Professor Kudler highly praised List's efforts to raise the science of political economy into a "really national doctrine," and extolled his work as having proved that raising the activity of a nation was not really a question of improving some isolated economic matters, but of perfecting the social condition as a whole, of "developing all its social institutions," and of encouraging moral and spiritual culture in all their branches.

List himself, in a speech whose closing sentence roused a storm of applause seldom heard in Vienna outside a theatre or a concert hall, proposed "Germany" as a toast, "Germany in art and science, literature and civilisation, a star of the first magnitude among the nations of the earth — Germany destined by its natural resources, by the ability of its people and by a wise commercial policy to be the richest country on the continent of Europe — Germany, whose solidarity and domestic development have won the high position of one of the principal guarantors of European peace — Germany, our great and glorious Germany, the Fatherland common to us all, and beloved by us all — long live united Germany!"

At this banquet (as we are told in L. A. Frankl's interesting notes on the Austria of the time previous to the March revolution of 1848) a toast, proposed by the then American consul in Vienna, in honour of Prince Metternich, was received with expressive silence. We in the present can form no approximate idea of the extraordinary sensation the after dinner speeches of that day produced throughout Austria. It should not moreover surprise us, that after List had given the "tariff question" its national German character, it should have been taken up and debated with a certain amount of passion among all the educated classes. At that time throughout Vienna, and not merely at the List banquet, there was an extraordinary prevalence of patriotic German sentiment.

In 1842, at the laying of the foundation stone in Cologne, the toast which Archduke John is said to have proposed, "No Prussia, No Austria! One great united Germany, fixed as its mountains," to which toast he owed his position at the head of Germany six years later, roused in Austria itself, especially in Vienna, an enthusiasm, which once more proved that the existing state of affairs was not approved by the majority of the people. The wave of patriotic feeling, which had pervaded Germany for two years past, and which through the instrumentality of Becker's song: "They shall not have it, our free German Rhine!" had penetrated to all classes of the people, received a mighty impetus from Archduke John's toast. New hopes animated every patriotic circle and the work of those who laboured for union proceeded with new ardour.

The Legal and Political Literary Club

It is certainly significant that in Vienna new societies sprang into existence at this period, which acquired no little influence over the development of the political life of the state and the formation of Viennese public opinion. Of the various societies thus formed the Legal and Political Literary Club, founded in 1842, was in every way the most important. This club, which Count Sedlnitzky was fond of describing as the "crucible of the revolution," and about which he prophesied, that its members would "read themselves into crime" was, as related in L. A. Frankl's notes, founded in the year 1842 by Eugen von Mühlfeld, Baron von Sommaruga, Dr. Alexander Bach, Dr. Von Würth, Dr. Wildner von Maithstein and Professors Von Stubenrauch and Hye.

In order to get leave to inaugurate this society, its purpose was declared to be, to give the educated, and more especially the legal public an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the progress of literature in all its branches, by means of the publication of the most important pamphlets and of the best scientific and artistic works. The young men who founded the club used the name of Baron von Sommaruga, one of the former tutors of the emperor, court councillor and chairman of the state council, a man held by all circles of society in high esteem; they employed his name as a banner of loyalty to be displayed in the foreground and Von Sommaruga utilised the time during which Prince Metternich was away for his health to personally urge Count Sedlnitzky for his consent to the incorporation of the club. This recommendation furnished the count with the surest guarantee of the innocent character of the club, and shortly afterwards the imperial sanction was obtained; the club announced its birthday by an invitation to join it, published in the imperial *Wiener Zeitung*, whose daring tone, sounding like high treason or a signal of revolution, amazed the whole reading world.

"The club," remarks L. A. Frankl, "drew its members chiefly from

amongst the high legal officials and the military set. Authors from all circles, doctors, and theologians were also enrolled. Such a happily combined society must arrive at further results than the mere reading of books and papers. Each member contributed lively information in the shape of thought, events, and experience; and every man who thought and who struggled was thoroughly convinced that a new and different order of things was approaching. Those who were over-strained in mind and character were also to be found cherishing other hopes in their hearts. The members divided themselves into groups for the livelier debate of different subjects. The longing after free speech found its outlet first of all in smaller circles. Even the club's book of suggestions bore many traces of a yearning for participation in politics. Such intellectual activity was not without its effect, and attracted people in outlying circles, individually and in groups. Electric sparks flashed here and there, and there awoke a more curious impulse, even a noble ambition to belong to a society which had the courage, though that was coupled with caution, to give expression to the discontent which was everywhere simmering.

The club became the home of almost all the intellectual life of the capital. Here correspondents for foreign newspapers drew their material from the best sources. As the exchange was the thermometer for politics, so, in less undisguised a manner, was the club for the public humour in Vienna. First and foremost, however, it was intended to have free lectures on current questions of common interest. Having contrived to evade the police, application for permission was made at the students' "court of commission" and the permission obtained. Dr. Joseph von Würth led off with lectures on the state of the prisons, which were attended by all the notabilities of high officialdom, by excellencies, directors of police, nobles, diplomatists. These lectures resounded in all parts of the capital, and were discussed with avidity in foreign journals. This, and more particularly the fact that Count Sedlnitzky had been cajoled, ensured these lectures being the last, as well as the first.

The club intended to publish a collection of laws belonging to the eighteenth century, edited by an official named Polivka. The government had given permission for printing them; the minister of finance, or as he was then called, the president of the imperial and royal court chamber, Freiherr von Kübeck, had promised that they should be printed free of charge by the state press; Count Sedlnitzky stopped the printing, in spite of the clear verdict of the law, to which the club appealed. Such arbitrary measures as these, inspired by hatred, could only breed bitterness and win warmer sympathy for the club.

The Concordia did not become so important an organisation as the Literary Club. It was a club of authors and artists, which, in order to avoid the required sanction by the police, which certainly would not have been given, posed as a perfectly commonplace social club; but the discussions had so decided a tendency toward freethinking politics that the police found it necessary to keep them under strict surveillance. In many Concordia evenings, the lecturers and speakers who addressed the meetings, both in prose and verse, struck so radical a note, that List, who on one occasion was present as a guest, said, "You fellows, if you celebrate a few more suppers like this, there will be only one course open to you — Revolution."

The Vienna Men's Choral Society, founded just about this time, played an essential part in fostering the steady flow of German patriotism in Vienna. The political movement, spreading so cautiously and increasing so steadily, was felt not merely in intellectual circles; the petty bourgeoisie and the smaller citizens also began to feel conscious of a constant discontent. At

any rate it is very significant, that on the 28th of December, 1841, the full court of magistrates felt itself constrained to raise the question of establishing a select committee of townsmen, a measure which had been proposed as early as 1838, by Burgomaster Czapka. Walter, a municipal councillor, who was in the chair, moved the adoption of the proposal as it would have a favourable effect on the humour of the citizens; the committee of townsmen, he suggested, should number one hundred members, should take part in discussing and fixing the year's estimates, should be convened on extraordinary occasions, and should be elected by means of voting papers, by the municipality and some four hundred other citizens. A single municipal councillor, Küsswetter, was in favour of giving a wider sphere of activity to such a committee; all the rest declared themselves more or less against the chairman. Nevertheless, the majority of the municipal council decided to apply to the government for permission to form a select committee of townsmen consisting of sixty members.

The request of the municipal councillors was warmly recommended by Count Kólowrat, received by Prince Metternich on the contrary somewhat unfavourably, and by Archduke Ludwig, before whom it finally came, it was shelved with the note, "The Czapka at his crazy tricks again." That is the account given in the journal of a municipal official of that time. There was no more question of a committee of townsmen, until in March it suddenly came into existence.

Baron Andrian's Pamphlet

In the year 1843 appeared an anonymous pamphlet, published by Hoffmann and Campe in Hamburg and entitled *Austria and Her Future*. Although, or perhaps because, it was strictly prohibited in Austria, immediately after its appearance, this book, whose author was subsequently known to be Baron Andrian, a government official, made an immense sensation. The severe prohibition did not prevent the booksellers from distributing thousands of copies of the pamphlet throughout Austria, and its contents were for weeks the talk of the cultivated classes. Not merely in the political literature but also in the political life of Austria this pamphlet marks a new epoch. *Austria and Her Future* contained an oratorical appeal to the class feeling of the Austrian aristocracy, and brought home to them the fact that their position in Austria was one of little honour, and that it must depend on themselves to rise from their fallen condition and press toward the restoration of their ancient constitutional rights. Baron Andrian was not a feudalist in the sense that he desired the fall of absolutism only to erect in its place aristocratic supremacy in Austria, by which the people, hitherto kept in leading strings by the bureaucracy, would henceforth be under the tutelage of the aristocracy. Rather did he appeal to the nobility in the conviction that the latter, by its past, its wealth, and its powerful interest was pre-eminently qualified to reform conditions in Austria, peacefully, and in the least dangerous way. Baron Andrian would have liked to see all the "estates" of the nation taking a share in public affairs, and called on the nobility to make it its object to obtain that the popular element should receive a sufficient sphere of activity and its due place in the state, through the representation of all classes in the provincial estates and in the future imperial estates, through the liberty of the press and the publicity of judicial proceedings, but above all through the freedom of communal life. This appeal to the noble order, whose institutions had been pitifully crippled during the last decades was not without effect; the estates, especially in Bohemia and Lower

Austria awoke to new life and prepared the way for that liberal opposition by which in the course of three days the system of the days before the March revolution was completely abolished for all time.

The Estates of Bohemia and Lower Austria in the Forties

In Bohemia the movement in the diet was most vehement, but it was less dangerous to the government than that in Lower Austria, because it was, for the most part, of a markedly aristocratic character, although it must be admitted that in the Bohemian diet, during the forties, many important matters of democratic interest were openly debated. The Bohemian diet, in the ardour of its opposition, went in the teeth of the government, to the very last extremes of legal defiance. It was bold enough to remind the emperor of the terms of his Bohemian coronation oath, by which in 1836 he had sworn to uphold the privileges of the estates. They did not think twice in 1847 about refusing their consent to a tax that the government desired to impose; and if 1848 had not arrived, it might perhaps have come to pass that the Bohemian estates would have called upon the German Confederation to help them in their administration of justice and in protecting the constitution of their country. Indeed the German Act of Confederation declared that in all countries included in the union, the existing constitution provided by the diet was to be upheld, and personal freedom respected; and where these did not exist at the date of the act (1815), they were to be introduced and placed under the protection and support of the confederation.

The movement of the estates in Lower Austria was more concerned with asserting the general well-being of the people, and was therefore a greater danger to the government, for whereas in Bohemia, many members of the provincial diet were lulled into serenity in the conviction that the pressure of centuries had long ago burst the paper fetters of treaties, concessions, and reservations, that most of the old charters had become impossible, and that the world could not return to the chaos of the Middle Ages, the opposition in the estates of Lower Austria believed that their constitutional right and duty enjoined them to guard the well-being of their country by word and deed. In acting thus they did not for a moment blind themselves to the fact, that in order to give effect to this right and adequately to perform this duty, the institution of the provincial estates required the assistance of a new organisation, a comprehensive strengthening by means of the "fourth" (citizen) estate. Their efforts were all the more disquieting to the government, in that it was impossible to foist upon them the view that their business was, after all, mainly to look after their private interests.

The estates, therefore, displayed courage, endurance and determination in a high degree, when they refused to allow odious attacks of the government to frighten them, but continued their work in a liberal fashion. Several of their measures admitted of no misrepresentation or misconstruction, as, for example, their motions for the institution of a bank for farmers (1846), their petition for the reduction of the tax on food, the alteration of the stamp tax "which in its then existing condition was for the poorer classes a particularly hard measure, whilst the upper classes scarcely felt it," for the introduction of a general income tax (1846), for the improvement of national education and teaching, and for the introduction of autonomous municipal regulations in Lower Austria (1847). It was in the end the government itself which fell into the difficult position it had prepared for the estates.

Many of these manifestations were greeted with so loud an echo in wider

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circles, that the government could not risk the consequences of directly refusing all the demands of the estates; instead, they neglected to answer the proposals for measures of reform laid before them. Well meant and greatly to the interest of the public as these measures were, they had not the slightest practical consequence, because it did not please the government, until the days of March, 1848, to take a single one of them into consideration.

A deputation from the estates which was sent to present an address of thanks for the reduction of the period appointed for military service, and which desired to place the address upon the steps of the throne, was not admitted, because to permit this address of thanks might justify the estates in presenting, in other circumstances, an expression of censure; another deputation, arriving to present to the emperor an appeal to consider their right of being asked for an opinion in any matter of importance for the province, was also refused admittance. In fact, the government systematically proceeded to oppose a stiff-necked resistance to any and every measure proposed by the estates. But, although in every journal at their disposal in Germany and other foreign countries they might misrepresent the estates as "that nuisance of the Middle Ages," public opinion was very soon enlightened as to the truth of the matter. This enlightenment was due to Kuranda's *Grenzboten* (border-messenger), which described the action of the estates throughout Austria, and thereby aroused the liveliest attention, and which never tired of encouraging the estates to stand firm, and of reminding them that their vocation was not merely to establish their own constitutional rights, in these struggles with the government, but effectively to assert the general interests of the community.ⁱ

The Growth of Opposition in Hungary

Meantime in Hungary the opposition which had grown up in previous diets under the emperor Francis had made itself conspicuous only as the champion of the privileges of the estates and the opponent of encroachments on the part of the government. The first reference to nationality came from a young orator, Vagy Pál by name. "Privileges may perish," he said "nations never!" The principle thus enunciated powerfully affected the minds of the younger generation, and indicated a fresh phase in the history of the opposition, but the first opposition party of any importance came into existence during the diet held after the Wallis state-bankruptcy. The government wished to impose its scale upon Hungary by law, but the diet was distrustful of the paper money and wished to take the currency as the basis of the scale. Thus it came about that no law was enacted. The emperor, however, gave his scale to the courts of justice, commanding them to judge according to it. This proceeding aroused great dissatisfaction and was the first thing that called forth the wrath of the opposition which grew to such great proportions later. The emperor, apprehensive that the next diet would attack this patent, postponed it from year to year. He was fortified in his views upon the postponement by the fact that during the Franco-Russian war he had received voluntary subsidies in response to a mere imperial rescript. In fact, during the war of liberation the country went beyond the emperor's expectations, for when he called upon the comities and towns by a rescript to furnish a voluntary levy of light horse, the utmost the government expected to get was eight thousand cavalry, but in a little more than a month the country raised sixteen thousand, or twice as many. The Emperor's absolutist principles made him think it easier, as it was in his opinion better, to give laws by rescript than through the diet.

After the second Peace of Paris, however, signs of growing opposition began to be manifest in the comities. The increasing strength of this opposition was due, to some extent, to the fact that the Hungarian coast had not been restored to Hungary but was now governed as German territory, and to the tenor of the royal edicts, which were not always in harmony with the laws of the land, but it was also due to a certain extent to the action of the archduke palatine, who frequently recommended men from the opposition party in the comities for advancement and distinction, and of the government which acted upon his recommendations. The archduke palatine was actuated partly by a desire to enhance his own popularity, partly by the belief that at the decisive moment his extraordinary ability would ensure him the victory over the opposition in spite of all. But he did not consider that an individual grows old, while his method was calculated to keep the opposition perpetually young. The government thought that it could weaken the opposition by promoting its opponents. It was mistaken, for no sooner did the Magyars (whose besetting sin is greed of titles and offices) perceive that the way to office and honours lay here, than members of the opposition sprang out of the ground like mushrooms.

But the government made a mistake even greater than this in its treatment of the opposition, for it broke down one of the strongest barriers by which it had been confronted ever since the house of Austria bore sway in Hungary. The Catholic clergy were legally recognised as the first estate. Wealthy, well-disciplined, and dispersed over the whole country, represented in the diet by deputies in the chamber of estates and by the bishops in the chamber of magnates, they exercised a great and often decisive influence in political affairs. The emperor Francis did not realise this political aspect of the Magyar ecclesiastical establishment, and said bluntly that "he liked the cleric best who troubled himself least about politics." The Catholic clergy no sooner became aware of this than they began to withdraw by degrees from the political arena, and thus it came to pass that in the course of the first thirty years of the reign of the emperor Francis their influence on politics fell to zero. The efforts they made afterwards to regain the political power they had formerly wielded failed to accomplish the desired result; the barrier, once broken down, was not to be restored.

Another element, too, came into existence in the comities, where it worked indescribable confusion later. This was the small squirearchy, the owners of inconsiderable landed estates, or of none. At the time with which we are at present concerned this inferior squirearchy, which was called the *cortes* (why no man knows), was admitted into the assemblies of the comity, at first only at the election of the officers of the comity, afterwards at all elections, then to deliberations upon political matters, and finally even to the decision of private affairs. The *cortes* was venal, its vote went to the highest bidder; it was easily worked upon by political machinations, a prey to the richest or most audacious agitator.

Thus the state of politics was not auspicious for the government when the emperor, deceived by the apparent tranquillity of Hungary, promulgated two royal edicts, which, if successfully carried out, would have suspended the Hungarian constitution. By one of them it was decreed that taxes should be paid in currency instead of paper money, by the other a levy of recruits was enjoined. Now, as it happened, the right of levying taxes and recruits was one of the chief privileges of the Hungarian diet, upon which the two edicts were consequently a direct encroachment. Several comities yielded none the less, safeguarding their national privileges by protests addressed to the emperor.

When, however, the comity of Varasd refused compliance and declared openly that it would not carry out these commands, its example was followed by the comities of Neutra, Trencsén, and others. Then those comities which had limited their opposition to protests likewise refused to carry out the imperial command. Soldiers were despatched to the refractory comities, and they submitted, but the excitement of the country was intense. To smooth matters over the emperor Francis restored Fiume to Hungary and convoked the diet to Presburg for the coronation of the empress Caroline. The general opinion in Vienna was that the diet would be appeased without much trouble. Count Karl Zichy, the minister, a very able man, thought that "a few gracious expressions from the throne would set everything right." But in the diet it was evident that a distinction was drawn between the king's person and the government. He and the uncrowned queen received profuse demonstrations of affection and respect, but a furious campaign was organised against the system. Then were heard the first references to the German ministers who exercised a baleful influence over Hungarian affairs, the first allusions to the lack of Hungarian advisers of the crown. The result of this stormy diet, which sat for over a year, was the enactment of fresh laws to protect and safeguard the Hungarian constitution. That it closed in peace was due chiefly to Count Adam Reviczki, to whom (first as vice-chancellor and then as chancellor) the emperor transferred the direction of the Hungarian chancellerie after the sudden death of Prince Koháry, the Hungarian chancellor, during the session. This man, the most gifted chancellor Hungary ever had, soon convinced both emperor and opposition that it was in the interest of the dual monarchy that the Hungarian constitution should be maintained. "The king must be the first Hungarian; and the constitution can only be altered if, under a strict administration of the laws, it should demonstrate its inadequacy." These were his words, which were accepted as expressing the fact; and nearly all the opposition in the diet went over to the government. They had desired to maintain the constitution and had succeeded in doing so; and they no longer felt called upon to put obstacles in the way of the government. On the contrary, it was their duty to support it in all constitutional action.

The Transformation of the Hungarian Opposition (1825 A.D.)

In this diet a young magnate, Count Stephen Széchényi, first came into prominence. He devoted a whole year's income — which he estimated in round numbers at 40,000 florins — to the foundation of a Hungarian academy. He immediately became the most popular man in the country. When the session of the diet was over, this same count published a work written in Magyar and entitled *Credit*. In this book the author lays the axe to the root of the Hungarian constitution, and from its publication dates the first transformation of the Hungarian opposition. The former opposition had fought for the maintenance of the constitution, that which now began to take shape aimed at its subversion, and the subsequent struggle between opposition and government turns merely upon the manner and form of the remodelling.

Diets should be held in Hungary every three years, and when this interval had elapsed the diet was again convoked. At the very end of the previous stormy session, Count Reviczki had conceived the idea of having the heir to the throne crowned in Hungary during the emperor's lifetime. The far-sighted statesman saw clouds gathering on the horizon and was anxious to keep the tempest from breaking. The emperor had acquiesced in the idea, but the matter had been kept so secret since then that no one had the least

suspicion of it until the writs convoking the diet declared the purpose for which it was called together. The coronation was held with pomp and splendour, but in the transactions that immediately followed, the first separatist leanings of one party in Hungary made themselves apparent. The expulsion of the Bourbons from Paris, the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne of France, and the consequent commotions which had taken place and were expected to take place in Europe, rendered an increase of the army desirable. The diet voted the levy of forty-eight thousand recruits, but demanded that the officers of the Hungarian regiments should all be Hungarians. It was the first attempt to create a Hungarian army. It came to nothing, but from that time forward the separatist agitation gathered strength, sometimes fermenting below the surface, sometimes dimly manifest above it. The democratic tendency of the Magyar movement, fostered by the works of Count Széchényi, lasted for about ten years. He was the most popular man in the country. The leader of the opposition in the diet was Francis Deák. Incontestably neither of them desired the separation of Hungary from the dual monarchy; they held firmly by the union, and the Pragmatic Sanction was sacred in their eyes. Széchényi repeatedly compared the connection between Hungary and Austria to an indissoluble marriage. He desired above all things to promote the material prosperity of his country by means of steam navigation, railroads, etc. In order to rouse public spirit in this direction he founded a casino in Pest, which soon had imitators in all parts of the country, but these casinos became centres of opposition. Széchényi himself was a member of the opposition, but was blind to his position in it, for he imagined that he could hold it in check whenever he thought fit in the future. The loss of this illusion was bitter to him. Deák desired enactments for the taxation of the nobility, oral procedure, publicity of the law-courts, and trial by jury. The only difference between him and the enlightened conservatives was that he wished to base all changes on broadly democratic lines, while they aimed at making the increased power of the crown keep pace with the alterations. In Hungary the power of the crown was by no means strong, for not only had the jurisdictions (*Jurisdictionen*) the right of refusing to fulfil the royal commands if they considered them contrary to law, but they usurped the privilege of ignoring them if fulfilment were not convenient. The enlightened conservatives therefore wished to see the power of the crown strengthened, so as to ensure the administration of law and the maintenance of order. The opposition maintained that all "that was needed was to lift the coach out of the ruts, it would make a new road for itself." And by an ill-considered measure the Government itself joined hands with the opposition.

A singularity of the position of the presidents of the Hungarian diet and assemblies of the comities was that the votes were not counted but "weighed," as it was phrased in the law on the subject, by the president, who was thus able to give out the vote of the minority as the decision of the assembly if it seemed to him — again in the phrase of the law — "more reasonable." On the other hand, neither the relation of the supreme count (*Obergespan*) to the comities, nor that of the palatine to the diet was defined by the law. Such a state of things could exist only in a country where social relations were to a certain extent patriarchal and presupposed reverence towards superiors and towards the government; and the position was already insecure when the government imprudently broke it down. In consequence of a few untoward occurrences in some of the comities, the fiat went forth that in future the votes were to be counted. The result was that the cortes gained incalculably

[1835-1837 A.D.]

in importance. The government soon realised what a mistake it had made, but it could not draw back, nor did it take the only measure to counteract it that still lay in its power. The relation of the president to the diet was not legally determined, and the government allowed the diet to reduce the voting power of all clerical deputies in the chamber of estates to a single collective vote, and to do the same with those of the representatives of forty-seven free royal boroughs; thus giving an enormous preponderance to the opposition, which was mainly drawn from the comities. The clergy and the towns, ready for any bold venture, appealed in vain to the government for help, it had not the courage to enter upon a struggle with the opposition for the sake of these two bodies which were still loyal to it. The coach of the state was lifted out of the ruts, but the government had not resolution enough to settle what new ruts it was to run in.

Dissensions then arose in the opposition itself. There were some members who had the vision of an independent Hungary more or less clearly in view; and this fraction of the party was anxious to go much farther than its leaders. Its aspirations took shape and found expression through the medium of a person who was at that time wholly insignificant.

Louis Kossuth

In that diet of the Empire which sat for forty months, a young and handsome advocate was observed among the audience.

His name was Louis Kossuth. He published lithographed reports of the proceedings, radical in tone and marked by a veiled separatist tendency. The government confiscated his lithographic press, he continued his reports in manuscript; they were circulated all over the country and met with a favourable reception in many quarters.



LOUIS KOSSUTH

(1802-1894)

Proceedings for high treason were instituted against certain persons, those which attracted most attention being the trial of Nicholas Wesselényi for a speech made in the comity of Szathmár and the imprisonment of Louis Kossuth for continuing to issue his manuscript newspaper.

Wesselényi was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The country was in a ferment of excitement, and the proceedings of the ensuing diet turned almost exclusively upon this treason trial. The end of it was that the government quashed all the legal proceedings for treason and pardoned all the prisoners. During this session of the diet the government had again been vainly warned of the separatist tendencies of the fraction of the opposition before mentioned. It felt itself all the more secure because the diet had closed amidst general rejoicing and a show of satisfaction amongst all parties. Tranquillity was restored! It was soon to be awakened from this delusion.

Kossuth, now pardoned, took a leading position as editor on the staff of a Magyar newspaper. The tone of the paper was radical, and it met with an extraordinarily sympathetic response. From that time forward the separatist tendency came more and more plainly to light. The opposition outstripped its former leaders; new leaders arose. Count Louis Batthyányi was the head of the opposition among the magnates, Kossuth led the party in the comities. Magyarism and independence were the catchwords of the opposition, which strained every nerve to keep the country in a perpetual ferment, and succeeded only too well.

Any and all means were made to serve this purpose, and for three whole years the excitement was kept up over the question of mixed marriages. Every measure of the government, good or bad, was impugned. When it inaugurated a trade in tobacco there was an uproar in all the comities. The object of the agitators was to make government impossible. This end was served in the comities by the cortes, which decided questions of the utmost moment without comprehending them in the least. When soberminded men protested that the government would ultimately be constrained to curb the license of the comities by force, and that it would therefore be better for them to keep within bounds, the opposition's invariable reply was, "In the independence of the comities lies the salvation of Magyar liberty," and, "these excesses must be endured for the sake of saving liberty," whereupon the excesses of the comities rose to a fabulous height. Thus, the legal decisions of the septemvirate, which the king himself had no power to alter, were disregarded in the comity of Bihar because they were given in favour of persons obnoxious to the opposition. Kossuth organised a league for the protection of Hungarian industries, no one was to wear any textile fabrics or use any manufactured goods that were not made in Hungary, the customs dues between Hungary and Austria, which had been the subject of Magyar grievance for a hundred years and more, were now taken under the patronage of Kossuth and Co., and when the question of abolishing them and allowing free trade between Austria and Hungary was discussed, the proposal was violently opposed by Kossuth and his followers because it would have meant the loss of a means of severance. Everything was done, nevertheless, under the motto "No separation!" Wesselényi declared in print, "Hungary's connection with Austria is so advantageous to her that the Hungarians would be forced to set the house of Austria on the throne to-day if it had not been done three hundred years ago." Kossuth repeated this phrase in speech and writing, and to it the whole opposition pointed when reproached with wanting to tear Hungary away from the union. It could say, "Trust to my word, not to my works."

The wretched confusion of the country was worse confounded by the language question. The exertions of the Czechs in this matter, were child's play to what took place in Hungary. By the programme six million inhabitants who did not speak Magyar were to be translated by magic into Hungarians. When disputes arose over accounts which were not drawn up in Hungarian the comities refused to decide them. Petitions in German and Slavonic were often returned to the petitioners, the official letters of the Croat comities were sent back if the address was written in Latin. The Croat deputies could not get a hearing in the diet because they spoke Latin. Registers of births, marriages, and deaths had to be written in Magyar, even in communities wholly unacquainted with the language, and extracts from such documents were sent abroad, and were not translated even at the request of the foreign authorities. The Protestant clergy received orders to preach in Hungarian one Sunday out of three, even if there was not a creature in the congregation who understood a word of it. Religious instruction was to be given in Hungarian, the children were to learn the Hungarian catechism by heart, even if they happened to be Slovaks. Magyar ministers were set over Slovak congregations, and if the congregations objected they were brought to reason by hard knocks, "because the dignity of the nation requires it." The Slovaks were naturally furious, the rather because nobody took their part. Two magnates, and two only, raised their voices against this tyranny of language, Count Stephen Széchenyi and Count John Majláth, but all they said or wrote was lost in the general uproar, the storm that was then raging.

Opposition had become the fashion, the dullest could be sure of the applause of the gallery and the acclamations of the cortes if only he abused the government. Men who were absolutely ignorant of the Hungarian language were cheered if they brought out the laboriously conned phrase, "I vote with the opposition."

Society poured contempt upon the adherents of the government, and here women played a great part. Some towns, weary of the vain expectation of help from the government, had thrown in their lot with the opposition. Opposition principles were inculcated in the minds of the boys in the public schools (*Gymnasialschulen*), Kossuth's newspaper was supplied gratis to influential village notaries and schoolmasters. The opposition started a fund for the promotion of its objects. No small courage was required to take the part of the government in the comities, which in many places had bidden farewell to all order, discipline, and discretion.

The government now resolved to combat the excesses of the comities by a measure which, had it been taken when first proposed, might have proved successful, but which now merely poured oil upon the flames. It directed that the supreme counts and administrators should reside in the comities in which they held office and exercise a stricter supervision over the government of the comity. Their stipends were raised, and more than thirty appointments of this sort were made at once. The opposition set up a tremendous clamour. Hitherto they had reviled the government for its inaction, now this step was described as a violation of the law and an attempt to coerce the electors for the next diet.

There was a split in the conservative party itself. Some members considered that the liberties of Hungary were bound up with the exemption of nobles from taxation, and these were dissatisfied with the government because it would no longer defend this privilege. The frequent changes in the chancellorship also had a bad effect upon the party. Each chancellor had formed a party of his own, distinguished from the rest by niceties of opinion. The

strict Catholic party complained of the neglect of its interests, and, in one instance, conservative as it was in other matters, voted with the opposition and against the government upon an ecclesiastical question. Such was the state of affairs when the archduke palatine died.

The Death of the Archduke Joseph

Archduke Joseph, the palatine, had filled this high office for half a century, and had amassed a rich store of experience. He commanded the respect of all parties, though the conservatives deplored in him the lack of the resolute spirit demanded in many matters of importance. But for this very reason he was popular with the opposition, and he cared much for popularity. The opposition had made great strides under him, but his extraordinary good sense, his wide knowledge of men and affairs, his cunning (we may use the word now without offence), had always supplied him at anxious moments with the means of preventing the attacks upon the main pillars of the throne from coming to a climax. The throne did not stand as firm as it had done fifty years ago, but it had not begun to totter when, in a happy hour for his reputation, the archduke passed away.

His obsequies were not over before his son, Archduke Stephen, was nominated *locum tenens*, i.e. proxy; and the nomination was received with great approbation by the whole country. In a tour which the archduke made through Hungary his personal charm won all hearts, and there was not the slightest doubt that he would be elected palatine. In the next diet, therefore, the government reckoned upon the archduke's personal influence, upon the attainments of the chancellor, Count György Apponyi, and the talents, energy, and resolution of his younger followers. The Transylvanian chancellor had brought the Transylvanian diet to a successful conclusion, and a similar result in Hungary was hoped for.

The parties which were to try their strength in the diet were extremely energetic in their preparations for the struggle. It was ominous of the event that Kossuth was elected deputy in the comity of Pest. The prudent members of the opposition did not want him, they dreaded his extravagant schemes, and only allowed him to be nominated as a concession to the eager wishes of Count Batthyányi. Batthyányi favoured Kossuth because to do so added to the perplexities of the government, and he cherished the vain hope that he should be able to guide him. When the diet assembled, however, not only was Kossuth the leader of the opposition in the estates, but Batthyányi was forced to obey the impulse given by Kossuth.

It may well be asked by what means Kossuth acquired such an extraordinary ascendancy in Hungary. The answer is that it was by his intellectual abilities, which were in many respects remarkable; he was an extraordinarily gifted orator, a born tribune of the people, and with the exception of Mirabeau and O'Connell, no other man of recent times was able so to sway the masses by the magic of words. As a martyr for the cause of liberty, for as such he was regarded, he inspired sympathy in generous minds. His very weaknesses — lack of deliberate reflection, unbridled imagination, boundless self-esteem — were effective, for they were the weaknesses of Magyar character, and were carried to an extreme point in him. He laid hold of the Magyars by their national pride and the notion of independence. He concealed from himself and from others the dangers that lurked upon the road to independence, and only exhibited the glorious end afar off. His active spirit lighted upon days when the general disaffection of the country weighed heavily upon the mon-

[1847-1848 A.D.]

archy, and thus produced the readier effect. Besides this, he was attractive and adaptable, and gained over by roundabout methods those whom he could not win to direct assent to his schemes. For the fact that his talents were wholly destructive, that nothing which he built up could bear the test, that it all came to nought in his hands, he cast the blame upon the government, and was believed. His attainments were superficial, but on knotty questions he used to get his friends to collect data for him, which he put together himself, whether rightly or wrongly was all one to him, so long as the result was brilliant, and the brilliancy was guaranteed by his eloquence. In a word — he found the country disaffected, with rare talent he exploited the weaknesses and the generous qualities of the Magyars, and he carried his audience away by the charm of his oratory. He was that (happily) rare phenomenon, a consummate revolutionary.

The diet had sat but a few months, before the government arrived at the conclusion that no good thing was to be expected from it, and that it must be dissolved. But ere the intention could be carried out monarchical government was overthrown in France, and the days of March with their consequences were upon the Austrian monarchy.^k

THE STORM DRAWS NEAR

And now the Viennese government found itself in a condition of diplomatic isolation. England and France were both opposed to Metternich's Italian policy and the relations of the *Staatskonferenz* with most of the Italian governments had become strained. Offensive and defensive treaties concluded with Modena on the 24th of December, 1847, and with Parma on the 4th of February, 1848, brought no accession of strength to the Austrian government, and, threatened by the daily increasing agitation in the home provinces, the Viennese cabinet lost the power to control the situation and to take united decisions.

The uneasy feeling in the ranks of the government increased daily and, in proportion, the hope of a timely escape from the approaching storm grew less. Here, better than anywhere else, it was known that no firm hand guided the administration, that no energetic decision would be taken by the cabinet, that helplessness and unwillingness to act were increasing with the perils and difficulties of the situation. It is true that Metternich, according to his custom, indulged in soothing commonplaces, and delighted in calming himself and others by directing attention to the inexhaustible resources of the empire and to the possibility of permitting the introduction of political reforms into Austria "at the right time." When the beginnings of a constitutional existence had been created in Prussia, Metternich had declared himself to be well disposed towards the states and let it be understood that he desired an extension of privileges for the Austrian estates also. But neither he nor the other members of the *Staatskonferenz* thought for a moment seriously of making real concessions to the people; the guides of the state never thought of an essential change in a system whose existence was closely bound up with the duration of their personal power. The government was roused to take action only in a single instance. The clamours raised on all sides against the unworthy oppressiveness of the censorship were last to win a hearing. A control of the censorship and a superior censor college came into existence on the 1st of February, 1848. Intended to provide the author with greater freedom and to protect him in his rights, it

actually received such a direction that everyone regarded it as a further tightening of the existing restraints of the censorship.

As neither considerations of foreign policy nor the warning afforded by the efforts towards progress on the part of Germany and Prussia had any power to bring about a reform of the prevailing system, so neither could the needs of the exchequer suffice to break the unconquerable disinclination for any change. When the condition of the state finances came under discussion, criticism was wholly pessimistic in tone. Except amongst those connected with the money market it was generally believed that a state bankruptcy was imminent, that neither the government nor the national bank, which was unfortunately only too closely connected with it, possessed the means to meet the demands that would be made on it in a time of excitement. This was doubtless a great exaggeration. If it had been possible to obtain a complete insight into the budget the true sources of the financial distress would have been recognised. The constantly recurring embarrassments of the exchequer were not due to an over-straining of the national resources, but to an irrational consideration for individual interests, a reprehensible dread of leaving the beaten paths and raising the receipts, whose amount was no relation to the capacity of the country. But the budget remained a sealed book, locked with seven keys, and all that the citizens knew was that the government, as soon as it perceived a dark cloud on the political horizon, had recourse to extraordinary measures and trembled helplessly.

A lasting improvement in the Austrian treasury could be attained only if a reform of the budget was undertaken, and, above all, if the people's horrible distrust of the good faith and solvency of the state could be broken. The recollection of the ill-omened finance patent would not fade from the memory of the people, the fear of a repetition of like arbitrary measures would not disappear. To get rid of these was the most pressing task for the president of the exchequer, a task to the performance of which he diligently turned his attention; having grown gray in bureaucratic traditions, however, he was no longer susceptible of being moved to a rapid change of front and was not capable of finding the right ways and means.

In the year 1810, in the midst of the severest pressure of the earlier financial difficulties, a resolution had been taken at Vienna to summon deputies of the estates to the control of the court, and from this measure — which of course was not carried out — an improvement of credit had been expected. Kübeck now gave a similar counsel. Representatives of the provincial estates should assemble in Vienna and there "receive the fullest documentary explanation of the condition of the finances." He was also willing to listen to their opinion as to the means by which the balance between receipts and expenditure might be restored. This suggestion was not disapproved by the Staatskonferenz, but it was not carried to a resolution, not executed. It was the same with other propositions which reached the members of the cabinet from one side and another. The feeling of general insecurity and the dread of the approaching political storm had such an effect that the strict, deliberate opposition to all innovations was gradually silenced, while pious wishes and whispered hopes as to whether the privileges of the estates could be increased and the condition of the peasants be definitively settled, expressed themselves here and there. But as to passing from these to serious action or even to a formal promise, this was never aimed at. Completely unprepared, without fixed plan or clear aim, only tormented by a fear which merely strengthened it in its indecision — this was the situation in which the revolution of February found the government.

THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY AND THE VIENNESE STATESMEN

At Vienna, as everywhere else, the first tidings of the fall of Guizot, of the flight of Louis Philippe, and of the erection of the republic produced complete stupefaction. Men were unable to form a clear idea of the course which events had taken, or to descry the faintest light which might shed a glimmer on the immediate future. When the power of thought returned, the Staatskonferenz made no attempt by extensive concessions to hasten the removal of all fuel for the spirit of unrest. Even reforms which had been recognised as useful and permissible were again put off, because they would now have drawn on the government the suspicion of giving way to the pressure of external coercion.^c In this, in spite of their occupying totally different standpoints after the 29th of February, the archduke Ludwig and Metternich were completely agreed.

A group of other statesmen, with whom Metternich had hitherto been essentially in agreement with regard to the principle of reform, had by no means come to the same conclusion, but under the changed and urgent circumstances were rather in favour of greater promptitude, and in part even for a still further extension of concession, since in principle they were less opposed than Metternich to the appearance of moral compulsion, or did not consider it so dangerous as he did. To this group belonged especially Kólowrat and Kübeck, and the archduke John hastened to join himself to them, or rather to place himself at their head.

Altogether in these critical days, the strangest schisms and alliances took place in the leading circles. Notably a third and most remarkable group was formed by the most prominent and influential personages of that court party, which had already often proved adverse to Metternich in matters connected with the church. The members of this group, most of whom belonged to the imperial house, had hitherto adhered to the archduke Ludwig in matters of politics, and had consequently gone far beyond even the conservative principles of Metternich in their conception of absolutism, so that they felt so little sympathy for the latter's reforming notions that these had even proved a new source of discord. It was just these men, however, upon whom events in Paris made so powerful and alarming an impression — whilst Metternich was rendered all the more rigidly determined and impelled towards an alliance with the archduke Ludwig — who, on the other hand, suddenly deserted Ludwig and showed that they were prepared to make concessions which would lead to the triumph of principles diametrically opposed to those of Metternich. The immediate result was the unexpected alliance of this third group with the second, that is, with those statesmen who were eager for the immediate introduction and extension of reforms, from whom it had hitherto been completely divided on questions of principle. But the result most noteworthy and fruitful in consequences was this: that whereas before the court party had been estranged from Metternich because he had set his face against the ecclesiastical reaction for which it was labouring, it now broke with him completely because he set himself to work to moderate, restrain, and check the political liberalism which its leaders suddenly came to represent. Hence from that hour it toiled with every means that could be devised to effect his overthrow.

The metamorphosis of the reactionary church party of the court into a party of political progress had important consequences. Henceforward this court coterie was the principal pivot of action; but with the desirable came also the undesired. The archduchess Sophie was again at its head. On the

very day after the arrival of the bad news from Paris, where these processes of transformation and schism were still in their first ferment, Effinger wrote: "They say that the archduchess Sophie, who never enjoyed greater popularity in Austria, and whose conservative sentiments are security that she is governed only by a conviction of the absolute necessity of certain innovations, will succeed in winning over the archduke Ludwig to favour changes. As president of the Staatskonferenz it is with him that the decision rests, and he has always shown that he was not disinclined to them. The views of Count Kólowrat on this point are well known. As to Prince Metternich, he is too great a statesman to refuse his consent to constitutional reforms and improvements in internal administration, when they have become urgently necessary if Austria is to preserve her importance as a great European power."

Respecting the private intentions of the archduchess Sophie, only mysterious glimpses were and still are obtainable. According to these we must conclude that she, like other members of the imperial house, feared the fate of the "royal family of Orleans," for her own dynasty, and in the hope of being able to avoid it by a bold and startling movement, aimed at and demanded nothing less than (1) the immediate abdication of the emperor Ferdinand and the elevation to the throne of either her husband, the emperor's next brother, or her son Francis Joseph; (2) the removal of the archduke Ludwig and, more especially, of Metternich; (3) and finally the convention of an imperial assembly, which assembly might easily be again abolished when the storm and fury had spent themselves.

From this time the indignant court party, under the leadership of the archduchess Sophie, made alliance with the leaders of the opposition in the estates. This was evidently done in the belief, that, with the help of the Lower Austrian estates whose meeting was to be opened on the 13th of March, the revolution might be brought under, while at the same time a change in the government might be effected.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CONCESSION (1848 A.D.)

On the 12th of March Professor Endlicher, who had close and constant intercourse with the emperor and was one of the two deputies from the university, first ventured to demand in plain terms from the archduke Ludwig, the dismissal of Metternich. In spite of some handshaking, the deputation was dismissed with evident displeasure, and without an answer. But in the evening secret influence opened the door to the chamber of the emperor himself. Ferdinand, indeed, merely promised to consider the matter; it was still a hard thing for him to permit the overthrow of the man whom—without liking him—he had accustomed himself to regard as the main prop of the throne.

At the same moment that shocks from without, and from above even more than from below, were endangering Metternich's position it was also beginning to be shaken from within. For, on that same 12th of March, Metternich himself began to have doubts of his system. As he saw the tide mount, and the universal agitation and storm increase around him, he too was no longer himself. He, in whose system only willingly accorded reforms had a place, allowed himself to be impelled into forced concessions. On the day mentioned the *Landesmarschall*, Count Montecuccoli, had a long and secret interview with him, no doubt with the intention of convincing him of the necessity of quieting the estates and of restoring the general satisfaction

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by offering a concession at the approaching opening of the provincial diet on the following day. The facts show his success. In the afternoon was the sitting of the Staatskonferenz. The summoning of a "joint committee of the estates," which had already been agreed to "in accordance with the spirit of the law," but which had afterwards been laid on one side, was to be considered and decided on anew. For again on the evening of the 12th, notes in the emperor's own writing were sent to the *Landesmarschall*, Count Montecuccoli, promising the "speedy summons" of that committee.

But this tardy reform, now regarded, as under the circumstances it must be, in the light of an extorted concession, appeared as so extraordinary a compromise that it would have been more prudent to omit it altogether. For it was all done in such a way as to challenge rather than to silence, rather to fan the flame than to extinguish it. It has justly been described as a bad beginning, "thrilling almost defiantly the dying song" of the expiring Staatskonferenz. At the same time there can be no doubt that it was neither Metternich nor Kólowrat, but solely the obstinate and invincible absolutism of the archduke Ludwig which decided in favour of this monstrously short-sighted grant. In accordance with it members of the estates were indeed to be summoned to Vienna from all the provinces whose representative privileges were founded "on ancient and long unaltered constitutions"; but only "one from each estate." These deputies were to be "brought into touch" with a "committee appointed for the purpose," that they might deliberate on their position as estates. It would seem to have been a partial victory for Metternich and Kólowrat that at least the "reservation" was added that "the measures demanded by the necessities of the moment should be indicated" to these deputies, "in order that the declaration concerning them, of the views of the deputies, and, necessarily also of the united body of their estates, might be received as soon as possible." It was obvious that this concession fell far short of those intended by the estate's address, which demanded the summons of a central committee of all the provincial estates, reinforced by special delegates from the corporations and in the nature of an assembly representative of the whole people, the scheme for which had been already submitted.

Amid these strange shocks of the reform convulsion, the 12th of March drew to a close, to give place, with the dawn of the 13th, to the critical phases of the fever of Revolution. At the Hofburg the Staatskonferenz held its permanent sitting; beset by a threatening mob of the people, assailed by vehement deputations and agitated by its own impotent fancies, its life was flickering out like a dying lamp. But once more the proud vitality of the old system blazed up in self defence; when the estates actually met they were put off with the meaningless phrase: "that a committee shall inquire into and the emperor decide what is expedient to be done." But when, like spring floods, revolutionary demands came rolling up, when watchwords like "National Guard!" "Liberty of the press!" "Metternich's resignation!" "Constitution!" came thundering though the doors of the audience chamber like whistling shot: then the rising spirit sank again, and the blaze became a small flame which, growing ever weaker and weaker, at last dwindled to the faint glimmer of a spark.

It was to no purpose that while the grants were conceded, a struggle was still maintained; this was only damaging and it came to the same thing, if instead of a national guard a "citizen militia" was granted; instead of liberty of the press the "removal of the censorship"; instead of a constitution the "constitutionalising of the fatherland." Only one demand seemed capable

of no emendation — Metternich's resignation. And yet it was; instead of the dismissal of the old Metternich they granted the dismissal of the new.^f

THE MARCH REVOLUTION (1848 A.D.)

The ministerial rescript, in which the emperor declared that he had determined to "summon to Vienna members of the estates of all the provinces, from each estate one member, there to bring them into contact with a government committee that they might confer together concerning the affairs of the estates," was communicated to the estates on the morning of March 13th, but never came to the knowledge of any wider circle. For while the moderates among the members of the estates were vainly striving to prevail with the government and while the Staatskonferenz was making this pitiable venture upon the semblance of reform, another disturbing element came upon the scene — the Vienna students.

For some time the students had given cause for disquiet. The superficiality of most of their teachers and the crying insufficiency of the whole scholastic system rendered a profound absorption in academic studies the exception amongst them, while every ebullition of the turbulent spirits of youth or of the self-confidence of lads at the university, which, though perhaps presumptuous in form is at bottom perfectly harmless, was repressed with nervous precaution. The students were not only thwarted in their natural tendencies, but felt themselves wilfully forced into a false position. A blind terror was writ large on the attitude of the government towards them, and it was no wonder that they acquired a belief in their own peculiar importance and cheated themselves with the illusion that they were a power in the state. In the chorus of complaints they heard raised against the government, the first place was assigned to its insolent neglect of learning, its hatred of any kind of culture. The students seized upon this as a personal grievance, they felt themselves the victims of a direct affront on the part of the cabinet and consequently justified in offering a particularly vigorous resistance to the old system.

The Students' Petition

The idea of a students' petition was started in a tavern in the Alser suburb on the 7th of March, and, the most unusual and extraordinary proceedings appearing in those days a mere matter of course, was unanimously approved by the students there assembled. When they met again two days later to compare the schemes drawn up in the meantime and to consult upon the final drafting of the petition, the wiser heads amongst them could not disguise the extent of their perplexity. No state can be saved by literary exercises, no government brought to naught by borrowed phrases. Nothing but the fact that the enterprise was already too widely known to be dropped and that "the honour of the whole body of students was involved" determined them to proceed. By the evening of the 11th of March the petition had been put into shape. It informed the emperor that "a great event sets the public peace at stake," it assured him of "the readiness of the students to defend their common fatherland against all enemies, whether they menace it from west or east," of liberty it averred that "it renders men capable of great actions and disposes them to endure sore trials with fortitude," and

expressed the opinion of the students that "the actualisation of liberty is a pressing need in so critical a condition of the world." Buttressed by these arguments the students demanded liberty of the press, of speech, of instruction, of study and conscience, and universal suffrage, and ended with a vague sentence that referred to the reform of the German Confederation.

There was no real reason for attaching great importance either to the contents of the petition or to the character of the petitioners. Nevertheless this seemed to the government more serious than any other political demonstration. They had allowed the petition of the *Juridisch-Politischen Leseverein* (Juridical and Political Reading Union) to be circulated without hindrance, they had opposed to the projects of the estates the barrier of invincible indolence, nothing but the prospect of a students' petition was capable of stirring them to energy. On March 12th the professors were summoned to the university by command of the chancellor. The tutors, who had hitherto been intentionally kept apart from the students, were to exert their influence to prevent the presentation of the petition. They did their duty by warning and dissuading them. When the dry observations of the *Studiendirector* Kremer failed of effect on the growing excitement of the vast concourse of young men, Hye and Endlicher, both popular professors and men of note among the liberals, endeavoured to turn them from their purpose. Had they been able to address each man individually they would have carried their point, but in the dense throng every one drew courage from his neighbour. One concession only could they obtain — that when the students had signed the petition they should leave it to be presented by Hye and Endlicher. That same morning the two professors hurried to the castle to beg for admittance to the presence of the emperor. They knocked at many doors, were received by Kólowrat with hollow phrases of condolence, had to listen to solemn exhortations from the archduke Ludwig, but were unable to accomplish their mission. Not till evening, when a meeting of the privy council had been held and had recognised the necessity of at least a semblance of compliance, were they granted audience of the emperor, and then by the backstairs. He received them with courtesy and kindness, it was not in his gentle nature to do otherwise; but even he could not give them a plain answer or a definite explanation.

The Thirteenth of March

Thus the 13th of March, the day awaited by many with dread, by all with intense curiosity, the day appointed for the assembly of the estates, dawned without the least attempt having been made to avert the threatening storm. The first black clouds gathered from the quarter of the university. Hye and Endlicher had promised to report to the students upon the result of their mission, and early in the morning they found an immense crowd awaiting them. Their words awoke a feebler response to-day than yesterday. The students' excitement had gathered strength during the night, their pretensions had waxed with it, their political demands began to take tangible shape. Denunciations of Metternich and Sedlnitzky as "traitors and thieves" grew audible, together with outcries for their prompt dismissal. Who could suppose that such a tumult could be allayed by assurances of imperial favour and good will couched in general terms? While Hye was vaunting this day as "the greatest in the history of Austria," declaring that "the eyes of Europe were bent upon the university," and entreating his hearers to seek

progress by the ways of order and punctual attendance at lecture, in the lecture-rooms and quadrangle the procession was making ready to start for the *Landhaus*, where, in defiance of traditional usage, the estates were assembling without ceremony, furtively, and 'as it were by stealth. Tokens were gathering on all sides to show that the programme devised by the liberal party in the estates — the accomplishment of reform by peaceful means — could not be adhered to.

Thousands of people, most of them of the better class, thronged the streets near the *Landhaus* and presently surged into the open courtyard. The mood of manifest perplexity which at first prevailed in the crowd forbids the assumption — which was afterwards mooted — that the events of the day had been deliberately planned and were inaugurated by old revolutionary hands. This mood would have lasted longer, for each man was anxious to play the part of spectator and hoped that some one else would put an end to the painful period of waiting and suspense, but for the heated imagination of a young physician, Fischhof by name, well known as a sentimental enthusiast. With a cheer for liberty he began, with a cheer for the Hungarians and Italians he ended a speech which, though distinctly audible to only few of those about him, incited others to speak in their turn and brought life and movement into the crowd. But it was not until, amidst general applause, a student began to read aloud Kossuth's speech of March 3rd, that political passion really began to rise and revolutionary desires to stir in the breasts of the multitude. Now they, too, were provided with a programme, and it therefore seemed all the more imperative to take steps to realise the same, and to find a means of communication with the ruling powers, or, as one of the orators phrased it, "to convert into a dialogue the monologue which had hitherto been recited from the well-roof in the courtyard of the *Landhaus*."

A crowd of people, squeezed by the pressure of the throng into the entrance hall, stairway, and anterooms of the *Landhaus*, were already busy with preparations to this end. A moment more, and the intruders, with an ever-increasing mob at their heels, would have been in the room where the estates were assembled, and a motley intermingling of the representatives of the estates and the populace would have rendered further deliberations impossible. To obviate such disorder the *Landesmarschall* made an agreement with Fischhof, who was the leading spokesman in the anteroom, as he had been in the courtyard, by which a certain number of delegates — six citizens and six students — were to be present at the session to assure themselves of the honest intentions of the estates. So far nothing had occurred to disturb the concord between the estates and the populace. The crowd in the courtyard repeatedly called for popular individuals among the members of the estates — Montecuccoli, Döbblhof, Colloredo, Schmerling — greeted them with applause when they appeared at the window, and listened quietly to their speeches. It was reserved for one of those historic misunderstandings which seem to have been epidemic in the year 1848 to sow the seeds of hostility and to propagate a fierce lust of battle in the mob. At an earlier hour, while Fischhof was negotiating with Montecuccoli, the crowd below had been seized with nervous anxiety for the safety of its friends, and had been appeased only by the appearance of Fischhof at the window, hand in hand with the *Landesmarschall*. Suspicion was again aroused by a note dropped from the upper story, and the reading of Kossuth's speech was interrupted that its contents might be made known. It contained the request of the estates that the budget should be published and a committee of estates

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summoned from all the provinces. The limited scope of the aspirations of the estates could not have become known at a less opportune moment than when Kossuth's speech had set the minds of men aflame and made them ripe for the widest and loftiest demands. The sheet of paper was caught by a student, who then declared in the name of the people that the petition of the estates left the wishes of the nation unfulfilled, and tore it up. In the midst of the ensuing excitement a cry was raised that the delegates of the people were being kept prisoners in the chamber of the estates, while from the other side an alarm was started that the Landhaus was being surrounded by soldiers. The agitated crowd leapt to the conclusion that they had been treacherously betrayed. Blind passion cast off all restraints and broke all bounds. The staircase and the rooms were stormed in one furious rush, and the mob vented its fury on window-panes, benches, chairs and tables. The members of the estates were seized with consternation and panic. Impelled by the desire to make good their escape from the disquieting atmosphere of the Landhaus they declared their willingness to petition the emperor in person to comply with the wishes of the people. The revolution pressed hard on their heels and they put themselves at its head. And, in the train of the estates, panic and irresolution entered into the castle likewise.

The members of the Staatskonferenz, supported by Prince Windischgrätz and several privy councillors, had been in session for several hours without coming to any definite conclusion. They had looked forward to the Ides of March with doleful misgivings, but had made no provision whatever for any particular occurrence. Even the most ordinary precautions had been neglected; such as the timely posting of soldiers at dangerous points, the concentration of the executive power in the hands of a single individual, the issuing of summonses to the *Regierungspräsident* (president of the administration), to the chief of the police, and to the mayor. The Staatskonferenz learned no more of the late proceedings than the thronging petitioners thought good to tell, nor could it communicate with the people except through their means. To all these evils was added the disastrous irresolution of the emperor himself. He was and remained inaccessible the whole day long, and there was no other person who had authority to give a final decision in his name. The Staatskonferenz as a corporate body had no legal functions, not one of its members could take absolute responsibility upon himself nor wield the whole authority of the government. Such was the constitution of the body which was called upon to display energy and wisdom if a strong curb was to be imposed upon the revolution. The deputies of the estates naturally met with no vigorous opposition, but they were as little able to congratulate themselves upon getting a definite answer to their petition. After a long discussion, in which the isolated position of Metternich, the only one who advised strong measures, was made plainly apparent, the Staatskonferenz agreed upon the following concession: "the measures called for by the present condition of affairs shall be inquired into by a special commission appointed for the purpose and submitted to his imperial majesty (*Allerhöchsten*) for decision; and his imperial majesty (*Allerhöchstdieselben*) will thereupon with all speed decree whatsoever shall serve the common welfare of his beloved subjects."

The Mob

While those in the castle drew breath more freely after having accomplished this bold deed, events went their way careless of them in the streets

of Vienna. After the departure of the estates a considerable crowd stayed behind in the courtyard of the Landhaus, paying homage to an improvised revolutionary committee — composed of students under age — and otherwise content to relieve its feelings by noisy expressions of impatience. The space in front of the Landhaus and the streets in its immediate neighbourhood wore a more disturbed aspect. Youthful orators heated the popular imagination and furnished popular fury with a definite object by such catch-words as "*Pereat Metternich*:" "Down with Sedlnitsky!" The clamour grew steadily louder and more general on the tennis ground in front of the Chancellerie (*Staatskanzlei*), in the Herrengasse, and in the Freieung. In the intervals might be heard the screams of those who were borne down or crushed in the throng, and adjurations to the soldiers to keep the peace; for soldiers at last began to emerge from different points to purge the Landhaus and to clear the streets between it and the castle, and as they advanced they came upon a dense and immovable mass of people everywhere, and themselves became involved in the press. The military had no thought of resorting to violence, the unarmed mob was not prepared to fight, and yet a collision was in the long run inevitable. The soldiers, pushed to and fro in the surging mass, ended by losing patience; their hesitating indecision in the early hours of the morning and their incapacity now to obey the word of command, roused the mocking laughter of the populace and gave a handle to the impudence of a set of pert lads. The closely packed crowd behind, ignorant of the way events were tending, were principally concerned for their personal safety; they tried to get breathing-space by pushing and shoving, and rent the air with hideous din. In the turmoil discretion went to the winds. Every hasty word was caught up and repeated by a thousand throats, every action found a thousand imitators. When some engineers advanced to take the place of a grenadier division which had been driven back step by step before the mob, some voices raised the cry of treason, while others whistled, hissed and cursed. One part of the throng penetrated into the upper rooms of the Landhaus, wrecked the furniture, and threw it out of the windows on the heads of the soldiers, who replied by a volley. In a few seconds the Landhaus was cleared, but on the other hand the riot spread into remoter streets and extended its sphere to an element which had hitherto held aloof from it, the citizen class proper.

The report that innocent and defenceless persons were being fired upon decided the sympathies of citizens who already felt aggrieved at seeing the loyal Viennese treated as if they were rebels. The citizen militia (*Bürger-corps*) assembled in uniform, men of reputation from patrician families, such as Arthaber, Hornbostl, and Bach, urged the mayor, who had not gone outside his private residence all day, to exert his influence to obtain the withdrawal of troops from the city; militia officers, relying on their privilege of free access to the castle, joined the deputation of the estates which had been besieging the Staatskonferenz since noon. They had no better success than the deputation itself in extorting definite concessions from the government, but their appearance contributed not a little to shake the resolution of the ministers. When Metternich persisted in talking of a rabble misguided by French, Polish, and Swiss emissaries they contradicted him sharply, and when he called upon them to put an end to the "street row" they answered in a loud voice that "it was not a row but a revolution." The members of the Staatskonferenz were driven to credit their words, for even the rector magnificus, the over-timorous Jenull, who had once been made to tremble by a visit from Rotteck, came on the scene with an outrageous demand, no less than that the

students should be provided with arms. The latter had assembled again in the Aula that afternoon, had again listened with applause to Hye's temperate speeches on liberty and order and on the obstinacy of the government; and on the sacrifices which he, "though the father of four children," was making for the good cause; but when the rumour reached them of the slaughter in front of the Landhaus they had demanded arms and threatened to storm the armory. Fortunately one of those present called to mind the rectorial privilege of entering the imperial presence at all times unannounced. The venerable Jenull was sent for, and willingly undertook the office of applying to the government for arms for the students. He met with a kindly reception from the archduke Francis Charles; "as a man of honour" the latter could assure him that "concessions" were in process of being made. The archduke Ludwig offered a stouter resistance. Not until the old man flung himself upon his knees and set forth the dire consequences of a refusal could he obtain so much as a promise that the Staatskonferenz "would promptly take the matter into consideration." With a heart but little lightened the rector returned to the university, whence the students in their impatience had already despatched another deputation after him, composed this time of members of the medical faculty.

By the time the latter reached the castle the excitement there had come to a climax. The rumour that citizens in uniform had actually been fired upon from the police buildings set the blood of most of the deputies in a ferment and caused them to forget the attitude of loyalty they had hitherto maintained, nay, to forget civility itself. Even the Staatskonferenz perceived that the moment had come for abating something of its stubborn determination. Of all popular grievances the censorship of the press was the oldest, the most general, and the best grounded. They would begin by redressing it. It was just possible that they might lay the storm by this means, or at least divert the educated classes from taking part in the commotion. Had the boon of liberty of the press been granted a few days earlier it might have called forth some gratitude, though it could hardly have averted the catastrophe from old Austria. Now it merely whetted the appetites of men for further concession.

The Retirement of Metternich

Prince Metternich withdrew from the archduke Ludwig's presence chamber to an adjoining room to draw up with his own hand the scheme of a press law on the model of the Prussian press regulations of March 8th. The chancellor had scarcely left the room before the cry for his dismissal was raised from the deputation of the estates, in the first instance by a member of the *Grafenbank* (bench of counts). It was caught up with ever increasing violence, and the noise drew Metternich back from the next apartment. Not a voice was raised in his favour, not only were the intruders eager for his fall but he felt himself abandoned by his colleagues in office, and, realising that all was lost, he himself took the lead, saying, not without dignity — "It has been the business of my life to labour for the welfare of the monarchy as I understand it; if it is thought that I imperil its welfare by remaining at my post, it can be no sacrifice to me to leave it." Not a voice was raised in protest, no one begged him to retract this declaration; nay, he had to listen to an old militia officer who answered: "Your serene highness, we have no objection to your person but every objection to your system, and we must therefore repeat that the throne and monarchy can be saved only by your resignation." He had no option but to consummate the sacrifice.

The old system did not perish with Metternich, as had been imagined, but it lost its most brilliant exponent and its most typical representative. Hence the people might well sum up the news of his resignation in the sentence, "Everything is conceded." The first concession was arms for the people. No remaining member of the Staatskonferenz was strong enough to defy the persistence of the university deputation. The archduke Ludwig ratified the decree that "for the maintenance of tranquillity and order arms should be supplied to the students, foreigners only excepted." And when a member of the estates added a corollary to the effect that all citizens should be required to enrol themselves in the standing militia of the city the Staatskonferenz again acquiesced. The deputies hurried into the streets to proclaim the triumphs of the day, only to be met, before they could reach the university, by bands of students whom the regierungspräsident, terrified at the disorderly conduct of the proletariat in the suburbs, had authorised to take arms on his own responsibility, and who, with a lighted torch for their banner, were now marching to the town armory, there to provide themselves with the panoply of liberty — rusty sabres and muskets without locks.^c

The Grant of a Constitution

The next morning the improvised *Stadtwehr* (town guard) assembled. It must be acknowledged to the credit of the students and townsmen that they maintained peace and order. The citizen militia acquired and retained the name of "national guard," and Count Hoyos was appointed to the command. The spokesmen of the revolt now thronged into the emperor's anti-chamber in order to announce their farther wishes; it had, however, been determined not to allow the emperor to treat immediately with these boisterous petitioners and admonishers. The chamberlain, a wealthy Hungarian magnate, therefore refused to announce them; they determined to take no notice of the refusal and to penetrate to the emperor's apartment. The chamberlain — mindful of his duty and his oath — placed himself before the door, laid his hand on the hilt of his sword, and declared that so long as he stood on that spot no one should cross the threshold. The impetuous intruders drew back, but on searching found a back door which brought them to the emperor. A short time after it was announced in the streets: "The emperor has been pleased to decide on the removal of the censorship and the immediate publication of a press law." The general rejoicing had scarcely begun when a cry for a constitution was raised in the streets. In the evening, at the motion of the archduke Francis Charles, the Staatskonferenz held a meeting which was also attended by Francis Charles' son, the archduke Francis Joseph, now emperor of Austria. At this meeting it was decided that it would be advisable for the emperor to anticipate the wishes of the people by granting a constitution on his own initiative.

When Vienna awoke the next morning it was surprised by the information that the emperor had decided to assemble the estates of the German and Slav kingdoms, as well as deputies from Italy, at latest by the 3rd of July, in order to secure for himself their advice on legislative and administrative questions. Thus the constitution was granted without the utterance of the word constitution. The jubilation was extraordinary and when, in the afternoon, the emperor drove out, the enthusiastic people wanted to take out the horses and drag the carriage themselves.

The same evening a deputation of the Hungarian diet, with the palatine

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archduke Stephen at its head, appeared, to submit to the emperor the wishes of the diet. Here we must go back to see what had been happening in the meantime at Presburg.

A Separate Government Granted to Hungary (1848 A.D.)

So soon as the news of the events in Paris had reached Presburg, the table of the estates held a meeting and passed the following resolutions: "Hungary shall receive an independent ministry, responsible to the diet. When the king is not in the country the palatine, the archduke Stephen, takes the king's place as his *alter ego*. He is irresponsible. All decrees must be countersigned by a minister. The Hungarian ministry has its seat at Budapest. All business which has been hitherto carried on by courts at Vienna shall be exclusively the affair of the Hungarian ministry. The king, or his representative, appoints only the prime minister, who then nominates the other ministers." The following phrase was added: "without prejudice to the maintenance of the unity of the crown and the connection of the monarchies and having consideration to the relations of Hungary to the hereditary domains."

At the time of this decision the palatine was in Vienna. For ten days the *Judex curiæ*, George Majláth, refused to permit a sitting of the table of magnates to be held. The table of estates was already anxious to impeach him when the palatine at last returned. The hall of the magnates and the galleries were filled with a fearfully excited crowd of young men. No one ventured to speak, and so the decision of the table of estates was made into a resolution of the diet and the deputation already mentioned proceeded to Vienna. The enormous demands which it brought, and which threatened to burst the bonds of the monarchy excited profound misgivings in the government, but the Magyar deputation persisted in its demands; the archduke Stephen declared that he would lay down the office of palatine if the royal sanction was not given. The pressure was great; the emperor gave his consent.

The Flight of Metternich (1848 A.D.)

In the general commotion which had taken place throughout the monarchy, our attention is primarily attracted by the fate of one individual, namely, the man who for nine-and-thirty years had guided the fate of the Austrian monarchy. It is probably unnecessary to say that we mean Prince Metternich. It has been already told how he withdrew from his exalted position. On the evening of the same day he discussed the event with his entourage with as much calm as though he had no share in it. To the remark of some friends that his retirement was not yet final, since the emperor had not yet approved it, he answered that he could not remain in that way because then his resignation would appear to be merely done for effect, and only the petition of those who had brought it about could determine him to withdraw it. He went quietly to bed.

In the morning he was warned of a rabble approaching the chancellery. Two friends appeared and conducted him and the princess across the Bastie to the dwelling of one of the said friends. Here he remained till evening. A hackney coach was provided and brought there secretly. One of the prince's friends wished to take his seat on the coachbox, but the driver said, "No, that will attract attention. Rely on me, I will get the prince away."

With extraordinary speed the man drove off, the prince, the princess, and one friend in the carriage. The gate of the Rothethurin was barred; the driver spoke into the carriage, "do not be alarmed, I will get you out." Four or five other hackney carriages were there and the gate was finally opened to their insistence; the driver drove swiftly through. He brought the prince to another friend in the lines of the *Jäger*. There a carriage was already prepared and into this the fugitives and their companions stepped. They came safely through the lines. The prince remained five days with a friend and continued his journey. At Olmütz he was refused admittance into the town. He took a circuitous route to the railway, while a report was intentionally spread which credited him with having taken another road. The friend who accompanied the fugitives gave out that the carriage was empty; the blinds were drawn so that no one could see in, and it therefore passed for a luggage van. Seventeen hours the prince and princess spent shut up in that carriage. Overcome with thirst, the prince said: "to die of thirst or another way, is all one; I must drink." He demanded a glass of water. The passengers were thus informed that the carriage was not empty and immediately the word was passed round; "they are suspects." At this critical moment the friend initiated the conductor into the secret and the man gave the signal to start; several passengers who had alighted were left behind, but the prince was saved.

Once more the prince was in great danger. It happened at an inn, that the pretended Englishman and his wife continually spoke French, and their linen looked suspicious on account of the embroidered initial, and was finer than that usually belonging to persons of the condition of which they declared themselves to be. It was whispered "it might be Prince Metternich." Whereupon some one said, "If I knew that I would kill him with my own hand." The journey was immediately continued and the prince again eluded the danger. He encountered no further perils till he reached Holland and England, where he was received with that consideration which misfortune merits. The affectionate care of the friend who had rescued the prince had saved the population of Vienna from a crime which would probably have occurred if he had fallen into the hands of the excited crowd.^k

While England afforded Metternich the shelter of her hospitality a severe judgment was passed on him by her minister for foreign affairs. On June 15th Lord Palmerston wrote to Leopold, king of the Belgians:^a

"As to poor Austria, every person who attaches value to the maintenance of a balance of power in Europe must lament her present helpless condition; and every man gifted with ever so little foresight must have seen, for a long time past, that feebleness and decay were the inevitable consequences of Prince Metternich's system of government; though certainly no one could have expected that the rottenness within would so soon and so completely have shown itself without. Lord Bacon says that a man who aims at being the only figure among ciphers is the ruin of an age; and so it has been with Metternich. He has been jealous of anything like talent or attainment in individuals, and of anything like life in communities and nations. He succeeded for a time in damming up and arresting the stream of human progress. The wonder is, not that the accumulated pressure should at last have broken the barrier and have deluged the country, but that his artificial impediments should have produced stagnation so long."^l

One after another the high state officials withdrew from their posts. A new ministry was formed. Ficquelmont for foreign affairs, Pillersdorf for the interior, Taaffe for justice, Sonmaruga for education, Kübeck for finance,

Zanini was soon after added as minister of war. But a partial change in the ministry quickly followed. Kraus took Kübeck's place, Latour Zanini's, and Sommaruga provisionally took over the ministry of justice as well. By the addition of Doblhoff as minister of commerce and agriculture, and of Baumgartner as minister of public works, the number of ministers was increased to eight.^k

CHARACTER AND END OF THE MARCH REVOLUTION

We have now finished with the description of the occurrences of the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March, 1848, in Vienna, and of the causes which led to them. The reaction, which later triumphed over the Austrian upheaval, has chosen to represent even the March revolution as the logical outcome of a propaganda set going by French, Italian, Polish, or Hungarian emissaries. There is, for any thing the writer has been able to discover, no trace of this. As evidence against it, it is known that even before the days of March there was a strong party at court which attempted to compass the downfall of the Staatskonferenz, which was dominated by Archduke Ludwig and Prince Metternich, because the domination which these two statesmen especially had managed to secure had become unendurable to it.

This party, which was not concerned with the reforms in favour of freedom, but only with the possession of the power, in which the archduke and Prince Metternich would not allow it a share, supported the efforts of the liberals in so far as these were directed to the downfall of the all-powerful chancellor. But the liberals, who desired not a mere change of officials but a radical alteration of the whole system of government, were not content with Metternich's withdrawal. The revolution, far from ceasing to grow, struck deeper and deeper root, and the constitution had to be proclaimed in order to put an end to the revolution. That court party which by the downfall of the chancellor, had attained their utmost wishes, would not have hesitated to annihilate the revolution in Vienna by means of bombs and grape shot, if they had been possessed of the necessary power. It was indeed their weakness which compelled them to submit to the people, who at this time possessed but one mind, one soul, as though all differences of class and fortune had suddenly ceased to exist.

A Contemporary Estimate

The *Wiener Zeitung*, shortly after the days of March, published an article dealing with the causes of the Vienna movement, part of which we here quote:

"The movement was twofold: the sincere and peaceable, but now urgent entreaty of the well-disposed for the improvement of the state organisation was the movement of the great majority of the people of Vienna. But besides that a comparatively small number of the proletariat in the suburbs and outside of the town had risen, with the idea of making use of this opportunity to perpetrate atrocities. This was the seamy side, the second part of the movement.

"The man who possesses insight into the deeds of his Fatherland is day and night in company with the idea, and so acquires a conviction of what is required. The severest censure and denunciation cannot stifle this first germ of all wishes of the people. The friends of the Fatherland, who have acquired a common conviction, exchange their views, for mutual instruction, and the

supplying of one another's defects. This is the second step in formulating the wishes of the people. Intercourse between business colleagues in all classes extends the acquirements of the mind in all sections of the state-family; and so the desires of the people become general.

For years this was the course of public opinion in Vienna; and in the whole empire it formed itself and spread, in spite of espionage: and the censorship had no other effect than to prevent the rulers from becoming acquainted with the desires of the governed. A shock, a chance occurrence suffices to make a long-disregarded public feeling burst into action; and so it was in Vienna: the training, extending over long years, of the public mind to an understanding of what it really wanted, the events in western Europe, the example of Germany, the students' agitation — these are the true causes of the single-hearted uprising of the people. No other need be sought. There were no secret societies organised; there was no excitement, no pamphlets were distributed; nor were any of those means employed, of whatever sort, which some have thought to discover. It was not a manufactured thing; it was like the sun, rising by force of the ever-inscrutable natural laws of the world's history. It was a peaceable reversal of conditions, not a revolution. Simultaneous pill gings on the part of individual bands of the mob did, it is true, take place; but they had no union, no cohesion. The strongest proof of this lies in the fact that the pillagers did not betake themselves to the imperial palace nor to the mansions of the nobility and statesmen, but to just those places where the legitimate desires of the people could obtain no satisfaction — to the factories and the dwelling houses of their employers."

Löhner's Estimate

A particularly exact estimate of the political importance of the events of March has been arrived at by Löhner. He writes: "Into the time that separates the commencement from the close, a number of alterations were compressed, which in the ordinary course of events would need a life-time for their accomplishment. Therefore in their rapid transition the different stages through which the revolution passed, from the few isolated reforms to the foundation of a completely new order of government, are, though faintly accentuated, recognisable. Almost all the parties who took part in the movement found themselves in quite a different position at its conclusion from that which they had occupied at its commencement."

"The new Austria which had replaced the old was, as regards both its domestic and its foreign relations, in the condition of a state whose radically altered conditions of existence had nothing in common with the old. These very circumstances later involved various consequences, in all directions, whose results already forced themselves on the notice of the quiet spectator as concrete subjects of observation, even as early as the joyous evening upon which the constitution was celebrated.

"The most important of these results were as follows: At the conclusion of the popular insurrection by the grant of the constitution, the court party had at first supported it and later, though against their will, actually joined it; they now seceded from this confederacy and adopted an opposite policy. They had supported the movement as long as a common objective was in question. This was quite sharply defined and restricted to the removal of Metternich. From the time this was accomplished their friendly or unfriendly attitude was decided entirely by the measure of reform, in no direction to be exceeded, that they considered necessary. The farthest formal limit of this

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was, in fact, a representative constitution. From the moment that was conceded, the original dynastic interests would naturally reappear in their full determination, as a jealous endeavour to keep the consequences of that constitution down to their minimum.

"The reform party of the estates was in a similar position. At first supported by the people, then outstripped by them, it feared lest, in the natural course of things, when the division of power came to be arranged, it would be more neglected than before.

"A constitution can become a gain to a body consisting of nobility only when it is an aristocratic one. The Austrian estates had gone hand in hand with the people in the cause of freedom; arrived at equality, they would be forced to join the one stable party — namely, that which continually seeks to hold in steady condensation the steamlike capacity for expansion of a political relation.

"Valuable and full of results as the events of the three days had been, they none the less bear in their effects the same relation to a true revolution as an armed demonstration bears to a battle of annihilation. What is properly called government, the exercise of state functions, was, even if only nominally, still in the hands of those officials who had been previously intrusted with it. The fundamental guarantee of the new state of affairs — the promise of a constitution — had, so to speak, come into effect by agreement. The effective pillars of the absolutist system, the official, the military, the clerical clergy, were transferred in uninterrupted power to the new order, so that the safety of the constitution was left in the keeping of the very people in the teeth of whose opposition and interests it had come into being. Principles, however, cannot be divided from the parties which hold them; and whereas the French Revolution triumphed because it brought into power a government of its own school, the Austrian constitution presented the fantastic picture of a fortress whose strong posts had been entrusted to its enemies.

"If already the existence of political parties presents itself in the light of a succession of violent transitions, so those which could be foreseen in Austria were further complicated by the parties of the nationalities. The principle of liberty and equality, when put to the test of practice, is simply government by the majority. But this only holds good within the confines of the individual nationality; beyond that it becomes just the reverse — servitude and hegemony. The movement which broke the iron ring of benevolent despotism, which had maintained the totality of things and conditions in some kind of confused co-existence, prepared the way for calling in question everything which had hitherto existed, as purely artificial; and so its break-up was a signal for the nationalities, after shaking themselves free from the former laws of gravitation, to choose a common centre. This principle once decided, claim now opposed claim, independence was confronted by independence; and this was manifestly true of the whole empire to its extremest borders without distinction or exception. As in the Greek myth the iron men who threatened Cadmus fought one another when he threw a stone into their midst, so now for the people of Austria the constitution played the part of the stone.

"Finally, as regards foreign affairs, while political sympathies for Russia had, until now, held the scales of conflicting material interests in the East, so now constitutional Austria must have appeared as the direct enemy of Russia. Along a large extent of its boundary the related peoples of Austria would be the most dangerous vehicle for propaganda of political and social changes amongst those of Russia. In Austria revolution and imperialism met face to

face; only one could leave the battle-field victorious. Therefore Russia had to try all means to ensure the ultimate decision. For the present the conclusion of the whole matter may be expressed in a single sentence: On the 15th of March the Austrian revolution ended; on the 16th the reaction began!"





CHAPTER III

REACTION AND REVOLT

[1848-1850 A.D.]

ABRUPTLY as the shock of revolution had come, both Frankfort and Berlin retained self-command enough to link the new state of things with the old, even if by nothing more than a slender thread of legal continuity, by means of the united diet in the one case and the confederation diet in the other. In Austria it was not so. The country passed at a bound from the coercive measures of absolutism to a constitutional government, which (with the levity of political immaturity) it fancied that it had already attained, together with all the attributes of constitutional liberty, because most of the towns had improvised a town militia in imitation of Vienna and had abolished the censorship, and because nobody obeyed the authorities unless he pleased. The ministry, which had taken the place of the defunct *Staatskonferenz*, went so far as to dub itself responsible. At first it was under the presidency of Count Kólowrat, after the 3rd of April under Count Ficquelmont, who himself was succeeded after the 4th of May by Baron von Pillersdorf, a well-known opponent of the old system, but a man who, enfeebled by the burden of years and bureaucratic habit, thought he had done all that was necessary if only outward tranquillity was maintained, and in all other matters held himself in subordination to the powers that were, and they — the archduke Ludwig and the archduchess Sophie — were none other than those who had occupied that position before the 13th of March. And the sole concern of them both was to get through this turbulent period as creditably as might be, and with the least possible injury to the government and the dynasty. The free state of the future could have been built on no more rotten foundation.

THE REVOLUTION AT ITS HEIGHT (1848)

But the fall of absolutism dragged the unity of the imperial monarchy down with it. In Germany the desire for freedom and the desire for unity

blended together and strengthened each other reciprocally; the effect of the revolution in Austria was "like the pouring of a hot liquid into a cold glass — it shattered it." The antagonism of diverse nationalities, hitherto kept in check with difficulty, broke ungovernably forth. As matters stood in Hungary, nothing but this shock was required to allow the radical party to outflank the old opposition party, which took its stand upon the ancient constitution. And the radicals had inscribed upon their banner the unconditional autonomy of Hungary, and thus forced the constituted authorities into a struggle for the unity of the empire and all non-Magyars into a struggle for their nationality.

The chamber of magnates, though it now hastened to concur in the representation of the estates of the 3rd of March, had found itself thrust aside by the chamber of estates, which, carried away by the eloquence of Kossuth, decreed absolute liberty of the press, universal liability to taxation, and the relief of urbarial burdens. When the monster deputation of the diet, which Vienna, drunk with liberty and eager for fraternity, received with acclamation, brought back the concession of a responsible ministry, Count Louis Batthyányi formed that ministry out of the spokesmen of the nationalist opposition — Kossuth, Eötvös, Francis Deák, Francis Esterházy, and Széchényi, who self-denyingly joined his former rivals. The Austrian colours and the imperial eagles disappeared; but the diet had barely time to enjoy its victory before it fell under the yoke of the sovereign will of the people as represented by the Pest committee of security; and when Kossuth extorted from it the abolition of the *Urbanium* and *Herrenstühle* by the bugbear of a peasants' war, he won the peasantry over to his side, constrained the nobles to assume a more friendly tone, and the clergy to resign the tithe.

The language used by the diet towards the government at Vienna became all the more haughty. The conditions under which the latter (after dallying as long as possible) acceded to the Hungarian claims — namely, the retention of the supreme authority over the combined imperial and Hungarian armies, the civil list for the king, the contributions towards imperial national burdens and the imperial national debt, and the maintenance of the imperial troops quartered in the country — were promptly rejected. In order that Batthyányi should not make good his threat of resigning, the palatine had been obliged to promise to hand in his own resignation if his personal representations at Vienna proved ineffectual; and these representations the diet backed by the declaration that they awaited the result of his voluntary intervention in the resolute spirit demanded by their country's peril. The Hofburg was only too well aware that refusal meant revolution; and therefore all and more than all for which Hungary had fought so long was granted at a single stroke: the right of the palatine to exercise royal prerogatives in the absence of the king, annual diets at Pest, a democratic law of elections, the abolition of *robot* (forced labour) and tithes, of manorial jurisdiction and *Aviticität*, reform of the assemblies of the comities, equal privileges for all religious bodies, distinct national colours, and the abolition of the censorship and the Hungarian chancellerie. The relation of Hungary to the dual monarchy hardly amounted to a common sovereignty (*Personalunion*). The commanders of Hungarian troops were forbidden to take orders from Vienna.

On April 14th the emperor Francis went to Presburg to close the diet and confirm the laws it had passed, and the government was transferred to Pest. But the real ruler of Hungary was Kossuth, the tribune of national rights, the idol of not only his own people but of the Austro-Germans. "I am a plain citizen," he could say in the diet, "strong only in the might of

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truth; and yet providence has so ordered it that by the turn of my hand I can decide the existence or non-existence of the house of Habsburg."

But these very successes sowed the evil dragon-seed of future conflicts. They were so great that the Austrian government could but strive with every fresh accession of power to withdraw concessions extorted from its weakness, and they incited other nationalities to imitate the Magyars. The latter had barely begun to enjoy the sensation of having shaken off the old bureaucratic administration of Vienna, before the demands of the Slavonic nationalities of the south began to grow audible with new insistence. In spite of their common hatred for the fallen system, these claims clashed irreconcilably with the aspirations of Pest to a Magyar autocracy over all other national elements under the dominion of the crown of St. Stephen. The national committee of Agram demanded complete severance of the three kingdoms from Hungary, and their combination into an Illyrian state in which Dalmatia and the military frontier were also to be incorporated, the revindication of districts that had been incorporated with Hungary, and a separate Croat ministry. On receiving these proposals the Vienna government obediently appointed Colonel Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, without the concurrence of Pest; and his first official acts were to proclaim martial law over the peasantry, who had been deluded into revolt by the Magyars, and to issue to the tribunals a prohibition of direct intercourse with Hungarian officials. The hatred that the Servians bore the Magyars broke out with even greater violence, being complicated by religious differences. The rude rejection of their demands led to a convocation of the national assembly at Karlowitz by the metropolitan, Rajacic, the election of Colonel Suplicac to the voivodeship, and the proclamation of the liberty and independence of the Servian nation under the Austrian sceptre and the dual crown of Hungary.

In Transylvania alone did the Magyars gain their end. Suspicious, apprehensive for their charter and the possession of the royal demesnes (*Königsboden*), the Saxons endeavoured to withstand their flattering allurements and their promises of liberty; but, terrorised, left unsupported by Vienna, and in dread of the Wallachians, whom they hated no less than the Magyars and who had likewise put forth a claim for equal rights in a great national assembly at Blasendorf, the diet of Klausenburg let itself be coerced on May 30th into sanctioning the union of Transylvania with Hungary, little dreaming that it was thereby signing the death-warrant of Saxon nationality.

Among the Czechs matters took the same course as in Hungary; there was the same out-flanking of the old liberals by the democrats, the same conversion of a democratic into a nationalist movement. In Prague the lead was taken by a national committee created by combining the committee of safety with the *Gubernial-commission* appointed by the estates; deputations brought from Vienna the imperial ratification of the claims of the Bohemian nation, a separate Bohemian ministry and the indissoluble union of all Bohemian provinces appertaining to the crown — in a word, the transformation of Bohemia into just such another state as Hungary, united by very loose ties with the rest of the monarchy. The imperial proclamation of the new Bohemian constitution, dated April 8th, went so far as to declare the coming Bohemian diet a constituent assembly, to assert that the constitution of the state was dependent upon its decrees, and to place the German and Czech languages on an equal footing. The institution of a Czech militia and the newly invented Czech national costume were indications of the attack upon Teutonism which was beginning under the leadership of the Slowanska

Lipa; Palacky's refusal of the invitation to join the committee of Fifty was the bill of divorce between the Czechs and German Bohemia, and in the greater part of the country the national committee frustrated the elections to the parliament at Frankfort.

Moravia and upper Silesia offered no footholds to the separatist aspirations of the Czechs; Galicia and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, on the other hand, went so far as to make an attempt at absolute severance. In the latter the struggle grew into a war for Italian unity. The Polish nobility had a forcible admonition to an attitude of cautious reserve in the memory of the bloody year of 1846 and the unquenched animosity of their peasantry, but when the amnesty of the 20th of March brought a swarm of political refugees back from France the bridle of prudence gave way. But the insurrection which broke out at Cracow on April 26th came to the common end of all Polish rebellions on the same day. The town was laid under martial law, and thenceforth the allegiance of Galicia was secured by the vigilance of its governor, Count Francis Stadion.

The "Fundamental Law of the Empire"

With the Italians in open rebellion, the Poles always ready for the same, the Magyars, Czechs, and southern Slavs dubiously loyal and cherishing aspirations after national autonomy, which left no room for doubt; with the Austro-Germans, rudely awakened from their torpor, a prey to the wildest revolutionary extravagances on the one hand and shamefully subservient to radical demagogues on the other; with, to boot, a financial depression, an absolute lack of ready money which drove the minister of finance, Kraus, to embrace the most desperate remedies in order to avoid pronouncing the hideous word "bankruptcy" — in face of this situation, as it presented itself after four weeks of civil convulsion, was it to be wondered at that faith in the integrity and permanence of the empire grew dim, that the voluntary abdication of the Polish and Italian provinces seemed almost a matter of course? For even in the Centre itself confusion became ever worse confounded. The absolute uselessness of the patent of March 15th, with its pedantic adherence to the old formulæ of the estates, was obvious to all the world; and therefore on April 25th a "fundamental law of the empire" was promulgated, which was nothing whatever but another toy to quiet political babes: for it left untouched the main question at issue — whether Austria should continue to be a federal state or should adopt a centralised form of government; and in like manner said nothing of imperial relations with the Hungarian crown lands and the Italian provinces, because, as Fiequelmont confessed with the utmost naïveté, "they were merely of a transitory nature."

The whole of this great act was received with indifference or rejection in all quarters. The Czechs and Poles repudiated any interference with the autonomy which they claimed as their due; the Germans distrusted a ministry which carried its complaisance towards the Slavs to the pitch of offering the education department to Palacky; the democratic party was indignant at the two-chamber system and the composition of the senate; the mob expressed its dissatisfaction by nightly caterwauling, and on the 3rd of May extorted Fiequelmont's resignation. Whereupon the Aula, the organised association of students, combined with the representatives of the national guard to form a political central committee for the protection of the rights of the people, which proceeded to usurp government prerogatives without

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more ado. In the same Austria where, little more than two months ago, no breath of political agitation penetrated the silence of an all-powerful bureaucracy, a handful of raw boys, in concert with the rabble, gave itself the airs of a sole and supreme authority. When the ministers, who had not felt it beneath their dignity to remain in office after the insult offered to their president, summoned up enough courage to forbid the national guard to take part in the committee, the enraged Aula extorted by the help of the mob a retraction of the unheard-of affront. Helpless as it was, the government submitted to anything. For, with a just perception of the fact that the fate of Austria would be decided on the battle-fields of Italy, the war minister, Latour, had despatched all the available troops thither. It was obliged not only to concede the joint garrisoning of the gates and the citadel by the military and the national guard, but to consent to an electoral law that abolished the censorship, and to the convocation of a constituent assembly of the empire — that is to say, to the abandonment of the constitutional charter of April 25th.^b

The Flight of the Emperor (May, 1848)

The continuous tumults and the dread of still more threatening scenes determined those about the emperor to persuade him to a flight to Innsbruck, which was effected on the 17th of May. This was soon followed by a change in the public humour. The emperor's departure was altogether too much for the loyal Viennese, who besieged him with petitions to return to his capital. But instead of utilising at once this favourable turn of affairs, to take energetic measures, the ministers, who had made the disbandment of the students' legion the condition of the emperor's return, and had already published the decree of disbandment, on the 26th of May, let themselves be driven by a third rising and fresh barricades to concede the revocation of the decree and the return of the troops to the barracks. More than this, the minister of the interior, Freiherr von Pillersdorf, actually handed over the restoration of order to its former disturbers, and permitted the installation of a committee of security which was composed of municipal councillors, national guards, and students. This was nothing but a popular dictatorship, by which not only was the effectiveness of the ministry thrust aside but the educated and moderate section of the population was driven from the dangerous channel of the agitation.

SUPPRESSION OF THE PRAGUE REVOLUTION (JUNE, 1848)

To complete the measure of the embarrassments — as though the rising in Italy which had begun on the 18th of March, the independent dreams of the Magyars, even now clinking their spurs, the committee of security in Vienna were not enough — Prague also entered the ranks of the revolutionary cities. There the Czechs declared their hostility to the German population and were determined no longer to remain a member of Germany, but to form a separate Slav kingdom with Moravia and Silesia, which should have an independent government.

In order to organise themselves as a powerful party, on the 2nd of June they instituted a general Slav congress at Prague, under the presidency of Palacky, established a provisional government in opposition to the unfree ministry at Vienna, and caused a Czech constitution to be drawn up by Rieger. Here also the students pursued high politics. There was no lack of conflict with the Germans, menaced by the Czechs, and with the military, who

had, in Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, a determined but very aristocratic commander. It is to him that is attributed the historic piece of *naïveté*, "Man begins with the baron." He refused the demand of the Czech students that he should hand over to them a battery and sixty thousand cartridges; for it was easy to see that these cartridges were intended for no one but the prince and his soldiers, and that it was designed to establish here, as at Vienna, a popular government and one composed of Czechs. On the 12th of June a sanguinary encounter took place before the prince's palace between the Czechs and the military, when the prince's wife, who was watching from a window, was mortally wounded by a ball. On this and the following day a few cannon shots quelled the rebellion, the situation was made clear to the vainglorious Czechs, the Slav congress was dispersed, and, after a long pause, the fact was made manifest that the military power of Austria had no desire to abdicate.^c

The richest fruits of the revolt of Prague were garnered by the army. All other consequences, such as the break-up of the Pan-Slavic party and the indirect strengthening of the system of centralisation, were of minor importance compared to the fact that, for the first time since the revolution, the military were exalted in their own eyes and the soldiers stood forth, not merely as the strongest bulwark of order but also as the true pillars of Austrian power and unity. Up to this time it had been the fashion to conciliate the radicals at the expense of military pride; the army had been condemned to play a very subordinate part, constrained first to share its privileges with carpet-soldiers, students, and artisans, and then (in May) compelled to the deeper degradation of flight at the command of its superiors. Despite these measures, peace and tranquillity had not been restored; on the contrary, the pretensions of the radical party had waxed more arrogant. At Prague the general in command had neither been intimidated nor cajoled into retreating before the authority of the people, and he had subdued the rioters and suppressed the revolution. From this time forth the conservatives began to cherish the idea that the army was destined to be the salvation of the state, and to many the fate of Austria seemed wholly dependent on the attitude of the military. The greatest of Austrian poets, Grillparzer, once the idol of Vienna, became the most zealous apostle of this soldier-worship. He lauded the army in enthusiastic verse as the most deserving member of the body politic, in which wisdom was combined with strength, and true patriotism was alone to be found. Another poet, himself a soldier, was not satisfied with depicting the contrast between anarchic Vienna and the patriotic army; according to him the latter had the right to exercise judicial functions and had received authority to punish rebels and enemies of Austria. Grillparzer¹

¹ Grillparzer's poem to Field-Marshal Radetzky was first published in the constitutional *Donaueitung*. The following verses passed into a motto among the conservatives :

*In Deinem Lager ist Oesterreich,
Wir andern sind einzelne Trümmer.
Aus Trägheit und aus Eitelkeit
Sind wir in uns zerfallen,
In denen die du führst zum Streit
Lebt noch ein Geist in Allen.
Dort ist kein Jüngling, der sich vermisst
Es besser als Du zu kennen,
Der was er träumet und nirgends ist
Als Weisheit wagt zu benennen.*

(In thy camp is Austria, we others are scattered fragments. By indolence and vanity we have fallen into decay. Amongst those thou leadest to battle one spirit still lives in all. There

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laments that Austria, once so great and mighty, is now to be met with only in the soldiers' camp, while Marsano converts the lament into a threat against Vienna and the Aula.

The mere fact that a poet here and there should ascribe a mission of such significance to the army was not in itself enough to have aroused the apprehension of fresh political complications; but this belief did not exist only in the imagination of poets: after the events of June the army itself was inspired with a like proud conviction. The lengths to which this feeling went are best seen from the address of Prince Windischgrätz to the Bohemian nation when (on June 20th) he abrogated the state of siege. In this he declared that the least attempt at a fresh revolt would restore the military dictatorship, and the first cannon shot re-establish martial law, under which every rebel would be executed without mercy. The concluding words of this imperious proclamation run: "I hereby solemnly guarantee to every well-affected person protection and the maintenance of his just rights, life, and property; but to the wrong-doer who shall dare to disturb the public peace let it serve as a final warning." Such language had been unknown since the days of March; and, in spite of his victory over the Czechs, Prince Windischgrätz would hardly have ventured upon using it at this juncture if the favourable turn of events in the Italian theatre of war had not furnished a powerful reserve upon which he could fall back.^d

RADETZKY SAVES LOMBARDO-VENETIA (1848 A.D.)

The news of the events of March had scarcely reached Milan, when the viceroy, Archduke Rainer, foreseeing the storm, set off by Verona for the Tyrol (March 17th). Soon after, the struggle began; it had already lasted three days when Count Radetzky, the commander-in-chief in Italy, received the news that the Sardinian king, Charles Albert, in spite of the most solemn assurances of peace, only recently repeated, had crossed the frontier with a well-equipped army. There was but one means of defying the storm and the way to do it was "backwards." It was, as the old general himself says, "a terrible resolution, but it had to be taken."

It is only in reverses that man is great; and no hero ever encountered greater reverses than those which in these days fell, blow on blow, on Radetzky, an old man in his eighty-third year: the unexpected, energetic rising, the treacherous attack from without, the scattering of his resources, the

is no youth who dares to boast that he knows better than thou, who dares to put forth as wisdom what he dreams and what has no existence.)

In Marsano's soldier-song the most outspoken verse ran :

*Ihr Bürger Wien's, wir warnen euch,
Ihr mögt's auf der Aula erzählen;
Bedenket dass Wien nicht Oesterreich
Und dass ihr uns nichts zu befehlen.
Doch hört ihr die warnende Stimme nicht,
Die das Heer aus Italien sendet,
So setzen wir selber uns zu Gericht
Wenn hier unsere Sendung vollendet.*

(Citizens of Vienna, we warn you, you may tell it forth in Aula. Remember that Vienna is not Austria and that you have no commands for us. But if you hear not the warning voice that the army sends from Italy, we will take our place on the judgment seat when we have accomplished our mission here,)

desertion and treachery in his own army, the confusion and helplessness at home, the fall of so many fortresses, losses of so formidable a character as that of Venice. That he immediately perceived the point at which a rein might be put upon misfortune, and afterwards clung to it with the firm resolve of succumbing there or again conquering, is an achievement to be placed on a level with the greatest of its kind and is greater than the subsequent victory.

The Austrians left Milan and withdrew to their reinforcements. The little town of Melignano refused them a passage; it was taken by storm and partially plundered. At Lodi Radetzky learned the situation of the army and of Lombardy. At the first news of revolt, General d'Aspre had collected his army corps and had marched straight to Verona. He had left everything else in order to maintain this decisive point or march thence to meet the field-marshal. Mantua had been preserved to the emperor by the steadfastness and penetration of General Gorzkowski. The little fortress of Peschiera was in the power of the imperials; these were the most favourable tidings. The unfavourable news outweighed them. Charles Albert had passed the border on the same day on which the Austrians had left Milan. Of twenty Italian battalions, seventeen had deserted *en masse* or in part; and hence the towns of Udine, Treviso, Padua, Cremona, and Brescia had fallen into the hands of the revolutionaries. The same was the case with Osopo and Palmanova; in the last-named place alone thirty cannon and fifteen thousand rifles fell into the hands of the insurgents.

More grievous than all was the loss of Venice. The first tumults there had been quickly suppressed by the troops. The next morning the governor, Count Aloys Pálffy and the commandant, Count Zichy, allowed themselves to be persuaded, in order to avoid bloodshed, not to permit the troops to march out; and they sanctioned the arming of the citizen guard for the purpose of preserving order. All seemed quiet; but, when the news of the proceedings in Milan arrived, the revolt broke out (21st of March). The revolutionaries calculated on the weakness and incapacity of the heads of the imperial party. When the rising began, the governor made over all his powers to Count Zichy, but the latter was entirely helpless; he was separated from his troops, roughly treated, intimidated, and agreed to a compromise which delivered the fortifications, the precious, irreplaceable navy, and the Italian soldiery to the rebellion. The loyal troops marched out and the republic was proclaimed. The loss was immeasurable — far more than a lost battle.

The fall of Venice determined Radetzky to withdraw to the Adige and Verona. Here the fate of Italy must be decided. His headquarters were in Verona. Charles Albert marched after him and began the siege of Peschiera, where there was a lack of provisions. Here it became manifest that the pre-March government had made many mistakes in regard to the defence of Italy. The army was neither so strong as Radetzky could have desired, nor was it composed of wholly reliable troops. Twenty battalions of Italian troops had been left in Italy: it had been thought that they could be relied on because they had remained faithful in previous wars; but in this supposition the fact was lost sight of that for years they had been exposed to seduction. Seventeen battalions had, as already said, gone over wholly or in part to the enemy, but very few took service with the latter; they left their officers in the Austrian army and went back to their homes. Each withdrawing battalion left the Austrian army the weaker by a thousand men.

Lombardy and the Venetian mainland were in rebellion, the imperial army occupied only Mantua, Peschiera, Legnano, and Verona, and the district commanded by those fortresses. The salvation of the monarchy lay in the

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Italian army, and it had at least one of the finest defensive positions that could be imagined; but Radetzky could not advance to the attack till he had received sufficient reinforcements; for, if the imperial troops in Italy were to suffer a crushing defeat, the Austrian army would be practically overthrown.

The minister of war, Count Latour, made every effort to strengthen the army; he formed a reserve corps under Count Nugent, the master of the ordnance; it was seventeen thousand strong and was intended to subdue the Venetian mainland. Before this was done Radetzky could hardly advance to the attack. Charles Albert was well aware of this and he attacked an Austrian division at Pastrengo, but the fight was insignificant; the Austrian division attacked withdrew to the main army. Thereupon he attacked the imperial main army at Santa Lucia (May 6th). The Piedmontese were effectually beaten, but on the side of the Austrians it was merely a defensive battle. They had only taught Charles Albert that it was not so easy to dictate peace in Vienna as he had boastfully averred. Charles Albert received important auxiliaries from the revolted Modena, Tuscany, and, above all, from the states of the church. Here a regular crusade against the Austrians was preached. The able general Durando led the Romans; the pope disapproved of the attack on Austria, but could not prevent it; the reins of government had already been torn from his hands.



RADETSKY
(1766-1858)

In a moment of discouragement the Austrian government proposed to the Lombards to sever their connection with the monarchy on condition of their taking over a considerable portion of the state debt, and granting a favourable commercial treaty. The vainglorious Lombards did not accept this offer; they disputed among themselves as to whether Lombardy should become a republic or whether Charles Albert should be chosen king; but they neglected the means to secure the success of their plans. Charles Albert was only sparingly assisted with money and still more sparingly with troops. They reckoned on France and England, who had offered their mediation. Whilst the cabinets were discussing as to how and where the negotiations should take place, the efforts of Radetzky gave the situation a turn very different from that which the Italians expected. Radetzky assumed the offensive.

The forces which Charles Albert had at his disposal could not be computed at less than eighty thousand men. The Austrian army, on the other hand, in addition to the seventeen thousand men whom Nugent had brought up, and

the garrisons at Mantua, Peschiera, and Verona, consisted of forty-three battalions, forty-four squadrons, and one hundred and fifty cannon. They were divided into three corps under generals Wratislaw, D'Aspre, and Wocher. The forces which Radetzky could lead to the attack might then be reckoned at more than forty thousand. General Hess was the chief of the staff. The troops were animated with the best spirit and full of trust in their leaders. By a march prepared with as much boldness as foresight, the field-marshal appeared before the enemy's entrenchments at Curtatone; he wished to take it and then to compel the enemy to give battle along the line of the Mincio or to abandon that river. A victory would have had the greatest results. Hindrances due to the elements were the cause that the success was only partial. The skilfully constructed entrenchments were stormed, and 2,000 prisoners with five cannon fell into the hands of the Austrians (May 29th). The army advanced, but a tremendous rain suspended further movements, in addition to which came the news that, after a gallant resistance, Peschiera had been compelled by famine to capitulate. Moreover, the enemy had found time to assemble his whole power, and the field-marshal therefore desisted from attacks on this side; he sent a part of the troops back to Verona and with the rest directed his way to Vicenza.

The town was well fortified and provided with a numerous garrison, and in Charles Albert's camp it was believed that it could hold out for fourteen days against an army of one hundred thousand men. Radetzky appeared before the walls with forty thousand men and took it in one day. The entrenchment on Monte Berico, which was regarded as impregnable, was stormed by the tenth *Jäger* battalion under Colonel Kopal. The regiments of Latour and Reising followed suit; the other entrenchments were also taken by storm, and the same evening the town was fired on from Monte Berico. General Durando capitulated (11th of June). The fall of Vicenza was followed by that of Padua; General Welden took Treviso, Nugent had already won Udine. Thus the whole Venetian Mainland had been again subdued and free communication with the monarchy established. The corps of Count Thurn, who had taken over Nugent's command on the latter's falling ill, joined the main army. A great result had been attained with relatively small sacrifices. The field-marshal returned to Verona.

THE BATTLE OF CUSTOZZA (JULY, 1848)

Charles Albert prepared to besiege Mantua, but Radetzky determined to break the enemy's lines. Three days of brilliant fighting (22nd, 23rd, and 24th of July), in which General Simbschen's brigade was alone unfortunate, led to the battle of CustoZZa (July 25th), in which the Piedmontese were totally defeated and with extraordinary speed and in boundless disorder the Piedmontese army fled to Milan. There the greatest confusion prevailed. The mob rose against the Piedmontese; the palace where the king was lodged was fired on and he was kept in a species of captivity. It was only by the steadfast fidelity of a part of his troops that he escaped the rage of the people. The Piedmontese evacuated Milan and a municipal deputation requested Radetzky to march in with the imperial troops as quickly as possible, because only thus could murder and destruction be prevented and the fury of the people be tamed. The Austrians marched in; Charles Albert concluded an armistice; Lombardy was again subdued. But the Piedmontese admiral, who lay before Venice with his fleet, refused under various pretexts to withdraw. It was long before he left the waters of the Adriatic.^e

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THE VIENNESE REVOLUTION SUPPRESSED (1848 A.D.)

Meantime the constituent imperial diet had assembled at Vienna and had been opened on the 22nd of July by Archduke John, the *Reichsverweser* [imperial vicar of the German Empire]. There was a confusion of tongues as at Babel and little in the way of a constitution could be expected from it, especially since foreign affairs furnished continual material for the most lively



CATHEDRAL OF ST. STEPHEN

(Foundation laid by Duke Rudolf IV in 1359)

debates; the return of the emperor, which followed at the special request of the diet, on the 12th of August, contributed nothing towards calming men's minds. A motion for the removal of all obligations connected with the *Robot*, or compulsory labour, and with servitude — that is, the shaking off of all feudal burdens as had been done during the French Revolution of 1789 on the famous night of the 4th of August — was carried, with the stipulation that an equitable indemnity should be given by the state to those entitled to it.

The diet soon found itself in an untenable position between the ministry and the working-men's unions, and daily lost influence; for through the general desertion of the Slav members it had already shrunk into a rump parliament. Matters could not fail to come to an open struggle. Conditions

conformed themselves more and more to a copy of those prevailing among the Parisian workmen. Trade and barter were at a standstill. The wealthy families sought more idyllic abodes. The proletariat became thereby more numerous and enhanced their claims. Public works, Parisian national workshops, had to be inaugurated by the government, and the already languishing exchequer must pay the company of loungers a fair day's salary.

The Wessenberg ministry, which had succeeded that of Pillersdorf, finally took courage, began by reducing the wages to five kreutzers, and suppressed the rebellion of the refractory workmen by the help of the national guard (August 23rd). Then came a fresh development. The breach with the Hungarians was determined on. A portion of the Vienna garrison was to march against Hungary on the 6th of October. A grenadier battalion refused obedience, and when the cavalry attempted to compel it to set out, a struggle took place in which the grenadiers were supported by the students, the national guard, and the workingmen. General Bredy was shot and several cannon were made spoil by the people. Barricades were set up in all directions, the alarm bell tolled from the St. Stephen's Tower; an infuriated mob hurried to the ministry of war in search of the minister Latour, whose measures with regard to Hungary were not in agreement with the views of the Viennese democracy. Dragged from his hiding-place, he was hauled into the courtyard, and murdered in the most cruel fashion with sword thrusts and blows from hammers, after which the body, bleeding from forty-three wounds, was suspended from a gas-lamp. Thereupon the arsenal was stormed and its rich contents, consisting in part of rare and costly weapons, were divided among the crowd. The diet declared itself permanent, and in an address to the emperor demanded the formation of a new ministry, the dismissal of General Jellachich, ban of Croatia, and similar concessions. This time the Viennese democracy had conquered but it was nevertheless lost.

Under such conditions the emperor could no longer remain in Schönbrunn. On the 7th of October he fled with a strong escort to Olmütz in Moravia, and ordered Prince Windischgrätz to reduce Vienna. The prince, who was appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops except those in Italy, set out from Prague with his army, arrived before Vienna on the 20th of October, joined the troops of the ban Jellachich from Croatia, and the Vienna garrison which Count Auersperg had conducted out of the city, and on the 23rd demanded unconditional surrender.^c

Meanwhile, preparations had been made for defence of Vienna, with much bustle but little practical ability. Bodies of fighting men had flocked in from the country round; barricades and fortifications had been raised, and mounted with cannon; the command of the national guard had been given to Messenhauser, formerly an officer in the Austrian army, and that of the mobile guard to General Bem, a Pole, and a man of remarkable military talent. The forty-eight hours allowed by Prince Windischgrätz having expired, the attack began on the morning of the 26th; and, after twelve hours' fighting, the exterior line of the Leopoldstadt faubourg was taken, but the interior remained in the hands of its defenders. The next day was spent in unavailing negotiations. On the 28th, the attack was renewed on all sides with great vigour, especially on the east and south. The city was set on fire in many places, and the contest was continued all night in the Leopoldstadt and Wieden faubourgs. On the 29th, the Viennese sent a deputation to Prince Windischgrätz with proposals of surrender. The prince refused to abate his previous demand for disarming the workmen and the students, but agreed to suspend hostilities for twelve hours, while the besieged held a last deliberation.

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The deputation returned, and summoned a meeting of the town council, which was attended by Messenhauser, the commander of the academic legion, and some members of the diet. Messenhauser declared that he and the officers under him were ready to hold out, if the council decided to do so; but the situation was nearly desperate. The troops were in possession of the suburbs to the foot of the glacis, and the walls were incapable of general defence against escalade. On the question being put to the vote, it was resolved by three-fourths of the town councillors that the defence should cease. This resolution was announced to Prince Windischgrätz, and the disarming was actually commenced; but, on the 30th, a brisk cannonade was heard in the direction of Hungary, the sentinels on St. Stephen's Tower announced the long-expected approach of the Hungarian army, and the citizens were again summoned to arms, notwithstanding their engagements to surrender. To punish this breach of faith, Windischgrätz recommenced the bombardment of some of the faubourgs known as the most rebellious, and the firing was continued until nightfall.

The Battle of Schwechat (1848 A.D.)

The cannonade which had so raised the hopes of the Viennese in the morning was that of an engagement which took place at Schwechat, twelve miles from Vienna, between a Hungarian army of twenty-two thousand men, coming to the aid of the city, and twenty-eight thousand imperial troops despatched against them under Auersperg and Jellachich. The Hungarians had been awaiting on the frontier for many days the call of the Austrian diet. At last, on the 28th of October, Kossuth himself joined the army. The twenty columns of fire that rose that night from amid the palaces of Vienna showed but too fearfully the need there was of speedy aid for the devoted city; and without waiting longer on the Austrian diet, Kossuth gave the order to advance. It was too late, for on that very day had the fatal blow been struck. On the 30th the Hungarians came up with the scattered detachments of the imperials, drove them out of Fischamend and Albern, carried Manns worth by storm, and pushed on toward Vienna, whilst Jellachich and Auersperg awaited their approach in most secure and advantageous positions.

The main body of the Hungarians was between the Danube and the Schwartz en Lachen, a sluggish arm of that river, as broad and deep as the Danube itself. At the head of this body of water the Austrians, with a park of sixty guns, stood ready to receive them; while ten regiments, principally cavalry, had been sent out to gain their rear and enclose them in the defile. So gross a blunder could not escape the military eye of Görgey, who was at that time invested with but an unimportant command; he directed Kossuth's attention to the fact, and by an immediate retreat they narrowly escaped the trap and avoided a total defeat, in which an hour's advance would inevitably have involved them. They were pursued by the victorious Austrians both that day and the following, and driven back into Hungary. This was the battle of Schwechat, in which Colonel Görgey, for the efficient service rendered in saving the Hungarian army from the *cul de sac*, was promoted on the ground to the rank of general.

In consequence of the bombardment of the 30th, the city, on the following morning, declared, for a second time, its unconditional submission. A deputation from the municipality communicated to the field-marshal the fact that the greater part of the citizens were willing to surrender without reserve; but

that they were too feeble to carry their determination into effect in opposition to the radical club, the committee of students, and the armed mob, who threatened to set the city on fire, and bury themselves beneath its ruins. After receiving the deputation, the imperial general ordered large bodies of troops into the faubourgs, the unconditional surrender of which was betokened by the white flags hanging from the bastions and the adjoining houses; but no sooner had the unsuspecting troops made their appearance on the open glacis, than their ranks were torn by a murderous fire of grape and musketry, poured upon them from the ramparts.

Incensed by this treacherous act, Prince Windischgrätz ordered a bombardment of the inner city, and an attack by storm on three of the eastern and southeastern gates. The imperial library, several public buildings, and two churches were set on fire. The burg Thor was carried by the troops, and a short but bloody fight began in the streets. The defenders being still, as on the 29th and 30th, divided among themselves—some only of them for fighting, more for yielding—the success of the besiegers was rapid; and before midnight the greater part of the capital was subdued. The contest, however, was continued at detached points on the following day, and the north-westerly parts of the city were not mastered until dawn on the 2nd of November. The fire in the imperial library was extinguished without much injury to its valuable contents, but the Augustin church was nearly destroyed. Prince Windischgrätz proclaimed that, in consequence of the breach of capitulation, the conditions which he had at first agreed to were null and void; he declared Vienna in a state of siege; the academic legion dissolved forever, and the national guard for an indefinite time; all newspapers and political associations suspended; domiciliary visits to be made for the discovery of concealed arms, etc.

The loss of property occasioned by the siege of the Austrian capital has been estimated at about a million and a quarter sterling. The loss of life was much less than might have been expected after so protracted and desperate a struggle. Of the 1,600 persons arrested, nine only were punished with death, nine sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years, 996 discharged, and the remainder were tried by civil tribunal. Many of the most influential participators in the revolt escaped by flight before the troops entered the city. General Bem made his way into Hungary in disguise. Among the prisoners tried by court-martial were two members of the diet of Frankfort, sent thence by the deputies of the extreme Left to aid by their counsels the insurrection in Vienna. One of them, Robert Blum, member for Leipsic, being condemned, "on his own confession of having made revolutionary speeches, and opposed armed resistance to the imperial troops," was shot on the 9th of November. The other deputy, Fröbel, was sentenced to be hanged, but afterwards received a free pardon on the score of "extenuating circumstances." Messenhauser, the commander of the national guard, was shot. *f*

THE REHABILITATION

Even as Old Austria had passed away during the days of March, so in these terrible October days the old jovial Vienna passed away for evermore. The subjugation of Lemberg by General von Hammerstein on November 2nd formed an after-piece to that of the capital itself; with them the revolution was stamped out in the Polish-German half of the imperial dominions. But the question of the method and principles on which the reconstruction of the

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empire was to be accomplished became the subject of lively controversy, not only between constitutionalists and absolutists, but in an even greater degree between the petty jealousies of burcaueratic and military authorities. The whilom president of the exchequer, Von Kübeck, advocated as the simplest method the dissolution of the diet, the proclamation of martial law throughout the empire, and the appointment of Windischgrätz as dictator — that, having subdued the rebellion, he should proceed to take in hand the requisite "rejuvenation" of the political system. Stadion, however, backed by the Czech renitents of the diet, succeeded in convincing the court of the necessity of retaining the diet, though in an innocuous form. After the resolutions passed by the diet previous to the 6th of October had been confirmed by a patent dated the 19th of the same month which guaranteed the unimpaired enjoyment of all the rights and liberties conceded, the diet itself was prorogued, but summoned to meet again on November 22nd in the country town of Kremsier in the Hannak district, suggested by Palacky.

The ultimate decision rested nevertheless with the army, which had saved the tottering unity of the empire and had still to fight for it in Italy and Hungary. Windischgrätz had prudently stipulated when he assumed the chief command that no step should be taken nor any enactments promulgated that dealt with organisation, without his previous concurrence. But the real leader of the military party was not even Windischgrätz, but Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, a dissipated man of fashion who had held various diplomatic appointments and had recently fought with some distinction in Italy. This man, in whom pride of rank took the place of moral earnestness, whose attainments were represented by a coarse contempt for everything unmilitary, and in whom heedless audacity stood for statesmanlike insight, assumed the premiership of the new cabinet as minister for foreign affairs. Stadion became minister of the interior; Bruck, the gifted creator of the Austrian Lloyd, minister of commerce; while a mockery of the constitutional system of the late cabinet was preserved by the inclusion of Kraus and the converted democrat Bach, who had still a further process of conversion to undergo, as ministers of finance and justice respectively. The ministerial programme of November 27th contained the principal liberal demands, a liberal municipal law (*Gemeindegesetz*), and the reform of the administrative and judicial system.

But for Austria the true solution of the vital problem lay not so much in a greater or less degree of liberty as in the adjustment of her relations with Hungary and the Italian provinces on the one hand, and on the other with the new Germany which was still in process of formation. The programme, while passing lightly over the one subject, was all the more explicit on the other: "Not until rejuvenated Austria and rejuvenated Germany have attained to new and stable form will it be possible to define politically their reciprocal relations. Until that time Austria will continue faithfully to discharge her obligations towards the German Confederation."

The diet, which had assembled in full force in its place of exile, received this programme with loud applause. After which the dominant powers willingly allowed it the pleasure of immersing itself in vague discussions of fundamental rights or equally barren disquisitions upon federalism and centralisation, or spending its time in spiteful Czech attacks upon the German Left, while they themselves strode unfalteringly to their goal. In accordance with their political code, which did not treat pledges given by one ruler as binding on his successor, they had long since settled upon the expedient by which they would remove the insuperable barrier placed in the way of reaction

by the solemn promises the emperor Ferdinand had made to his subjects in general and to the Hungarians in particular. On the 2nd of December the emperor, heartily weary of the burden of rule, abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. He died at Prague, June 29th, 1875. A proclamation put into the mouth of the new eighteen-year-old emperor expressed the hope that he would "be able to weld all the countries and races of the monarchy into a great united body politic."

The confident expectation of an easy subjugation of Hungary, and particularly the exaggerated importance attached to the victory of Kápolna, inspired the government to delay no longer the stroke of policy demanded with increasing vehemence by the court, the aristocracy, the military, and the clergy, but to put an end to the farce of the diet. On March 6th Stadion submitted to a meeting of Deputies from the Right and Centre the scheme of a chartered constitution. The consternation with which they received it, the open opposition of even the rigid conservatives among them, appeared to make some impression on him, and he promised to exert his influence in the ministerial council to procure delay. Nevertheless, on the following morning the deputies found the hall of session barred by soldiers and an imperial manifesto posted at the street corners to announce the closing of the diet, "which by its debates had placed itself in conflict with the existing conditions of the monarchy," and the grant of a constitutional charter to the whole of Austria.

In this bungled patchwork, made up of shreds of all the constitutions in existence, the one thing that was meant to be taken seriously (apart from the restrictions placed upon religious liberty) was the abolition of all distinctions between the various dominions of the Crown and the reduction of all to the status of mere administrative districts. By this means, to outward seeming at least, the finishing touch was put to the tedious process which for a century had been at work on the transformation of the conglomerated states of the pragmatic union into a centralised political unit modelled upon the army. The maintenance of the constitution which was promised to Hungary, (though coupled with the separation of the voivodeship of Servia, of Transylvania, Croatia, and the military frontier) amounted in practice to the same thing as its abrogation. The definition of the relation of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom to the empire was left to be dealt with by special statute.

The dissolved diet vanished and left no trace behind; a "justification" from certain charges made against it, which was issued by thirty-three deputies, is the last we hear of it. Of those who a short while ago had spoken so loudly in the cause of freedom and justice, the majority submitted tamely to the newly constituted authority. Amongst the people at large the chartered constitution was received with the indifference it merited, but from the dragon-seed of equal rights, which found its fullest expression in the *Allgemeine Reichsgesetz- und Regierungsblatt*, printed in ten languages, sprang the armed nationalities which the government had next to dispose of one by one.

The Czechs found themselves dismissed with base ingratitude when once their duty was done; the revolutionary aspirations of the radical young Czech party, which was in touch with the German democrats, were soon brought within bounds by arrests and martial law. The Servians and Croats had a like experience. There was no question that the Hungarians would not voluntarily submit to have the yoke of a universal constitution laid upon their necks, but the government relied upon its ability to enforce it at the point of the sword.

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THE HUNGARIAN WAR (1848-1849 A.D.)

After a final and fruitless summons to the Hungarians to return to their allegiance, an imperial manifesto dated November 6th proclaimed the commencement of armed intervention in all the provinces under the dominion of the crown of St. Stephen, and at the same time quashed all such decrees of the diet of Pest as had not already received the imperial sanction. Kossuth and his faction were denounced as traitors to their king and country, and all Hungarian officials were placed under the authority of Prince Windischgrätz. On the other hand the loyal [Transylvanian] Saxons were promised the restoration of their ancient privileges in the repeal of the union of Transylvania with Hungary. The Ruthenians of Galicia were assured of the imperial protection against Polish coercion, and Bukowina was raised to the rank of a distinct administrative province.

The situation of the Magyars was bad enough, indeed it was almost hopeless. The fiction to which the diet of Pest steadfastly held — that the succession which had been accomplished without their concurrence was invalid, that Ferdinand V was and remained their rightful king, that Francis Joseph was a usurper, and that Windischgrätz, not Hungary, was in rebellion — had, it is true, a certain amount of effect upon the army; but the latter, one half of which consisted of the *débris* of the old army and the other of the raw material of the new, could hardly be considered fit to take the field. The battle of Schwechat had severed the connection between the German and Hungarian revolutions, and the Magyars had their own intolerance to thank for the fact that from the island of Mur on the borders of Styria to Kronstadt in Burzenland the whole south was in arms against them. The national tricolour floated only over the region north of this line and up to the Carpathians.

The Servians, though torn by party dissensions, still held the entrenchments of Szent Tomasch against the repeated assaults of Kiss and Mezaros, and thereby helped to divide the forces of Hungary; while both the Servian voivodeship, granted "in recognition of Serbia's heroic resistance to the enemies of the throne," and the restoration of the Greek patriarchate at Karlowitz, imparted to the national revolt of Serbia more and more of the character of a struggle to maintain legitimate authority. After the sudden death of Suplicac, the newly-appointed voivode, on December 27th, the imperial authority was the only one recognised by the Servian race; and in January, 1849, the Bacska and the Banat were finally evacuated by the Hungarians. In Transylvania, as in Serbia, the imperials were forced by their numerical weakness to rest satisfied with opposing revolution to revolution. After Magyar terrorism had proved of no avail to prevent either the mutiny of the Wallachian border regiments or the confirmation and amplification of the Blasendorf decrees, the local commanders, Puchner and Lieutenant-Colonel Urban, acting on direct orders from Vienna, openly renounced their allegiance to the Pest government and helped to organise the Rumanian militia which fell upon the Magyar towns with bestial fury. Klausenburg had to buy them off with a ransom of two millions, and by the middle of November nearly the whole of Transylvania was again under imperial domination.

On the west, however, from the Drave to the Carpathians, the castigator of Vienna girdled the rebellious land in overwhelming force. His first army corps, under Jellachich, was to operate on the right of the Drave; the second, under Wrba, on the left; Nugent was collecting a force of six thousand men

in the island of Mur, Simunich was posted on the March, Count Schlick at Dukla in Galicia: making altogether a force of 110,000 men, inclusive of the divisions in Transylvania and the Banat. In spite of the stupid pedantry of the commander-in-chief, by which far more time was lost over the military preparations than need have been, the success of the plan devised by Latour seemed to admit of no doubt.

According to this plan, a concentric advance from this periphery was to drive revolution out of the third capital of Hungary, as it had been driven out of Prague and Vienna. So convinced was Görgey, the Hungarian general, of the impossibility of holding this long line against a force so far superior, that he advised the transfer of the defensive frontier, as well as of the seat of government and the diet, to beyond the Theiss; thus to gain time to complete the equipment of an army which was still in embryo. But Kossuth, the president of the committee of national defence, who saw part of the nation fall away from him with every lost hand's breadth of the soil, insisted on maintaining the positions already taken.

The first blow in the Austrian advance was struck by Schlick, who dispersed the militia levies that barred his way, took Eperies and Kaschau; sent Mezaros, who had hurried to the rescue of the latter place, home with his wounded pride (January 4th, 1849); and thus seriously threatened the Hungarian right. Görgey's troops were also scattered at their first contact with Jellachich as he crossed the Leitha. Presburg and the fortified positions at Raab were occupied by the Austrians almost without a blow, Görgey's rear guard only was reached and routed at Babolna on December 28th, and at the same time Simunich crossed the Lesser Carpathians and on the 16th defeated Guyon, who was to cover Tyrnau. From Raab Windischgrätz issued a proclamation threatening to hang anyone who abetted the revolutionary authorities, to rase every hostile town, and to confiscate the property of all rebels. At Kossuth's instance Perczel did indeed turn, in order to counteract the demoralising effect of perpetual retreat; but he also suffered defeat at Moor on December 31st, while trying to keep a far superior force of the enemy from breaking through from the Bakony Forest.

When it was no longer possible to conceal the danger by lying reports, the principal towns were seized with consternation. A deputation consisting of persons of the highest consideration, which was sent to meet Prince Windischgrätz, brought back nothing but a demand for unconditional submission; the field-marshal had refused to receive even its head, Count Louis Batthyányi. Necessity now drove the council of war to decide upon abandoning the capital and retreating, according to Görgey's original proposal, beyond the Theiss, where climate and soil would fight for the Hungarians. The diet and the committee of national defence fled to Debreczen, taking with them the insignia of royalty and the press for issuing bank-notes. Perczel, at Szolnok, covered the retreat, Görgey with sixteen thousand men took up a position at Waitzen, partly with a view to diverting Windischgrätz's attention and partly to relieve Leopoldstadt, which was being besieged by Simunich.

On the 5th of January the Austrians marched into Buda-Pest. The official *Wiener Zeitung* announced "the glorious conclusion of the campaign." Everyone praised the saviour of the monarchy, the only cause for dissatisfaction being that victory had been so easy. The army gave itself up to the delights of a new Capua, no one was hard-worked except the court martial and executioners. Louis Batthyányi, his brother-in-law Count Károlyi, D. Pazmandy, and generals Hrabowsky, Lázár, and Moga were among the persons arrested; "even individuals who had taken the least part or no part at all

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in the revolution" were required to exculpate themselves before a special commission. So desperate did the case of the Hungarians seem that most of their older officers withdrew from the army.

Deliverance came to them through Görgey; through him, too, came perdition, in the shape of discord between the military party and the government. The ambitious and quarrelsome leader hated Kossuth in his character of superior no less than in that of demagogue; in an address to his troops at Waitzen he passed the most acrimonious censures upon the government and the diet, coupled with the express declaration that the army was only defending the constitution sanctioned by King Ferdinand, and the diet was obliged meekly to overlook the insubordination of an indispensable officer. Görgey's real object, after he had been obliged to abandon the relief of Leopoldstadt, was to join the army of the Theiss; but the superior strength of the enemy who encompassed him compelled him to take refuge in the inhospitable and snow-clad mountain region between Schemnitz, Kremnitz, and Neusohl.

In this lurking-place he conceived the project of throwing himself upon Schlick's rear, which, flushed with victory, was preparing to drive the troops collected at Tokay, under the young and gifted George Klapka, across the Theiss, and to repeat in Debreczen the havoc wrought by Windischgrätz at Pest. Twice Schlick had attacked the encampment at Tokay in vain, when Görgey unexpectedly appeared upon the scene, and, Guyon having provided him with means of egress from the Zips by storming the Braniczko Pass on February 5th, reached Eperies on the following day, joined hands with Klapka, and forced Schlick to quit Kaschau with all speed and, relinquishing his connection with Galicia, to fall back in fugitive haste upon the main army. Even thus he would have run straight into the arms of Perczel, who was marching to intercept him from the south after a successful engagement with the Ottinger brigade of cavalry at Szolnok, if the dissensions between his adversaries and the supreme military authority had not proved his salvation.

The Hungarian Defeat at Kápolna (1849 A.D.)

The committee of national defence fancied that it had at last found its long-sought commander-in-chief in old Dembinski, one of those Poles who in every revolution fought for their native land alone. Hence — over and above his military experience — he brought with him a political programme, according to which Hungary, together with the autonomous states of the Croats and Serbs, was to form a federal state to act as a barrier to Russia, and which palliated every act of military insubordination by the excuse of resistance to aims utterly irrelevant to the Hungarian revolution and repugnant to the majority of the nation. Coupled with his rough and quarrelsome disposition, this discrepancy fanned the flame of discord to a blaze. Perczel sent in his resignation, Görgey and Klapka gnashed their teeth with rage at the contradictoriness which had frustrated their plans and allowed Schlick to slip away.

Under these unfavourable auspices Dembinski attempted an offensive movement against Pest, in which Görgey and Klapka were to co-operate from Erlau, Repásky from Szolnok, and Damjanics, now on the march from the south, by way of Cybakhaza. Just at this juncture, however, Windischgrätz had been shaken out of his sluggish inaction by Schlick, who was on fire with impatience to wipe out his score with Görgey. Before Dembinski could reach Gyöngyös he fell in with the main body of the hostile army at Kápolna, on February 27th, 1849. The battle was still undecided

when Schlick's vigorous attack on his right flank determined Dembinski to relinquish the struggle and retreat.

The battle of Kápolna, unimportant from a military point of view inasmuch as it left the situation as it was, had important consequences for the Hungarian side, for it brought the exasperation against Dembinski to a head. All the divisional commanders, Görgey, Aulich, Repasy, and Klapka, refused to serve under him any longer. Kossuth was forced to sacrifice his *protégé* to them; but he appointed Vetter, not the senior general the suspected Görgey, in his place. Vetter, however, fell ill, and the chief command soon passed to Görgey. Shortsighted and arrogant, the tyrants of Olmütz did not think it worth their while to inquire minutely into the state of things on the Hungarian side — still less to win over those who were inclined to an amicable settlement, or to take advantage of the aversion the majority in the Debreczen diet bore to Kossuth. But in the midst of their triumph the incapable handling of the army beyond the Leitha transformed victory into shameful defeat.

Hungarian Successes (February–June, 1849)

The dire transformation was ushered in by Bem — on whom Kossuth had bestowed the chief command of the Transylvanian army which had practically almost ceased to exist — more with the object of removing an adversary of the democratic party than in the expectation of important achievements. Bem however displayed such a mastery of the art of guerrilla warfare and such marvellous celerity of movement that within a week he had wrested the greater part of Transylvania from Puchner, a brave man but dull. In the open, indeed, at the battles of Hermannstadt and Mediach, the bold factionary lost the advantages he had won and the towns of Klausenburg and Vásárhely which he had taken; but when all thought him lost he fell suddenly upon Urban's division, drove it back into Bukowina, and gave Puchner such a fright that he could think of nothing better to do than to call the Russian troops quartered in Wallachia under Lüders to his assistance. For the emperor Nicholas had taken advantage of the confusion of the rest of Europe to re-establish, by garrisoning the Danubian principalities, that tutelary control which he bitterly repented having resigned by giving up the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.

On February 2nd the Russians marched into Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, and Puchner, under cover of the Russian force, obliged Bem to flee to Schässburg. He nevertheless re-appeared, took Hermannstadt again on March 11th, and drove the Russians, together with Puchner and his whole division, through the Rothenthurm Pass and across the frontier. By the end of March the whole of Transylvania, with the exception of the little fortress of Karlsburg, was in Bem's hands, and he was able to join hands with Perczel, who had meanwhile been successfully fighting the Serbs, had wrested Szent Tomasz and the Römerschanze from them, relieved Peterwardein, and now, in conjunction with Bem, made himself master of the whole Banat.

Meanwhile Windischgrätz stayed as if spell-bound in Pest, vainly waiting for the fall of the besieged town of Komárom, wearing his troops out by useless marches to and fro, and doubly nervous since the discomfiture of his advanced guard by Damjanics at Szolnok on March 5th. His inaction allowed Görgey to concentrate the main body of the Hungarian army, now amounting to 50,000 men with 182 guns, on the line from Kápolna to Poroszló. The operations were opened by Gáspár and Pöltenberg, who flung Schlick back from Hatvan upon Gödöllő on the 2nd of April; and on the 4th the

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engagement at Tapio Biske put Aulich, Klapka, and Damjanics in possession of all the roads leading from the Thiesse to the capital. Menaced thus on the right flank and again repulsed at Isaszeg by Aulich's opportune arrival, the field-marshal continued his retreat to the very walls of Pest, "in order," as his bulletin phrases it, "to draw nearer to his reserves—a movement which the enemy followed up with the utmost rapidity. Damjanics took Waitzen on the 10th, and the fight at Nagy Salo on the 19th drove the Austrians beyond the Waag and completed the relief of Kamarom.

Loth as the government was to take any action adverse to the much vaunted saviour of the monarchy, and thereby to aim a blow at the foundations of the reactionary system, the prince's political and military incompetence made it imperative to recall him at once, though with the greatest possible show of consideration. His place was taken by the aged Welden as a temporary makeshift, and the equally incapable Jellachich was transferred to Esseck as commander of an army destined to keep the southern Slav under control. The new commander-in-chief promptly arrived at the conviction that his task must be limited to the extrication of the army, decimated as it was by war, cholera, and typhus, and that the main objective of defense was no longer Pest but Vienna. Committing the charge of the citadel of Buda to General Hentzy, with instructions to hold out as long as possible, he himself set out on his retreat to the frontier, and the war had to be begun over again from where it had started four months before.

Kossuth Proclaims Hungary Independent (April 14th, 1849)

Much of the advantage of these brilliant successes was, however, lost to the Hungarians, not merely through the dissensions of their leaders but through the headlong violence of political passions. In the intoxication of joy at a turn of fortune so far beyond their hopes, the laboriously fostered chimera of a lawful struggle for a rightful king faded away, the party of reconciliation left the radicals masters of the field, and Kossuth swept the diet along to the irreparable breach. On April 14th he proclaimed from the pulpit of the Reformed church at Debreczen the independence of Hungary and the deposition of the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and therewith a life-and-death struggle in place of peace for which most men yearned. Though not expressly christened a republic, the new state was virtually a republic with Kossuth for its president.

The consequences of this extreme measure were not what its author had anticipated. The rending of ties hallowed by time robbed both nation and army of their unquestioning confidence in the justice of their cause, begot confusions and divisions, and deprived the Magyars of the sympathy which their gallant resistance to a brutal reaction had won at home and abroad. The storming of Buda, which Hentzy defended to the death, and the triumphal entry of Kossuth into liberated Pest, seemed at first fresh pledges of ultimate victory; but the fact that—to the amazement of the Austrians—the pursuit of Welden was neglected for the sake of the tedious reduction of Buda was perhaps the turning-point of the war.

The independence of Hungary was only possible on two assumptions: (1) that she would never have to assert herself against any enemy except Austria, and (2) that the flower of the Austrian army would continue to be locked up in Italy. Both were fallacious. The victorious conclusion of the war with Sardinia allowed Austria to place generals of the school of Radetzky in the field, and by that means to restore to her troops that confidence in

their leaders which they had lost. From Italy, invested with absolute authority, came the new commander-in-chief, Haynau, an illegitimate son of the first elector of Hesse, a man of fierce and pitiless energy, who had gained a terrible reputation as commandant of Verona and by the cruel chastisement he had inflicted on rebellious Brescia. In like manner, while the Hungarian Republic was vainly striving to gain recognition abroad, the young emperor found a foreign ally.

The Russians aid Austria (1849 A.D.)

The rebuff, with which a confidential inquiry relative to an occupation of Galicia by Russian troops had met, had not stood in the way of their co-operation in Transylvania. Now, under the hourly apprehension of seeing the Hungarians before the gates of Vienna, Schwarzenberg bowed his proud neck to the deepest of humiliations and entreated the help of Austria's ancient rival in subjugating them. The emperor Nicholas, that heaven-born defender of the common interests of all governments against the international propaganda of the revolution, who had a Polish revolution to ward off in Hungary into the bargain, saw with supreme delight that same Austria which had so often proved intractable now at his feet, and no magnanimity mitigated the manner in which he granted the boon. He would not give his consent to the levy of an auxiliary corps, and Austria was obliged to acquiesce in an arrangement by which the Russian army under Paskevitch (the strength of which the czar reserved to himself the right of determining) was to pose as the real main army; and the Austrians, who were joined by special request by the Panjutine division, were to take the position of subordinates. Moreover, at an interview between the two emperors at Warsaw, the commencement of their joint operations was deferred to the middle of June.

Paskevitch came down with four columns through the passes of the Carpathians to the lowlands of Hungary, and at the same time Lüders made a fresh invasion into Transylvania, their combined forces amounting to 150,000 men. The Hungarians had been seized with the wildest consternation at the announcement of Russian assistance. Kossuth urged that the invasion should be rendered impossible by laying the country waste and destroying all dwellings and provisions; but the people, exhausted, sobered, and impoverished by the lavish issue of paper money, could not rise to such desperate measures. The magnitude of the danger, instead of enforcing concord, merely inflamed the mutual jealousies of the generals and their exasperation against the president; Görgey in particular made an open exhibition of his opposition to Kossuth whenever he could. After a long period of indecision he threw himself upon the left bank of the Danube to prevent the junction of his opponents, without a suspicion that Haynau had decided to take the offensive independently on the right in order to avoid direct contact with his haughty ally. Hence, while Görgey was repulsed at Pered on the 21st and 22nd of June with considerable loss as he attempted to carry the right bank of the Waag, Haynau wrested the poorly garrisoned town of Raab from the Hungarians on the 28th, under the eyes of his emperor. These two mishaps brought the council of war to the determination to concentrate the army on the Theiss and Marosch with the Banat as its base, leaving only a strong garrison in Komárom, and to make separate attacks upon the enemy as occasion offered.

For the second time the government and the diet fled to Szegedin. To the prevailing misery Kossuth added the blunder of taking the chief command

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away from Görgey and giving it to Mezaros, who was invariably unlucky in the field. The outspoken opposition of the corps of officers obliged him, however, to keep Görgey at the head of the army on the Danube. Görgey showed all the less inclination to fall back upon the Theiss, and not until he had made two futile attacks on the Austrians at Acs (July 3rd and 11th), did he set out, at the risk of having his retreat cut off by the Russians on the left bank of the Danube, or by the Austrians on the right. Klapka stayed behind at Komárom with eighteen thousand men. Moving in a wide circle, by Miskolcz and Nyiregyhaza, Görgey reached Grosswardein after some successful engagements with the Russians. If the Austrians had fastened upon his retreating heels, according to their agreement with the Russians, he could hardly have escaped annihilation, but Haynau was in a hurry to be beforehand with the Russians in occupying the capital. Concerned above all things to maintain the glory of the Austrian arms by stamping out the revolution in the south by his single and unaided exertions, he intended next to relieve the hard-pressed garrison of Temesvár and to join hands with the ban, who had been repulsed on the 14th of July by Vetter and Guyon, but was still holding his own within his main ramparts on the Tittel plateau. Haynau reached Szegedin on August 3rd, before the Hungarians could effect the proposed concentration of their forces at that place. What was left of the diet migrated to Arad, which had fallen on the first of July after a three months' siege, and had been selected as the final *point d'appui*. But Haynau forced the passage of the Theiss, and by a successful engagement at Szöred on August 5th drove the enemy from the Arad road to that which led to Temesvár. On the same day Bem's army, which had defended itself against overwhelming numbers with the courage of despair, was dispersed by Lüders at Gross-Scheuren. He himself arrived wounded under the walls of Temesvár just in time to take over from the unskilful Dembinski the direction of the battle by which Haynau relieved that fortress on August 9th.

Görgey Surrenders at Világos (August, 1849)

Görgey had reached Arad too late to save it. All was lost. Reluctantly, at the urgent request of the council of war, Kossuth resigned his dignity and authority to Görgey on the 11th and took flight for Turkey. Nothing was left for the army but unconditional surrender. On the 13th of August more than 23,000 men with 144 guns laid down their arms on the field of Világos before the Russians, with whom Görgey had been negotiating for some time previously with the cognisance of his government. "Hungary," Paskevitch wrote to the emperor Nicholas, "lies at your majesty's feet. I have the satisfaction of announcing that the only condition stipulated for was permission to surrender to your majesty's army." The remaining divisions surrendered one after another. After a last stand at Lugos on August 15th Bem sought safety in flight, also to Turkish soil. Komárom held out till September 27th, when Klapka capitulated on honourable terms.

The imputation of treason has been cast upon Görgey, but unjustly. Yet he laid an even greater burden of guilt upon himself by ignoring the Austrians out of sheer animosity and surrendering to the Russians; for the course he thus took was the exact opposite of the one that might have served to alleviate the lot of the vanquished and those who had nothing but punishment to anticipate, and by which he might have contributed to the preservation of the national rights of Hungary.

THE PUNISHMENT OF HUNGARY (1849 A.D.)

Exasperation and the thirst for revenge had now free play. Haynau, according to Radetzky's verdict "sharp as a razor, that should be put into the sheath directly it is done with," was a stranger to the impulse and the art of forgiveness, and no higher hand bridled his cruelty. The victor was converted into the executioner, punishment became vengeance. At Arad thirteen Hungarian officers of high rank were executed, nine of them by the halter; Görgey escaped a like fate by the intercession of Russia, and was interned at Klagenfurt. Louis Batthyányi met his doom at Pest by powder and shot, a self-inflicted wound in the neck making the use of the rope impracticable. There were incarcerations, degradations of Honvéd officers to the ranks, and other punishments without number, and the depreciation of Kosuth notes reduced thousands of families to poverty. Things came to such a pass that Palmerston conveyed to the Austrian government in the strongest terms the indignation felt by the English people at the reign of terror set up in its name.

The Hungarian constitution was treated as forfeit; the country remained under martial law; even the idea of breaking it up into several crown provinces was discussed. The blindness of this hatred even induced Austria to lend a hand in browbeating the Sublime Porte, which in April Russia had forced to consent, by the Treaty of Balta Limani, to her protectorate of the Danubian principalities for a period of seven years. Both powers demanded with threats the surrender of the fugitive ringleaders, but an English fleet at anchor in the Dardanelles and the encouragement of the other ambassadors gave the Divan courage to refuse the demand, in the name of humanity; and the two powers were forced to be content with the internment of the fugitives.^b

RADETZKY'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SARDINIA (1849 A.D.)

Meantime in the spring of 1849 hostilities were renewed in Italy. The Piedmontese minister Gioberti had desired to delay the resumption of the contest till the army should have been reorganised; but on the 20th of February, 1849, he was forced to resign, and on the 12th of March Charles Albert urged on by the radical party, declared the armistice at an end.^a

The auspices under which Sardinia re-entered the arena were by no means calculated to inspire lively confidence. Forced to rely in this struggle upon her own unassisted exertions, she looked in vain among Gioberti's successors in office for the man of genius whose breath should be able to inspire the state, the nation, and the army. With the last-named body the war was unpopular. Of the 120,000 men who composed it, 85,000 only could be put in the field, the staff was of inferior quality, and the equipment left much to be desired. There was great difficulty in obtaining a competent commander-in-chief after Bava, the only man fit for the post, had been sacrificed to the animosity of certain officers of high rank. As no Frenchman was to be had, the Pole Chrzanowsky was sent for at Bugeaud's suggestion — a man of mean appearance, a perfect stranger to the army, and ignorant even of its language. But the worst evil was the right of interference which, in spite of his sorry qualifications as a general, the king reserved to himself under the title of the supreme command. On the other side, Radetzky had only seventy thousand men, but most of these were seasoned veterans, each one proudly

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conscious of superiority in everything that conduces to victory. His artillery was also the stronger by a third. The second reserve corps, under Haynau, stayed behind in Venetian territory.

The field-marshal shrouded his plans in profound secrecy. While doing everything to confirm the enemy in the belief that he intended to confine himself to acting on the defensive, merely holding fortified places and thinking of nothing but his retreat across the Adda, he quietly made preparations to take them unawares by a flank attack of astonishing vigour and celerity. Under cover of a close line of outposts along the Ticino, he succeeded in entirely concealing his strategic dispositions from the enemy up to the actual commencement of the decisive struggle. In order to complete the deception he chose to march from Milan, on March 18th, by the road that led eastwards to Lodi, but turned sharply to the right towards St. Angelo; and on the morning of the 20th arrived, to the amazement of his own troops, at Pavia. Thither, too, came by forced marches the troops posted along the right bank of the Po as far as Piacenza and north of the line of the Adda up to Brescia.

On the stroke of the hour that proclaimed the expiration of the armistice, the Austrians crossed the river frontier. This movement took the enemy so completely by surprise that their counter evolutions fell into confusion before they could be fairly developed. Ramorino, who had occupied the strong position at La Cava with the Lombard legion, evacuated it after a short struggle, and by retreating across the Po left the passage of the Gravelonne open. Meanwhile the king and Chrzanowsky had crossed the Ticino at the head of their army at Buffalora, and then, amazed at finding no enemy, returned to Trecate. The news of Radetzky's invasion did not arrive from Pavia till nine o'clock in the evening, and it brought all the Sardinian plans for offensive action to nought. Chrzanowsky resolved to divide his army; Durando and the duke of Genoa were to detain the Austrians before Mortara until he himself could come up with the rest of his forces; General Bés was to march by way of Vigevano, cut off their communications with Pavia, and drive them to the Po.

Radetzky, unaware of these dispositions on the part of the enemy, met with determined resistance at both these places on the 21st; but by evening Durando was obliged to abandon Mortara with heavy loss to the storming party under D'Aspre, after an engagement in which Colonel Benedek greatly distinguished himself. At Vigevano the opportune arrival of Wohlgemuth, who had crossed the Ticino at Bereguardo, decided the day in favour of the Austrians. Strategically the campaign was lost to the Sardinians after these two battles, their line of retreat to Alessandria was cut off, that by Vercelli to Turin was seriously threatened.

Battle of Novara (1849 A.D.)

Radetzky assumed that as a matter of course they would withdraw behind the Sesia, and accordingly ordered Thurn's and Wratislaw's divisions to the Vercelli road; but this assumption was falsified by Chrzanowsky, who collected his whole force (which still amounted to 54,000 men, with 122 pieces of artillery — 22,000 men being isolated on the far side of the Po) in a very advantageous position for a defensive battle at Novara, with his flanks resting on two brooks, the Agogna and the Terdoppio. Even D'Aspre, falling in with the enemy at Olengo on the 23rd, imagined that he had merely come up with the rearguard of the retreating force, and incautiously attacked with his fifteenth thousand men.

Becoming aware of his mistake, he sent in hot haste for reinforcements. By the time that the other corps, guided by the roar of cannon, arrived on the scene of action, his troops had been reduced to the last stage of exhaustion in the struggle with a superior force of the enemy. Thurn took the right wing of the enemy in the rear, and towards evening the key of the position, in the centre, at the hamlet of Bicocca, was carried by assault after an obstinate resistance. Wherever the balls rained thickest Charles Albert was to be found, rigid and immovable; but death disdained a self-devoted victim, and in the end he was dragged away almost by force.

A night of horror followed for the city, where the beaten and utterly demoralised army gave itself up to the grossest excesses. The king sent to beg for an armistice; but, receiving no answer except bitter reproaches for his breach of faith from the mouth of the chief of the staff, Von Hess, he abdicated that same evening in favour of his son, that his person might not serve as an obstacle to the conclusion of peace. Passing unrecognised through the Austrian outposts, he left Nice for Oporto, where he died broken-hearted on July 29th, atoning for many faults in the past by martyrdom for the independence of his country. In so doing he gave a nobler and loftier consecration to monarchy in his kingdom than could have been conferred by the most brilliant victory, and a vital force without which it might have been uprooted before it had firmly established itself by the prevalence of republican ideas.

On the morning of the 24th Radetzky granted the desired armistice in a personal interview with the young king Victor Emmanuel at the farmhouse of Vignale. He turned a deaf ear to the murmurs of his army, which was eager to dictate terms of peace at Turin. Consideration for the situation in Hungary, which was steadily becoming more critical, and the wish to avoid interference from the western powers to whom Sardinia had appealed, induced him to rest satisfied with stipulating that she should place her army on a peace footing, disband the corps which were composed of Austrian subjects, and leave the district between Alessandria and the Sesia in his hands as security for peace.

Such was the end of the six days' campaign, which was lauded as a masterpiece of strategy. Brescia, which had revolted on the day of the battle of Novara, deluded with false hopes by the Mazzinists, was stormed by Haynau on the 31st of March and subjected to most frightful punishment. On the Sardinian side, the fanatics flung themselves upon Genoa, recruited a host of criminals, adventurers, and dock-labourers, and proclaimed the republic; but surrendered to General La Marmora without a blow on April 5th. Ramorino was tried by court-martial and shot, because the army and the populace clamoured for a victim. But the patriots held with unabated fervour the faith that so much blood had not been shed for their country in vain.

Radetzky was eager for peace — he wanted a free hand to deal with central Italy; but Schwarzenberg desired to reduce the vanquished to quiescence for a long time to come. On one condition the young king could have secured more lenient terms — he could have altered the constitution and given in his adherence to the policy of Austria; for a constitutional Sardinia was a thorn in the side of Austrian dominion in Italy. But Victor Emmanuel withstood the temptation. He nominated D'Azeglio, who had been wounded at Vicenza, his prime minister, and D'Azeglio's name was warrant that Sardinia, though vanquished, would not strike the flag of national liberty. More than once negotiations were on the point of being broken off; and although Austria, anxious not to raise the tension to breaking-point, reduced the war-indemnity to 75,000,000 francs, a third of the sum originally demanded, the Turin

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chamber refused to ratify the peace because it included no indemnity for the Lombard fugitives. As Austria remained inexorable upon this point, D'Azeglio, careless of the clamour of the radicals, dissolved the chamber, the king himself addressed an exhortation to discretion to his subjects, and in January, 1850, the new chamber granted the desired ratification.

The fate of Venice had likewise been decided on the field of Novara. On the 26th Fort Maghere was evacuated after an obstinate but unavailing defence, and at the news of Világos the city itself capitulated, stipulating only that the leaders should be allowed to depart unmolested.^b



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